Shōichi Saeki
Tōru Haga *Editors*

Masterpieces on Japan by Foreign Authors

From Goncharov to Pinguet

Springer

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Prologue

Many travelogues and articles on Japan have been written by foreigners covering a wide range of attitudes and interests. I have always been fascinated by this kind of writing and searched for it at antiquarian book fairs in my country and in secondhand bookstores abroad. (If you visit, you, too, are likely to come across unexpectedly interesting books by authors little known in Japan.) I cannot help but admit a mysterious attraction towards seeing my country through the eyes of foreigners. There is a shock of self-discovery as we are surprised and awed each time when others observe us from unexpected angles and focus on surprising details. We cannot deny that this stirs in us a secret element of narcissism. Compliments, criticism, and sometimes even outright slander are difficult to overlook when they relate to ourselves. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld might say that those are "stimuli to *amour propre*, a variant of tickling."

In any case, there was plenty of material available on this theme, so when the editorial department of Chūkō Shinsho offered me an opportunity to co-edit a book on it, I was immediately inclined to accept it. Moreover, it was reassuring that my co-editing partner was Tōru Haga, a longtime acquaintance of mine, and a talkable, dexterous and imaginative fellow. My only concern was whether we would be able to narrow down the works to fit into a paperback pocket edition. As expected, this proved to be a considerable challenge when we started our work. There were just too many works and subjects that we wanted to include. We were overwhelmed and amused by the fact that we had to remove one piece after another, even though both of us wanted to include them.

The first decision, helpful in this regard, was to confine the time period covered by the collection so as to limit our choices. After some deliberation, we decided to limit our selection to works written since around the time of the opening of Japan to the outside world in the 1850s. Such a task was quite painful, and in fact, as you know, our country's so-called Christian (or Kirishitan) Century from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century has left behind a vast amount of documents related to Japan, most of which are official reports written by strait-laced clergymen, but which are filled with lively observations and vivid information. However, when we decided to leave out these documents, as well as the writings of Englebert Kaempfer, Carl Peter Thunberg, Philipp Franz von Siebold, and other foreigners

from the Edo period, we found a clear consistency and unity in our selections. As a result of using a variety of mirrors, each with a different perspective and focus, to capture the modern history of Japan during the upheaval of modernization, the dynamics of that history has been foregrounded.

Another criterion or guideline for selecting the "masterpieces" was to aim for as much diversity as possible regarding the nationalities, professions, and specialties of the writers, though it goes without saying that the writers' powers of observation and writing were ultimately the deciding factor. We are somewhat proud of the variety and versatility of the lineup of 41[1] chapters which we finally selected after much deliberation, and we are sure that our readers will be pleased with them as well. We are delighted to have been able to include the writings of Lady Fraser, Isabella Bird, and Katharine Sansom, as we had hoped to include reports on Japan by women, too, who had a keen eye and sensitivity to their new surroundings. The books by Lady Fraser and Katharine Sansom, in particular, tended to be overlooked until now, in spite of the fresh charm of their writing style and lush content. To tell the truth, we searched for books by Asian women as much as possible, with the intention of including their work, but unfortunately, we could not find any suitable writings.

Now, nearly a century and a half has already passed since the opening of the country to the world at the end of the Edo period. From the perspective of "Japanology," it seems that foreigners' interest in Japan has ebbed and flowed like a tide, and we can point to three particular waves of interest. The first one came shortly after the opening of Japan, when various travelers, including those who could not be included in this book, came to Japan to write down their impressions of the country, which was, in their eyes, presumably, a land of mystery and mystique that had long been closed to them. The second wave was at the beginning of the twentieth century, just after the Japanese-Russo War, when Japan again generated a remarkable surge of interest as the "miracle" Asian nation state that had pulled off the wondrous feat of defeating the white superpower. The third one was more recent, from the late 1960s through the 1970s, a period of high economic growth when the renewed "miracle" of Japan's remarkable economic recovery from the defeat of the World War II once again attracted enthusiastic and curious attention from the outside world.

It is not the intention of this book to directly highlight such historical transitions, but the collection and succession of these 42 brilliant mirrors, even when viewed casually, should suggest unexpected insights and perspectives from a variety of angles.

This book owes much of its overall structure and writing style to the widely read *Masterpieces in Japan* (Nihon no meicho) and *Masterpieces in the World* (Sekai no meicho). In addition, I cannot forget to mention the enthusiastic help of Mr. Takemi Hisatomi, a member of the editorial staff, in compiling and organizing the manuscripts.

January 1987 Shōichi Saeki
Tokyo, Japan

[1] There are forty-one chapters in this book, but the chapter "Émile E. Guimet Promenades Japonaises: Tokio-Nikko (1880) and Félix Régamey Japon (Nihon sobyō kikō) (1903)" includes two discourses in one chapter. Thus, in total, there are forty-two discourses, or masterpieces contained in this book.

Contents

Editors[2,3]

Shōichi Saeki† (佐伯彰一) was born on April 26, 1922 (Taishō 11) and graduated from the Department of English Literature at the University of Tokyo in 1943. He was a professor of Liberal Arts at the University of Tokyo, a professor at Chūō University, and professor emeritus at the University of Tokyo (specializing in American and Japanese literature). He died on January 1, 2016 (Heisei 28). His major works include *Nihonjin no jiden* (Autobiography of the Japanese) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1974), *Monogatari geijutsu ron* (Narrative Art Theory) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1979), winner of the Yomiuri Literature Award, and *Jiden no seiki* (Century of Autobiography) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1985), awarded the Art Encouragement Prize.

Tōru Haga† (芳賀徹) was born in 1931 (Showa 6) and graduated from the University of Tokyo with a B.A. in Liberal Arts and a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature and Culture. He specialized in comparative literature and modern Japanese comparative cultural history and was president emeritus of Kyoto University of Art and Design, director of the Okazaki City Museum of Art, and director of the Shizuoka Prefectural Museum of Art. He died in 2020 (Reiwa 2). His writings include *Taikun no shisetsu* (Mission of the Tycoon) (Tokyo: Chūkō Shinsho, 1968); *Watanabe Kazan* (Tokyo: Asahi Sensho, 1974); *Hiraga Gen'nai* (Tokyo: Asahi Hyōdensen, 1981), awarded the Suntory Prize for Arts and Letters; *Kaiga no ryōbun* (The Domain of Art) (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1984), winner of the Osaragi Jirō Prize; *Yosa Buson no chiisana sekai* (The Little World of Yosa Buson); (Tokyo: Chūokōron Shinsha, 1984); *Shiika no mori e* (To Forest of Poetry) (Tokyo: Chūkō Shinsho, 2002); and *Geijutsu no kuni Nippon: Gabun kōkyō* (Japan—The Land of the Arts: A symphony of painting and literature) (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2010).

[2] Affiliation as of March 1995.

[3] † The editors passed away prior to the publication of this English book.

Ivan A. Goncharov "A Voyage to Japan" (Included in *The Frigate Pallada*) (1858)

Naoto Tsuchiya

Ivan Aleksandrovich Goncharov

Ivan Aleksandrovich Goncharov, the son of a rich merchant, was born in 1812 in Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk) on the Volga River. After graduating from Moscow University with a degree in literature, he worked as secretary to the governor of the province. While working at the Finance Ministry's foreign trade department in St. Petersburg, he continued his literary training and made his literary debut in 1847 with *An Ordinary Story*. From 1852 to 1854 (when the Edo period was drawing to an end) he visited Japan in his capacity as secretary to Admiral Putyatin, and his record of this experience was later published in 1858 as *The Frigate Pallada*, which included "A Voyage to Japan." After returning to Russia, he rose steadily in the ranks of government, becoming censor of the Ministry of Education and editor-in-chief of the Severnaya Potchta (The Northern Post), among other posts. During

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this period, he wrote *Oblomov* (1859), which depicted the stagnation and lethargy of Russian society, and *The Precipice* (1869), which is said to have been modeled by Futabatei Shimei's *The Drifting Cloud* (*Ukigumo*, 1887). Both of these works received critical acclaim and criticism. The former was praised by the then famous critic Nikolay Dobrolyubov as a scathing critique of serfdom, while the latter was unpopular with the left-wing camp because of its depiction of crude revolutionaries as well as impotent aristocrats. Later, he was somewhat overshadowed by the achievements of Fyodor Dostoevsky and Leo Tolstoy, but he was still a first-rate writer. He died in 1891.

> Here was the locked casket whose key was lost, a country whose acquaintance was sought doggedly, with gold, with guns, with sly diplomacy. Here is a populous part of the human race that has cleverly avoided contact with civilization and has dared to live by its own brains, its own laws; that has steadfastly denied the friendship, religion, and trade of foreigners; that laughs at our efforts to enlighten it, and sets the native customs of its antheap against the natural, democratic forms of life, the merits and demerits of Europe. (*The Frigate Pallada*, translated by Klaus Goetze, published by St. Martin's Press, New York, 1987, pp. 265–6)

On the very day the port of Nagasaki came into his view, Goncharov expressed this sentiment about Japan's stubborn isolation. It was August 10, 1853 (18th day of the 7th month, Kaei 6), about a month and a half after Perry's arrival in Uraga-bay.

Russia had begun diplomacy with Japan at the end of the eighteenth century, with Adam Laxman bringing back Daikokuya Kōdayū and two others under the order of Empress Ekaterina II in 1792, and Nikolai Rezanov had come to Nagasaki in 1804 with four shipwreck victims under the order of Emperor Alexander I. After this, however, Russia's engagement with Japan was minimal.

Thus, the arrival of Yevfimiy Putyatin in 1853 came as a surprise to Japan. It was also fortuitous that Goncharov, a writer known for *An Ordinary Story,* and chief translator or rather a subsection chief of the finance ministry's foreign trade department, came to accompany Admiral Putyatin. Goncharov, who had been in a slump due to the loss of his mother, monotonous bureaucratic work, and lack of time to write novels, when his good friend Nikolay Maykov, a painter, and his wife, Yevgeniya Maykova, a writer and poetess, facilitated an excellent opportunity. According to them, Abraam S. Norov, the then Deputy Minister of Education, was looking for a secretarial assistant to work under an Admiral to write down the voyage records of their journey to Japan. A strong curiosity about foreign countries and a longing for the unknown Japan led Goncharov to jump at the opportunity. This was the direct cause of Goncharov's decision to write "A Voyage to Japan." (There is another view that Goncharov was averse to the tightening of censorship following the French Revolution of 1848 and sought other venues for his activities. "A Voyage to Japan" is not the name of the original book, but is part of a larger travelogue entitled, *The Frigate Pallada*, which was translated into Japanese and published under the name of Nihon tokōki.)

Already informed that the U.S. was pressing Japan to open its ports, the Putyatin mission set sail from Kronstadt in October 1852, stopping at Portsmouth, England, at the end of the same month to purchase and rig schooners and to prepare for the

voyage. It departed from there on January 6, 1853, via the Madeira Islands, Cape of Good Hope, Java Island, Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Ogasawara (Bonin) Islands, and arrived in Nagasaki on August 10, as mentioned above. This first stay in Nagasaki lasted 3 months.

The Russian envoy left the country with the enthusiasm that "if not us, then the Americans, and if not the Americans, then someone else to follow, will soon be destined to pour healthy fluids into the bloodstream of Japan," but what awaited them was a stalling tactic by the magistrate in Nagasaki. When the Russians tried to negotiate with the Japanese, according to Goncharov, they "can't do the jobs, they stall, they cheat, they lie, and then they refuse" and "the officials said that one has to ask the magistrate, and the magistrate will then send word to Edo, to the shogun, who will in turn send word to the Mikado, the Son of Heaven, in Miyako."

In retrospect, however, the Nagasaki magistrate's stalling tactics, which may have been unavoidable under the isolationist regime, in fact gave the Russians more opportunities to experience various things in Japan. Goncharov's logbook-style writing is never tasteless, perhaps because it takes the form of letters addressed to old and trusted friends, and is written in the spirit of impulsive curiosity.

Let us now examine the specifics of *A Voyage to Japan*, Goncharov's method of depiction, and its distinctive features. The chapters consist of "Hong Kong," "Bonin Islands (Ogasawara Islands)," "The Russians in Japan," "Shanghai," "The Russians Again in Japan," and "The Ryukyu Islands." Among them, the main descriptions are "The Russians in Japan" and "The Russians Again in Japan."

The content of the book may be divided into three main types, Firstly, it includes descriptions of the scenery of Nagasaki and other places. "It is all like a picture, like an artistically composed scene," he says, praising the Japanese landscape in the highest terms. Secondly, it comments on the general manners and customs of the Japanese people and their ways of thinking and behaving, ranging from the common people, interpreters and the plenipotentiaries from Edo, Tsutsui Hizen-no-Kami, and Kawaji Saemon-no-jō (Toshiakira). The third type of content may be said to explore the cultural frictions observed.

Goncharov's genuine talent lies in his portrayal of people, as demonstrated in his later writings, such as *Oblomov*. For example, he portrays the curious Japanese as follows. "Gokenshi treated us Russians most courteously, asked for our names and our ranks, for each man's obligation on board, and wrote everything down, taking from their bosoms a folding inkwell that looked like a little like our old-fashioned candlesticks." Although he was uncomfortable with the Japanese costume and their ungainly "chonmage (topknot)" hairstyles, he wrote that the Japanese "are cultured, socially secure, entertaining, genial and remarkable for their distinct sophistication" and that "they are not a people hopelessly set in their ways and rigid; on the contrary, they can be logical, astute, able to grasp foreign ideas, if they consider this necessary."

The most vivid descriptions given are of the interpreters' behavior, with the exception of the description of the Russians who ate the Japanese meal. For one thing, Goncharov observed, the warrior class, because of its class system, must pretend to be incompetent in front of their superiors, even if they were competent,

whereas interpreters were given their own field of activity and were intellectually curious and eager to learn about the world as quickly as possible. Here we find Narabayashi, who dreams of traveling the world; Kichibei, a skilled senior interpreter; and Einosuke, who is competent and became Kawaji's personal interpreter, but who sometimes looks boastful. Some were brave enough to speak not only in Dutch, but also in English and French, albeit in a broken manner.

After a 3-month stay in Japan, the Putyatin's mission temporarily left for Shanghai, but returned to Japan on the fifth of December for the climax of their visit. It was a meeting between the Russian delegation and the plenipotentiaries, Tsutsui and Kawaji, who had been entrusted with the mission by the rōjū (the senior councilors of the Tokugawa shogunate). Even though the isolationist policy had almost broken down, the meeting between the shogunate's plenipotentiaries, who were determined to persist with this policy, and the Russian delegation, who were pressing for the opening of ports, was a friendly but fierce confrontation. This is probably the scene of most interest to us Japanese. In his *Nagasaki Diary*, Kawaji wrote about the Russian side as follows: "The name of the Russian who came this time is an envoy Putyatin, written "布恬廷": this person has an extraordinary gaze and seems to be a heavyweight. ... Goncharov: this person has no titles, but can be said to be a man in charge of organizational matters who performs secretarial duties, and appears to be the real intellect behind the envoy, always staying by his side to advise him."

Even if they are formally divided into two sides, able men can communicate sincerely with one another. Goncharov, as a Russian, unexpectedly proved that even in the late Tokugawa Shogunate there was a brilliant man like Kawaji, who possessed intelligence, wit, insight, skill, and wisdom.

> I liked it when Kawaji, holding a magnificent fan, looked and listened, when the talk was addressed to him. Up to the halfway point of the speech his mouth was half-open, his brow knitted, all signs of concentrated attention. On his forehead the play of wrinkles showed clearly how the questions, one after the other, reached his understanding, and how the general sense of what was said, formed in his brain. After the mid-point of the speech, when he had grasped the meaning entirely, his lips pressed together, the wrinkles on his forehead vanished, his whole face shone: he already knew what he was going to answer. If the question contained a secret meaning behind what was officially said, an involuntary smile appeared on Kawaji's face. When he started to speak and talked for a long time, he stayed with his subject, and his intelligence showed plainly in his eyes. When the old man (Tsutsui) spoke, he dropped his eyelids and did not look at him, as if it was not his affair, but the vivid play of his wrinkles and a trembling of his eyebrows showed that he listened to him more than to us. On Kawaji obviously fell the whole burden of the negotiations, and Tsutsui was sent more to lend authority, and possibly because of his agreeable character.

It may be noted that Goncharov's attitude toward the Japanese is somewhat patronizing, like an adult who slightly looks down on children. Although he understands that the "infantilization" of the Japanese is half due to their national isolation, words such as "childish," "childlike," and "naïve" are often used as adjectives to describe the Japanese. This is perhaps why the dignified plenipotentiary, Kawaji, seemed more "grown-up" in his eyes.

Various episodes in the book foreground the differing customs, ways of thinking, and cultural frictions between the Russians and Japanese. The Japanese were

surprised, for instance, when the visitors touched the piano keys; the Russians felt that the sake served from the Japanese side was nothing more than "water"; Goncharov could not understand the tea stalk floating erect in his cup and stated, "I looked: in the bottom of the cup were tea grounds, what a barbarous custom! Even in the land of tea!" The Japanese and the Russians argued over whether the meeting with the Nagasaki magistrate should be held "seated" or "on a chair" (this is not only a difference in custom, but also a political and diplomatic tactic.) The Russians, while admiring the gifts of inkstone boxes and swords from the plenipotentiary, felt that the cotton and silk textiles from the Shogun, which were probably splendid from the Japanese point of view, were "too simple to be used as window coverings in a respectable house, although they were of two colors, red and white, with patterns woven into the fabric." These interesting anecdotes are often written with excellent humor.

One of Goncharov's interesting characteristics is his relativist view in relation to people of different races. This may not be so unusual an attitude for seafarers who have been through England, Cape Town, Southeast Asia, China, and other places, but the fact that his "comparative" view is free from preconceived ideas or prejudices, is very clearly conveyed and he does not necessarily consider Europeans to be ethically superior. For example, referring to British attitudes in Shanghai and elsewhere that were "imperative, coarse, cold and contemptuous," he writes, "I don't know which of the two peoples (the British or the Chinese) is civilizing the other; the Chinese may well be civilizing the British with their modesty, humility and business acumen." Similarly, he expresses his high regard for the Ryukyu Islands, with their well carefully tended fields, thatched houses and gardens, and peaceful human relations.

Goncharov's book *A Voyage to Japan* is not only a good memoir and observation of Japan at the end of the Tokugawa shogunate from a foreigner's perspective, but first and foremost it is a record of voyages. The chapters "The Russians in Japan" and "The Russians Again in Japan" were first serialized in the Russian naval magazine *Morskoĭ Sbornik* from issue numbers 9 to 11 in 1855, and published in book form in the same year. Three years later, in 1858, *The Frigate Pallada*, which had tripled in length, was published in two volumes, and the unknown and "curious" Japan became widely known to Russian readers. During his lifetime, the book went through six editions, an unprecedented number for the time, suggesting how much credit he deserves for fostering dreams about "Japan," particularly among young Russians.

Rutherford Alcock *The Capital of the Tycoon* (1863)

Akiko Ohta

Sir Rutherford Alcock. (Source: The project Gutenberg eBook of the Englishman in China during the Victorian era, Vol. II (of 2), by Alexander Michie)

Sir Rutherford Alcock was born in Ealing, a suburb of London, in May 1809. Raised in a physicians' family, he initially pursued a career in the medical field, and served as a medical officer in the British army, which was deployed to suppress the Spanish Civil War from 1836 to 1837. He later became a diplomat, and in 1843 was appointed to the consulate of Amoy in China, as secretary first, then as consul in Fuzhou and Shanghai, and from 1856, as consul in Guangdong. He was involved in the Arrow Incident. In June 1859, he came to Japan as the first Consul General to Japan and was promoted to Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in February 1860. During his tenure in Japan until the end of 1864, he played a central role in the diplomatic corps, which promoted an aggressive foreign policy toward Japan, and

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participated in negotiations with the Shogunate to open ports. (The Anglo-Satsuma War of 1863, however, was led by Charge d'Affaires Neale, while Alcock returned temporarily to the UK on leave). In August 1864, the British government issued a recall order for Alcock, who had taken it on himself to lead an expedition with the United Kingdom, United States, France, and the Netherlands against Shimonoseki, Japan, but once his true intentions were conveyed, his achievements were recognized and he was immediately promoted to the post of minister to Qing (China). After retiring from the diplomatic service and returning to Britain in 1871, he served as President of the Royal Geographical Society and published articles on Japanese geography, as well as books on Japanese arts and crafts, thus contributing to the study of Japan in the U.K. He died on November 1, 1897. His major publications include *The Capital of the Tycoon* (1863), *Art and Art Industries in Japan* (1878), and a guide to Japanese grammar and conversation.

After the opening of the country to the West in 1858 (Ansei 5), the Edo shogunate found itself in a difficult situation as the Western powers were strongly demanding the opening of ports and cities, and, furthermore, there was a growing anti-foreigner trend in Japan. *The Capital of the Tycoon* is a collection of observations and reflections made by Sir Rutherford Alcock, the first British Minister to Japan (originally Consul General), during his 3-year stay in Japan from June 1859 to March 1862, when he returned temporarily to the UK on leave.

Alcock, who had served as consul in Shanghai and Guangdong before his assignment to Japan, was well versed in East Asian affairs and had a strong interest in Japan. Coming to Japan with prior knowledge from reading the works of William Adams, John Saris, Engelbert Kämpfer, Isaac Titsingh, Philipp Franz von Siebold, and others, he was keenly aware of the limitations of these traditional Japan-related books. He felt that they had been written centuries or decades before, that they were far outdated, that many of them were little more than chronicles or journals, and that therefore the image of Japan was tinged with legendary, mythical, and medieval colours and treated as an extremely mystical and utopian island nation. He was harshly critical, saying that "Like Don Quixote, whose imagination invested a roadside inn, and its serving-wenches of questionable repute, with attributes of romance that left nothing to be desired—writers on Japan have hitherto seen everything through highly colored glasses, and generally of a Claude Lorraine hue." Alcock saw the Japan depicted in these books as an idealistic entity that was culturally quite alien to the West, and lacking in reality, so he concluded that it would be impossible to explore the ideal diplomatic relationship on a realistic level without understanding the actual situation at that moment in time. However, a diplomatic blue book is cumbersome and difficult to read for the average reader. Therefore, he wanted to write in plain language what was written in diplomatic documents. In doing so, he sought to question the common belief of the time that the relationship between Europe and Asia was "an obviously higher and lower phase of civilization intersecting each other" and to reexamine what Western diplomacy should be like.

With this intention, that is, of exploring a realistic British foreign policy toward Japan, Alcock felt it necessary to understand Japan's internal political structure. It is noteworthy that he attempted to understand Japan from a historical perspective, and

yet he tried to describe Japan not only in terms of its politics and economy, but also in terms of its language, society, and customs, that is, from a civilizational perspective. *The Capital of the Tycoon* is basically chronological, but occasionally civilizational findings are presented that suggest the direction of British policy. His perception of Japanese civilization involves a serious questioning of the foundations of the Western civilization to which he belongs. This book should be rated highly because, while maintaining the basic idea that the West (Britain) is more advanced than the East (Japan), Alcock's contact with Japan led him to question the "superiority" of Western civilization, which had been considered a self-evident truth, and prompted him to discuss how diplomacy between different civilizations should be conducted.

Then how exactly did Alcock introduce and examine Japanese society? First of all, he attempted to describe the customs and habits of Japan by describing his own experiences in Japan. By noting that this method "gives a livelier and a truer conception of what these political and social conditions are, than systematic methods," he proved the significance of Japan's introduction in genre journals as a step to discussing Western diplomacy. In general, he has a bad reputation as a poor stylist whose writing is difficult to read, but his way of describing Japanese customs is full of humor and esprit, and even has a lighthearted tone.

While accompanying the Shogunate's mission to Europe in 1862 (Bunkyu 2), he observed with dismay that many Japanese, who are supposed to be a maritime people, have a phobia of seasickness, and also inferred the status of women in Japan on the basis of their "grotesque" makeup, such as blackened teeth, for example. The book contains numerous illustrations to facilitate the readers' understanding, and in addition to adopting the paintings of artist Charles Wirgman, Alcock himself took up the paintbrush and demonstrated a considerable skill. This does not mean that all his observations were correct, of course. William Willis, and other members of his staff stated that "he was a man who was always writing something in his spare time," and we can sense in *The Capital of the Tycoon* the author's relentless interest in Japanese society, his painstaking documentation, as well as traces of his tireless reflection.

Perhaps what is the most unique of these is that Alcock relates his discourse on the Japanese people to their language's grammatical structure. According to him, the absence of genders to their nouns (and of their personal pronouns to express any difference between he, she, and it) corresponds to the customs in their daily life, such as public baths for both sexes in Japan. He also found that, in direct proportion to the frequent use of honorific and self-abasing words, Japanese are extremely sensitive to any indignity or affront, beneath which lies their strong sense of pride. He even used this deduction as the basis to explain a series of killings and sniping of foreigners, such as the Namamugi Incident. Alcock's ability to develop such an argument from the characteristics of the Japanese grammar is unique and insightful.

Alcock attempted to clarify the Japanese social system as it related to British diplomacy. He also turned his attention to the ruling structure of Japanese politics, popular sentiment toward the outside world, and even Japan's distribution system. He pointed out repeatedly that the supreme monarch of Japan is the Mikado

(emperor), and that the Tycoon (shogun) in Edo are merely "a façade government," making it clear that the Mikado is the only one who can override the statutes set forth by the Tycoon. Sensing the limits of the shogunate's authority under such "double machinery" as proof of it, he pointed to the fact that—despite the provisions of Article I of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce—foreigners were restricted in various freedoms, including freedom of passage. At the same time, he recognized that the powerful *daimyō* (or feudal lords) were real rulers of Japan at the time, but he did not seem to have predicted the collapse of the shogunate and the restoration of the Mikado's rule.

From these considerations, Alcock concluded that the West should not merely attempt to conquer Japan by force, nor should it impose Western democracy and Christianity as something supreme, but that since Japan had unwillingly concluded treaties with the Western powers, "*non-intervention* interpreted in a thoroughly doctrinaire spirit" is also meaningless.

> The observance of treaties with Eastern nations, so long as these are the results, in the first instance, not of their own free-will and desire, but the fear of a superior Power, can never be otherwise than a matter of compulsion, however the thing itself may be veiled by euphuisms of moral pressure; and, to compel where there is no effective force exercised or compulsion used is not more a contradiction in terms than the attempt to obtain the end, without appropriate and effective means, is an absurdity in action.

In short, Alcock distinguished himself from the proponents of gunboat diplomacy, who sought to suppress by force at all costs small Eastern nations that would not submit to the West, while at the same time he criticized optimistic trade advocates who believed that the "practical and material interests" of trade relations had universal value that transcended cultural differences. *The Capital of the Tycoon* is driven throughout by the belief that a "clash of cultures" is inevitable in the encounter between the East and the West, with their culturally different norms, and that it cannot be settled by any such philosophy of "a well-cultivated and enlightened regard for our own best interests."

Alcock emphasized that trade frictions between nations with markedly different cultures usually entail cultural frictions, and that these two cannot be separated. This view of his displays modernity as it equally applies to Japan-U.S. or Japan-Europe trade friction, which is being heatedly debated today in the latter half of the twentieth century. At the same time, it is fair to say that this was a far more realistic view than the trade theories of Cobden and Bright, who were leading public opinion in Britain at the time. It can also be said that he had a sense of mission as an active diplomat to protect the "chain" of the British Empire in Asia against Russia, who was looking for an opportunity to advance southward.

Alcock concluded that in order to maintain diplomatic relations established by coercion, it was essential to refrain from inciting fear and alarm among the Japanese by forcing them to promote religious and trade relations more than necessary.

> If progress and civilization follow, as doubtless they will, if not injudiciously put out of their place and natural order—follow as the necessary attendants of commerce when this is in the hands of a Christian people, then will they come gradually to be understood and *in the end*

> *desired*; and not civilization only, but a true religion also may find its place, and take an ever enlarging field within its fold.

In Alcock's view, however, a certain degree of conflict was unavoidable. Although this conclusion was somewhat prosaic, it can be seen as a characteristic of Alcock's diplomatic theory that the conflict of values between Japan and the West should be resolved over the long haul and that actual diplomatic issues at hand should be handled to the extent feasible.

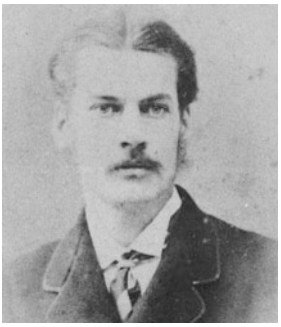
But it is incorrect to immediately view Alcock as a civilizational relativist here. The idea of "the progressive West and the backward East" was still at the base of his thought, and in that sense, he was advocating a revision of Eastern civilization from an overarching perspective. While he cautioned against linking Christianity to foreign policy, he could not help thinking that it was ultimately a value standard that could raise "the lower standards." He also noted that the Edo period was not a dark feudal age, but rather a progressive period of industrial development, but he often pointed out the "backwardness" of Japan. Similarly, while he was opposed to the image of a "mysterious, upside-down, foreign Japan," such conventional stereotypes became mixed in with his own reflections. He says, "Japan is essentially a country of paradoxes and anomalies," often citing images of the Garden of Eden and medieval Europe. Although his view of Japan was never confined to such a typological level, it appears that his theory of Japanese culture was still unorganized in his mind.

What should not be overlooked here, however, is the fact that he was asking himself questions about the Westerners' self-image when discussing Japanese culture. Alcock had a strong distrust for high officials of the Shogunate, and on numerous occasions he was angry at Japanese officials for their lying. However, in the process of tracing the basis of his distrust of the Japanese, he repeatedly asked himself, "How do the Japanese view us Westerners?" This new kind of awareness indicate that he moved beyond the stage of simply ingesting foreign cultural elements and entered the stage of reinterpreting them. This is in sharp contrast to the records of Japanese envoys who visited Western countries from the end of the Edo period to the beginning of the Meiji period, where the viewpoint of seriously asking oneself about one's "self-image" had not yet arisen. On the other hand, the appearance of the aforementioned contradictory passages in his Japanology can only be attributed to the fact that he had not yet reached the stage of reconstructing his views. It would be very interesting to trace the process of change in his view of Japan after his departure from Japan at the end of 1864 and his experience in China until 1871.

Approximately 2000 copies of *The Capital of the Tycoon* were printed in Britain at the time of its publication. Although it was published in an unusually large volume for this kind of book, it fell far short of the best-selling copies in circulation at the time. It has been read to this day mainly by readers who are particularly interested in Japan and East Asia.

Ernest Mason Satow *A Diplomat in Japan* (1921)

Yoshihiro Ohsawa



Ernest Mason Satow

Ernest Mason Satow was born in London in 1843. His father was born in Sweden and his mother was English. He studied at University College in London, and at the age of 18, he joined the British Legation as a student interpreter. He wanted to be stationed in Japan, and after training in Beijing, his wish was granted. His study of Japanese in Japan was rewarded with a position as a Japanese-speaking diplomat assisting British Minister Harry Smith Parkes. Satow published an article in the *Japan Times*' British Policy section, in which he tried to explain the political situation in Japan for the British. In the article, he advocated that the Emperor be made the head of state and a coalition of lords (*daimyō*) be placed under his reign. His arguments were translated into Japanese and had an impact on the political

Yoshihiro Ohsawa passed away before the publication of this English language edition.

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situation in Japan. He became a secretary of the British legation in Japan in 1868, returned to the UK briefly with permission in 1869, and came to Japan again in 1870. Later, after leaving Japan in 1883, he was posted to Siam (Thailand), Uruguay, and Morocco. In 1895, he became Minister to Japan, and in 1900, Minister to Qing China, where he handled the Boxer Rebellion. He then left the Foreign Office and retired to the little village of Ottery St. Mary in Devonshire. He remained unmarried all his life (although he had a Japanese child with Takeda Kané). Satow authored many works, excelling especially in the field of Japanese and Oriental studies. He was conferred the title "Sir" for his services as a diplomat, and died in 1829, at the age of 86.

Ernest Satow was a British diplomat who lived in Japan at the end of the Edo period. The period he covers in *A Diplomat in Japan* is a total of 8 years, from 1862 (Bunkyū 2) to 1869 (Meiji 2). This was the period during which modern Japan was being formed, and Satow witnessed the establishment of Meiji Japan in all its tumultuousness. This was not only an interesting experience for him, but his records of it are valuable and relevant to us today. Above all, there is no reservation in his narrative. Because of his disregard for authority, a complete translation of this book was not authorized for publication until Japan's defeat in World War II.

Of course, the historical background of the Meiji Restoration is well known today. If you want to know facts, it would be better to read a textbook on Japanese history. The pleasure of reading Satow's book lies elsewhere. First of all, it gives us a behind-the-scenes view of the political process that led to various political decisions. Both the Shogunate (bakufu) and the Satchō alliance (between the feudal domains of Satsuma and Chōshū) used a variety of methods to probe foreign political intentions. The use of pseudonyms to conceal one's identity was a common tactic in those days, not only in diplomatic negotiations but also in everyday life.

In 1865, Satow first met Saigō Takamori during his stay in Hyōgo, Japan, and the encounter went as follows: "I [...] made an even more interesting acquaintance. This was a big burly man, with small, sparkling black eyes, who was lying down in one of the berths. His name, they said, was Shimadzu Sachiu, and I noticed that he had the scar of a sword cut on one of his arms. Many months afterwards I met him again, this time under his real name of Saigō Kichinosuke." No identifiable photograph of Saigō has yet been found until today, and Satow's depiction fills that absence. Here we can see Saigō living in history.

In Satow's book, what one finds is not only the historical figures engaging in political tactics. The book reveals the enthusiasm of those normally referred to as "the masses" in the following description: "Some difficulty was experienced in making our way through the crowds of people in flaming red garments dancing and shouting the refrain *ii ja nai ka*. They were so much taken up with their dancing and lantern-carrying that we passed along almost unnoticed, but I was half afraid the escort (*betté*) would provoke a quarrel by the violent manner in which they thrust people aside in order to make way for us; on the contrary, the crowd did not offer any rudeness to us, and let us pass without hindrance."

This was Osaka in 1867. It is well known that at the time a popular movement of this kind was active in the Kinai and Tōkai regions from August of the same year, but it is only through Satow's writings that we can imagine the atmosphere in which this

movement took place. The scene of the foreigners, and the Japanese samurais guarding them, as they weaved their way through the dancing crowd; the shouts of "ee ja nai ka" (Satow writes "ii ja nai ka") is incredibly vivid, almost cinematic. It is a pleasure to be gained by reading this book.

At the age of 18, when Satow read Laurence Oliphant's *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the Years 1857–59*, which his elder brother had borrowed from the library, he was fascinated by Japan. The Japan he saw in the book was a fairyland that seemed out of this world. But when he visited Japan later in life, he found it to be a country full of deceit and fear. The foreigners in Japan at the time were convinced that "A Japanese was synonymous for a dishonest trader," Satow reported. He himself often encountered cases where he felt that way. He also met officials of the shogunate who spoke with a "double tongue." He was once targeted by imperialist loyalists who advocated: "Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians (*Sonnō jōi*)." It must have shattered his boyhood preconceptions of Japan. Nevertheless, Satow did not suddenly shift from total affirmation to a rejection of Japan. Such was his fine sense of balance.

Satow was present at the execution of the murderers of two British officers in Kamakura, and shortly afterward he wrote: "It was impossible not to hate the assassin, but nevertheless, looking at the matter from a Japanese point of view, I confess that I could not help regretting that a man who was evidently of a heroic type, should have been so misguided to believe that his country could be helped by such means." Satow did not assume the British position as an absolute, but tried to consider multiple perspectives, even in the case of the murder of his fellow nationals—a matter that would have been of great concern to any diplomat. This shows his flexible attitude.

How did the Japanese landscape and the daily lives of Japanese people appear in the eyes of the unbiased Satow? Getting to know his impressions is another pleasure of reading this book. It offers nostalgic, memory-filled scenes that have virtually escaped the modern Japanese. The pleasure of looking at sepia-toned photographs of the past, or the pleasure of meeting ancestors in them, may not bring any material benefits, but it is indeed inexhaustible pleasure nonetheless.

Moreover, reading Satow's narrative is not merely a nostalgic experience. In some places, Satow's descriptions of Japanese people's overt fear of foreigners, now superficial and hidden from view, are very amusing. For example, Satow once accompanied a colleague and a young Japanese man named Matsune to a red-light district in Ozaka (Osaka). He wrote the following about that time: "A room had been taken in Matsune's name, and some of the bepowdered and berouged girls were awaiting the arrival of the Japanese party they had expected to meet, when to their surprise and horror three Europeans were ushered into their midst. We were at that time objects of more alarm than interest to the women of Ozaka. The fair damsels starting up with a scream fairly ran away, and no assurances from our friend would induce them to return."

It is true that even today, there are Japanese who shrink when they meet Westerners, but nowadays they would not all be so naïve. If not an everyday occurrence, it is no longer so rare to associate with a foreigner. Things have changed

dramatically. So, can we say we are not as dismayed today as the prostitutes of the Edo period were? No, in fact, it is not quite so. I do not think it is wrong to say that the Japanese today share their dismay at the deepest level of their consciousness.

Finally, I would like to mention the landscape as Satow saw it. For example, he writes of Edo (Yedo) as follows: "Though it [Yedo] contained no fine public buildings, its position on the seashore, fringed with the pleasure gardens of the *daimios*, and the remarkable huge moats surrounding the castle, crowned with cyclopean walls and shaded by picturesque lines of pine-tree, the numerous rural spots in the city itself, all contributed to produce an impression of greatness." He also writes about Ozaka Castle: "Soon after passing Ama-ga-saki we came in sight of the castle of Ozaka, a conspicuous object in the landscape by its shining white walls and many-storied towers, visible for many a league."

In today's crowded metropolis, it is difficult to imagine what Satow saw. In particular, Tokyo and Osaka have changed drastically during and after the high growth period of the Shōwa 30s (from 1955 onward). The fields of the past are no longer there. Instead, reinforced concrete buildings line the streets. There is, however, no use in lamenting and turning to the past for salvation. People live in the present. However, this does not mean that we can ignore the past. The lives of the Japanese people Satow saw must have been poor and constrained in many ways yet they seemed to live happily. According to Satow, the round window of the house he rented in Edo, located on a hilltop, offered a panoramic view of Edo Bay during the day. Today such pleasure has become a luxury that most people cannot afford.

William E. Griffis *The Mikado's Empire* (1876)

Yuzo Ota

William Elliot Griffis. (Source: Fukui City History Museum)

William Elliot Griffis was born in 1843 in Philadelphia, U.S.A. An aspiring pastor with writing skills, Griffis had developed an interest in Japan during his studies at Rutgers University (1865–1869) through his acquaintance with Japanese students such as Yokoi Shōnan's two nephews. His connection with the Dutch Reformed Church in the U.S., which had been sending missionaries to Japan since 1859, led him to come to Japan in December 1870 to teach chemistry at a domain school (*hankō*) in Fukui. Due in part to the abolition of domains and the establishment of prefectures (*haihan-chiken*), Griffis moved to Tokyo's Southern University (one of predecessors of the University of Tokyo) in 1872, before his 3-year contract expired. Seeing the real "feudal Japan" in Fukui, albeit for a short period of time, gave Griffis a rare and unique perspective both he himself and others would appreciate, and

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served to encourage his subsequent activities as a connoisseur of Japan. After returning to the U.S. in 1874, Griffis entered a seminary and served as a pastor for many years, but his primary vocation, so to speak, remained the same: to help the Americans understand Japan and the Japanese through writing and lecturing. He revisited Japan in 1926–1927, towards the end of his life, and died in 1928. In addition to his main work, *The Mikado's Empire*, he is the author of numerous books on Japan, including biographies of other foreign missionaries and diplomats with close ties to Japan.

Judging from how energetically Griffis gathered research materials during his residence in Japan, he seems to have planned to use his stay to write a book about Japan from early on. *The Mikado's Empire* was published by Harper & Brothers, a New York publisher, in 1876, around 2 years after his return to the United States. Since then, the book has gone through several editions, the last of which was the 12th edition (1922), and it served as a significant source of knowledge about Japan for Westerners for many years.

Although the first edition is the one covered in this commentary, a comparison of the table of contents with the ninth edition published in 1900, to which I happened to refer, shows that Book I, which deals with the history of Japan, and Book II, which summarizes Griffis' observations and research during his stay in Japan, are identical to the first edition. It is therefore safe to say that, aside from the appendices placed at the end of the book, the main body of *The Mikado's Empire*, Book I and Book II, remained in circulation until much later, almost exactly as they were in the 1876 first edition. It is impressive that a book written at a time when foreigners had little access to information was still considered relevant as late as 1913.

However, for today's readers, *The Mikado's Empire* seems old-fashioned in many places, especially Book I, which mostly deals with Japanese history. The reason may be that Griffis was influenced by Japanese texts such as Rai San'yō's *Nihon gaishi* ("Unofficial History of Japan"), as well as the views of Japanese people he encountered at the time. Book I, though written by a foreigner, is based on the obviously historical view of kōkoku shikan, that is, on an emperor-centered historiography, with its scathing condemnation of the Hōjō clan as usurpers of the power of the emperor, the rightful ruler of Japan (p. 151; page numbers are based on the first edition; the same hereafter). Therefore, many of Griffis' evaluations of events and personalities may not satisfy today's readers.

It is also noticeable that many (but not all) of the mythological descriptions in *Kojiki,* or The Record of Ancient Matters, and *Nihonshoki,* or The Chronicles of Japan, are adopted as historical fact as is evident in Book I of *The Mikado's Empire*. Griffis' confusion of myth and history has been criticized since the publication of the first edition. In fact, Griffis refers to this himself in his preface to the second edition, which is also included in the ninth edition.

There are many other questionable statements and factual errors, such as the theory of the Ainu origin of the Japanese, a theory that today is not given any credibility. In short, Book I of *The Mikado's Empire*, entitled "History of Japan, from 660 B.C. to 1872," may have been very useful at a time when there were few similar books, but Japanese readers may not find it so today. The only exception is

the last chapter, Chapter 28, which deals with the Meiji Restoration, where Griffis' own views are expressed somewhat more.

Book II, Personal Experiences, Observations, and Studies in Japan, 1870–1874, which begins with first impressions of Japan and primarily consists of Griffis' own observations, is more relevant today than Book I. When Griffis arrived in Yokohama on December 29, 1870, it was a little over a decade since the opening of the port. As such, there is something in Book II to satisfy our curiosity and desire for knowledge about the vanished Japan of the early Meiji era.

For example, soon after arriving in Japan, Griffis went to Tokyo to visit Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck, a missionary who would later help him realize his assignment to Fukui. Verbeck was working at Daigaku Nankō (later the University of Tokyo) at the time. Griffis' description of the university, where students still tying a chonmage (topknot) were eager to learn Western languages and disciplines, is of interest. It is said that foreign teachers of the time were a complete mixture of chaff and grain, and that there was more chaff than grain. Griffis writes, "The Japanese had very primitive ideas concerning the fitness of men [foreigners] to teach [...]. The "professors" first obtained were often ex-bar-tenders, soldiers, sailors, clerks, etc." (p. 371).

As seen in Book II of *The Mikado's Empire*, it is noteworthy that, upon his arrival in Japan, Griffis became aware of the assassination of two foreign teachers at the Daigaku Nankō. For Griffis, who had developed a negative image of Japan on his way to Tokyo after seeing two fresh heads hanging from a prison gate and a Christian prohibition sign that had yet to be removed, the incident could, at worst, have given him a definitive image of Japan as a barbaric country.

However, two American missionaries explained the circumstances to Griffis in such a way that increased his sympathy for the Japanese. The missionaries explained that many such incidents indicated a problem on the part of the foreign victim. An account of the event in the *Autobiography of Takahashi Korekiyo (I)*, edited by Uetsuka Tsukasa (Chūkō Bunko, 1976, pp. 83–88), indicates that the two teachers from Daigaku Nankō were attacked because they were walking with a Japanese mistress, which aroused antipathy. Griffis' interpretation was that foreigners were responsible for the so-called assassinations and that these incidents were due to the "the effect of causes which neither fair play nor honor could justify" (p. 377). This interpretation seems valid in this case, too.

Griffis' Japanophilic attitude is also well expressed in his articles of "The Bombardment of Kagoshima" and "The Shimonoseki Affair," which are placed at the end of the book as appendices to *The Mikado's Empire*. For example, in "The Shimonoseki Affair," Griffis thoroughly criticizes both the bombardment of Shimonoseki by the powers (Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States), that took place at the end of the Edo period, and the subsequent collection of compensation, as barbaric acts with no basis in international law. He also characterizes Alcock, the British minister at the center of the case, as "the apostle of murder and blind force" (p. 595). *The Mikado's Empire* is interspersed with his shrewd observations from a Japanophile perspective (as opposed to the general Western view of the time), which are among its interesting elements.

Nevertheless, Griffis, like the majority of Westerners at the time, was in some ways a firm believer in West-centric beliefs. For example, the last page of Book II (p. 578) clearly shows that Griffis believed in the superiority of Western civilization in comparison to Japanese civilization and in the superiority of his own Christian religion, to Japan's religion.

When I read *The Mikado's Empire*, I sometimes encounter passages that make me uncomfortable as a Japanese reader, and I realize that this is often because Griffis' writing betrays the arrogance of a person who believes in his own superiority.

The Mikado's Empire is a surprisingly unoriginal book. Even in Book II, which is supposed to be primarily a record of his personal observations, there are unexpectedly few unique observations. Further, a great many of the illustrations in *The Mikado's Empire* were taken from Alcock's *The Capital of the Tycoon.* (Some are noted as taken from Alcock's *The Capital of the Tycoon*, but others are not.) For example, the illustration "Gonji in a Brown Study" on page 445 of *The Mikado's Empire* is borrowed from the illustration "Japanese page in attendance" in *The Capital of the Tycoon*, Vol. 1, Chapter 4. (Gonji was a boy who worked under Griffis' servant in Fukui, and he used to watch Griffis eat meals "in a brown study," according to the text.)

His method of presenting irrelevant illustrations as something he has actually seen and heard suggests that Griffis was probably more likely to take material from other people's writings, adapt it, expand it, and embellish it with literary rhetoric, than to write faithfully from his own experiences and observations. In Book II, which is supposed to be a coherent account of his experiences in Japan, Griffis inserts research chapters such as "Japanese Proverbs." The life-sized Griffis, struggling with debt repayment, loneliness, and sexuality as a single man in a foreign country, that emerges from Edward R. Beauchamp's painstaking study on Griffis, *An American Teacher in Early Meiji Japan* (1976), does not appear at all in *The Mikado's Empire*.

Émile E. Guimet *Promenades Japonaises*: *Tokio-Nikko* (1880) and Félix Régamey *Japon* (*Nihon sobyō kikō*) (1903)

Motoko Sato

Emile Etienne Guimet. (Source: F. Régamey (1880), *Le lemdemain je reçus la viste du grand prêtre*. Internet archive. https://archive.org/details/promenadesjapona00guim/page/270/mode/2up)

Émile Étienne Guimet was born in 1836 in Lyon, France. He became an entrepreneur after taking over a dye factory belonging to his father who was a chemist. He also turned his hand to the arts, composing ballet and opera. He first visited northern Europe, became interested in archaeology and ancient studies, and traveled around

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the world, including a trip to Egypt in 1865. In the summer of 1876 (Meiji 9), he visited Japan with the painter Félix Régamey so as to observe religious conditions in the country. In 1879, he established a museum in Lyon based on his collections, which he moved to Paris in 1888. The Musée Guimet was transferred to the national government in 1928, and is well known for its collections of Japanese, Chinese, Indian, and Near Eastern art. He died in 1918 at the age of 82. His books include, amongst others, *L'Isis romain* and *Les Isiaques de la Gaule*.

His friend, Félix Régamey was born in Paris, France in 1844. Influenced by their father, a sketch artist, Régamy and his brothers took up art as a profession. From 1871 to 1873, he stayed in London, where he contributed to *The Illustrated London News*, and then moved to the United States where he continued his work as an illustrator. In 1876, he and Guimet came to Japan from San Francisco and visited China and India over the following year. He exhibited his sketches from the trip at the Paris Exposition of 1878. In 1884, he lectured at the Saint-Simon Circle on "Japanese Theatre" with Guimet. In 1899, he visited Japan again to inspect art education. In 1900, he became Secretary General of the Franco-Japanese Society in Paris. Régamey died in 1907. His works include *Les Aventures d'un petit garçon préhistorique*.

Promenades Japonaises has a relaxed, leisurely style. Guimet was interested in Asian art and religion, not so much with a focused purpose, but rather as if he were taking in all that could be captured with a wide-angle camera. He obtained a diplomatic passport for the purpose of inspecting the religious situation in Japan, and he compiled his account of his 3-month stay in Japan in the summer of 1876 (Meiji 9), with numerous drawings by the painter Régamey, in the two volumes of *Promenade*, which were published 2 years later in 1878.

Their arrival is described in detail in the first volume of *Promenade* (Japanese title: *1876 Bonjour Kanagawa*, translated by Aoki Keisuke, Yūrindō, July 1977). Under an untimely rain, the ship they had boarded in San Francisco entered Edo Bay. Naked men in passing boats, servants bowing deeply, rowers' rhythmic oarsmanship, inefficient customs inspections ... as soon as they landed in Japan, Guimet entered into the lives of the people there.

> We wake up from a Japan that we thought was conventional, to enter, walk, and act in a true, unquestionable Japan, which welcomes us as friends and does not differ in any way from the one we saw in our dreams

Not content to simply pass by the main street out front, he padded to the end of the path, behind the houses. Sometimes he would encounter scenes that would have made the average Westerner cry out "decadence." In a garden where rods are hung on a bamboo fence and fowls walk in the grass, people are having their midday baths in large and small tubs. Boys spinning parasols, girls squatting close together, and mothers rinsing hand towels all expose their naked bodies to the sun. As he sketched "the most unaffected scenes," Régamey feels that the Japanese are innocent.

While he does not necessarily approve of the various yardsticks imposed by the West in the course of Westernization, he also is not wholly satisfied with the casual and perfunctory explanations that Japanese people would give him. In particular, when it comes to the official purpose of his religious research, Guimet tries to "visit the temples by myself and to give myself the explanations that I was refused"

because the interpreters and priests at most of the temples and shrines he visits do not provide sufficient answers. This attitude was also evident in his trip to Kamakura, and was maintained in the *Promenades Japonaises*.

In *Promenades Japonaises*, Guimet and Régamey visit the Tokyo neighborhoods of Shinagawa, Ueno, Asakusa, and Shiba and the temples there, take in the paintings of the exotic artist Kawanabe Kyōsai, and attempt a short trip to Nikkō. The city, which has been renamed Tokyo but still retains strong traces of Edo, offers Guimet and Régamey a vividly colorful scene, discounting the view of their fellow countrymen who stated that it "is a dull country, without lines, without horizons." For example, at a teahouse along a ditch in Shiba, a teahouse girl, wearing "a dress with a white background on which blue butterflies are flying," wrapping around her waist "a large red crepe belt, [...] combined with a bright purple crepe band, greeted us with a smiling air and showed us how she fed the fish in the pond where rose-colored water lilies were blooming."

> I would have found the scene ravishing, but I held back my enthusiasm. It was certainly an effect of imagination, because Japan has no color!

By not loudly proclaiming the beauty of Japan, but rather modestly and colorfully describing his own experiences, Guimet is perhaps gently protesting against his fellow countrymen who refuse to look at these daily sights and figures.

Still, how beautifully he describes the 1876 Japan! It is no wonder that Guimet was deeply interested in the arts, including visual art and music. His keen sensory observations skillfully capture the colors and sounds that give Régamey's paintings a three-dimensional feel. In some cases, however, sensitivity can be a disadvantage. When they went to a *ryōtei* restaurant named "Kagetsu," meaning "flowers and moon," a terrible smell seized them as soon as they entered. "Civilization has not yet introduced odorless systems." The smell that comes back from time to time in nauseating waves while watching the *geisha* dancing makes him give up and say, "Well, then, let's watch without breathing." While Guimet's bewilderment is amusing, the way he calmly accepts it is brilliant.

In each place he visited, Guimet recounts the stories told about local legends: in Shinagawa, the story of the Akō 47 ronin warriors enshrined at Sengakuji Temple; in Ueno, the story of the dragon at Shinobazu Pond Benten-dō temple; in Asakusa, the story of Ubaga Pond (Old Hag's Pond); and in Shiba, the story of "four lovers" concerning the origin of the temple there. Since these stories are hearsay, they are naturally bound to contain some misunderstandings. In fact, even in the stories of the Akō 47 ronin warriors, the number of participants appears to be higher than in the usual versions. Nevertheless, the most important point is that he is trying to capture the people who once lived there, and to see the history rooted in the land and perpetuated among the people, rather than focus on visible political and economic events.

Nature is not merely marveled at as scenic beauty:

> From the beginning, Japanese people were amazed by the nature that surrounded them. They admired the beneficial soil, the fishy sea; they sincerely thought that gods were concerned to make them happy; [...] they meditated, put the palms of their hands together, bowed and worshipped. To whom?... About what?... All!

Guimet believes that this relationship with nature has brought harmony and simplicity to Japanese art forms.

Even buildings built with artistic or religious intentions can display sublime beauty when they are nestled in nature, among the trees. Such was the case with the main hall of the Tōshōgū shrine in Nikkō. The golden pavilions and granite walls are enhanced by towering trees more than 300 years old. After seeing the tomb of Tokugawa Ieyasu, "I turned around to go down and saw something like an ocean of golden roofs beneath my feet. The trees are shining and vibrant like waves, and the green capes and islets formed by the treetops float out of the ocean."

When Guimet returned from Nikkō, he encountered a crowd in Nihonbashi that was intoxicated by a festive atmosphere. "Here the gaiety dominates the religious feeling. The devotion has something sprightly and lively."

The bustle in the midst of the festival reminds us once again of the vibrancy of the people who supported the "promenade" behind the scenes. Régamey's naked rickshaw men wrap hand towels around their necks, as a nominal observance of an anti-nudity law issued due to foreigners' complaints. They tirelessly ride their customers to the appointed destinations, and vividly bring back to life the old lifestyle.

> Japan does not have enough confidence in the Japanese way of life. It is too quick to wipe out a lot of customs, habits, institutions, and even ideas that made it strong and happy. Perhaps Japan will rethink itself. I hope so for Japan's sake.

In the year before the Satsuma Rebellion, when old and new values were coexisting and the fragile order was on the verge of collapse, Guimet preserved what he saw as the essence of the Japanese people by capturing their daily lives in vivid detail.

Guimet's descriptions are supported by Régamey's drawings. His "single combat" scene with Kawanabe Kyōsai is especially interesting and impressive. For Kyōsai, whose political caricatures had not always been welcomed by the public, Guimet and Régamey's visit, inspired by his caricatures, must have been very exciting. The portraits that Régamey and Kyōsai left behind of each other are a reminder of their sparkling encounter. Guimet's impression of the fan painting (a telegraph pole and a frog pulling a rickshaw!) presented by Kyōsai as a gift in return, seem to describe Japan at this time. "This is how, in Japan, the old dogmas are transformed and replaced by new ideas."

How did the old replace the new? The painter Régamey had the opportunity to find out after 23 years. In January 1899 (Meiji 32), he visited Japan again to study art education in the country. He returned to France after a 3-month stay in Japan and published *Japon* (presumed to have been published after June 1903). An abridged translation of the book is *Nihon sobyō kikō*, which omits the chapters on the journey from Paris to Shanghai, the Sino-Japanese War, and the old and new arts of Japan, and focuses exclusively on Nagasaki, the Seto Inland Sea, Kobe, Yokohama, Tokyo, flowers and scenery, and the state of the landscape and people. Since it was his second visit to Japan, the overall brushwork and ease of the sketches show a more relaxed and observant eye, rather than one dazzled by fresh surprises.

> A mirage. The islands seem to dance on the water on the horizon.
>
> Many small wisteria-colored clouds in an orange-tinged sky, covered with white mottled clouds and a cold gray sun setting, are about to disappear into the churning sea of slate-colored and golden waves. Land seems to be approaching nightfall.

It is a beautiful view of the Seto Inland Sea, but even at that time, the boat trip would have been faster than it had been more than 20 years earlier. And the seasonal festivals that used to take place all year round (Régamey gives a brief month-by-month account of these) were "greatly threatened by the inexorable infiltration of our Western civilization."

Japanese society was undoubtedly changing to the Western way. Still, there were, of course, some aspects that did not change easily. One of them was the way children were treated. Régamey rarely saw Japanese children cry. He may have meant that the Japanese were gentle with children and that Japan was truly children's paradise. Near a hotel in Tsukiji, Régamey listened to children's amusement songs and pondered their meaning. He also turned his attention to peddlers selling sweets and *monjayaki* (flat, baked pancake made from a mixture of flour, sauce, and dashi soup stock). In his drawings, we can still see the lively expressions on the faces of the children who crowd around the street vendors, the mothers and children on the train, and the pupils at the elementary school.

His descriptions of funeral rites, which could never have become westernized and have completely changed in Japan since then, are very rare and valuable from our point of view. In Kobe, he witnessed a funeral procession with artificial flowers and bird cages (perhaps for releasing birds), and in Yokohama, he saw a coffin in the shape of a palanquin. With the help of Régamey's vision, we could well recreate the customs of the time.

The acuity of the artist's eye can be seen in the precise descriptions of the processes and tools used in the color printing and wallpaper printing processes at the printing house. There seems to be a sense of foreboding that the old-fashioned manual work that guaranteed artistic quality would gradually be swept away by the wave of commercialization. Perhaps because of this, or probably because he himself works with his hands, he has a warm sympathy for carpenters, joiners, nail makers, and other craftsmen.

> They will probably never know how much I love them. They also don't know how much they deserve to be loved. [...] Foolishly, some among us Europeans are, as ever, ungraciously showing them the preferential superiority of our race. I am not one of them!

Walking through the city of Tokyo, with its railroads, the "Twelve Story-Building" in Asakusa, and electric cables crossing the sky, Régamey still discovers much about the lifestyle of the people. He fully recognizes the merits of manmade artefacts that make use of nature, such as flower arrangement and landscape gardening, but he also notes, for instance, how the Tōkaidō Railway, which shortened the 12-day journey from Tokyo to Kyoto to 17 h, was built at the expense of countless trees.

> Japan has an abundance of these natural and artistic beauties. And looking at a country like Switzerland, one can imagine how easy it would be to profit from them. [...]
>
> Japan, an empire of kindness and beauty, could be a peaceful meeting place for people from all over the globe, and is in a good position to become the garden of the world.

To survive in the midst of nature, landscape, and beauty, while accepting technological advances and changing values, rather than to separate them from our daily lives: this is timeless advice to those of us living a century after Guimet and Régamey's visit to Japan.

Note: The cut at the beginning of this chapter shows Guimet as drawn by Régamey.

Huang Zunxian *Riben zashi shi* (Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan) (1879)

Ken'ichi Kamigaito

Huang Zunxian

Huang Zunxian was born in Guangdong Province in 1848. He learned *Qian jia shi* (Poems of 1000 Masters) from his great-grandmother at an early age. At the age of 3, he went to a private school, and from the age of 10, he learned to write poetry. In 1876, he passed the xiangshi (provincial exams) in Beijing and became a juren (successful candidate). In the same year, a distant relative, He Ruzhang, was appointed as Qing's (China's) first Minister, and Huang Zunxian went to Japan as secretary. In 1879, he completed *Riben zashi shi* (*Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan*). In 1882, he was appointed as Consul General in San Francisco, and in 1886, he returned to Japan to work on *Riben guo zhi* (*Treatises on Japan*), a full-fledged book on Japanese studies, which was completed in 1887. In 1890, he was appointed as Consul General in London, and 1 year later he was appointed Consul

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General in Singapore. He returned to China in 1894 to become Chief of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of Jiangning. In 1895, depressed over the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, he became one of the founders of the Society for the Enhancement of Learning, founded by Kang Youwei. In 1896, he published the journal Shiwu Bao (Chinese Progress) and invited Liang Qichao to Shanghai to be its chief editor. In 1897, he was appointed salt intendant of Hunan Province, where he opened a new-style school, the Current Affairs Academy, and published journals such as *Xiang Bao* (Hunan Newspaper) and *Xiangxue Xinbao* (Hunan Studies News). The Academy attracted such talents as Liang Qichao and Tang Caichang, making Hunan the most progressive province in China. After 1898, he was became sickly and so returned to his hometown to lead a more comfortable life while continuing to make efforts to promote elementary education and enlighten the public. He died in 1905 at the age of 57.

Huang Zunxian was born in 1848, 6 years after the Opium War, and when he was 2 years old the Taiping Rebellion took place. He grew up during a time when the Self-Strengthening Movement (or Westernization), conducted by Li Hongzhang and Zeng Guofan, was making progress in adopting Western-style military-industrial technology while preserving the traditional ruling system. When he arrived in Japan in 1877 (Meiji 10) as secretary of the Chinese Legation in Japan, the country was in the midst of a major reform project that aimed to transform its laws, the Civil Code, educational system, and economic system, all to be modeled after those of the West.

Huang Zunxian sought to get to know this fledgling Eastern island nation thoroughly and to inform the Chinese people of its national situation. He began writing an exhaustive study of Japan, *Riben Guo Zhi* (*Treatises on Japan*), and, at the same time, he completed a smaller book, which he called *Riben Zashi Shi* (*Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan*) and which was published in 1879 by the Interpreter's College (Tongwen Guan).

Huang Zunxian observed the various phenomena of the Meiji Restoration with great interest, but when he first wrote *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan*, he was not entirely convinced of its success. As he himself later wrote, when he arrived in Japan in 1877, the establishment of a constitution and a legislature was still being debated. In terms of economic development, the main export was green tea to the United States; raw silk was still in the process of being improved. There was still some skepticism in Japan as to whether the Restoration would be a success. Because Huang Zunxian was not good at Japanese, and his primary sources of information were kangakusha (Japanese scholars of Chinese studies), he was in some ways influenced by their negative views towards Western scholarship. In the section on "Emperor Loyalists" (kinnōka), he points out that the Japanese studied Confucianism and thus learned for the first time the wrongness of the warrior class's monopoly of political power, and that, ultimately, the idea of the imperial loyalists was born out of Chinese studies.

> These developments are proof of the power of Chinese studies. How dare you defy the nation by abolishing Chinese studies that have served the nation so well!

These passages seem to reflect the grief and indignation of the kangakusha (Japanese scholars of Chinese studies), who were discarded at the Restoration against their prior expectations as easily as if they had been thrown down on the ground.

That is not to say that Huang Zunxian could not recognize the merits of the new Meiji government. In the "Civilization" section, he writes:

> The venerable old country has brought about the Restoration, and
> Everything has changed unexpectedly with the tide of the times.

In his explanation, he praises the Meiji Restoration almost without reservation, saying that "splendid policies are uncountable" and "various policies were renewed in a dazzling manner." He poses no objection to the military and economy and seems to be slightly less keen to discuss a legislature. What he unequivocally praises is a new school system, with a well-organized curriculum and careful attention to the gradual increase of difficulty.

However, Huang Zunxian was not only interested in Japan's new regime; he was also curious about the manners and customs as well as the details of everyday life, from Shinto rituals, marriage and funerals, kōdan (oral storytelling), rakugo (a popular form of comic monologue), and sadō (tea ceremony), to musume-gidayū (female gidayū chanting with shamisen), Ebisukō (Shinto rituals honoring the deity Ebisu), and jinrikisha (rickshaws). In terms of coverage, there are more sections on manners and customs than those related to the Restoration and the new regime. This may reflect the fact that the new Meiji government had yet to achieve much in the way of concrete results, and, in part, may also be because manners and customs are more amenable subject matters for poetry. It should be noted, however, that one of Huang Zunxian's main interests in Japan was its folklore, which has been nurtured over a long history.

Huang Zunxian himself sent many Chinese students to Japan as part of his activities after returning to China, but it was Japan's modernity that appealed most to this later generation. They tried to deny Chinese traditions, and were also dismissive of Japanese traditions. Huang Zunxian was not. Never forgetting the value of traditional Chinese studies and the beauty of the Chinese tradition, Huang Zunxian also loved the Japanese tradition. His attitude in *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan* could be called "learning from the past to know the new."

Huang Zunxian, having acquired traditional Chinese learning, always tries to see things from a historical perspective. History repeats itself. Japan is trying very hard to send students to the West and to take in all things Western, just as it once sent students to the Tang Dynasty to learn about its culture. Huang Zunxian's broad historical perspective, which is not limited to the immediate upheaval of the Meiji Restoration, naturally allows him to see phenomena in relative terms.

His historical research extends to smaller items as well. According to Chinese records, Japanese folding fans, which are found in the *Collection of Zhang Donghai* of the Ming dynasty, had already been introduced to China during the Song dynasty. Indeed, there are references to Japanese fans in Su Dongpo's writings and in *Huangchao Leiyuan*. Since the cultural exchange between China and Japan is so

deep, an investigation into the history of each of these objects will reveal the depth of the past relationship between the two countries. The depth of the relationship between Japan and China in the fields of Chinese studies and Buddhism goes without saying.

Huang Zunxian's diplomatic strategy was that Japan and China, as well as Korea, should work in tandem with the United States to deal with Russia; he sees the promotion of friendship between China and Japan and the recognition of the deep cultural ties between the two countries as mutually reinforcing. Cultural affinity should lead to alliances, and the need for alliances should emphasize cultural affinity.

The origin of this sense of cultural affinity can be found in the following text, which he describes a scene he saw in Hirado, Nagasaki, when he arrived in Japan for the first time.

> As I walked along the footpath, I saw wheat seedlings in a bright blue color where the setting sun had dyed them brightly. I saw some potatoes on the side of a private house, and when I tried to buy them and pay for them, they would not accept my money. The people were so simple and rustic, it was as if I had stepped into the Peach Blossom Valley.

He compares the idyllic simplicity of rural Japan to the legendary fairyland Peach Blossom Valley. His belief that ancient Chinese legacies may have been preserved in Japan is reinforced by the legend of the Qin dynasty's Xu Fu traveling to Japan (with hundreds of boys and girls in tow in search of the elixir of life for the First Emperor of Qin) and the Wa (Japanese) people saying, in the history of Wei, that they were descended from Taibo of Wu. The people of the Peach Blossom Valley hid in the seclusion of the mountain gorges to avoid the turmoil of war in the Qin Dynasty. Is Japan not also such a place?

In Japan, quite a bit of the Tang dynasty's legacy has been preserved. Many Chinese books that were lost in China have been kept in Japan. In a similar way, Huang Zunxian seems to have thought that some of China's ancient traditions might have been retained in Japan. He describes the Sanshu no Jingi (The Imperial Three Sacred Treasures) as follows:

> There are three precious treasures handed down from an ancient Japanese deity: a sword, a mirror, and a seal, all of which belonged to the Qin Dynasty. [...] In fact, the Japanese of today are the same species as we are.

Huang Zunxian's detailed discussion of how people sat on the floor in ancient China without chairs, citing references to the fact, is probably intended to prove that the Japanese and Chinese are of "the same species."

In this way, Huang Zunxian attempted to understand Japanese culture and ethnicity through a kind of naive cultural anthropological approach that sought to clarify the history of the people by examining the lineage of cultural phenomena.

It is a somewhat unreasonable argument for Huang Zunxian to view Xu Fu of the Qin dynasty as if he were a Japanese ancestor. However, it is now almost an established theory that rice cultivation and its associated culture originated in the Jiangnan region of China. Huang Zunxian's initial feeling that the original image of

the Chinese rural community, the Peach Blossom Valley, could be found in rural Japan, cannot be said to be off the mark.

Huang Zunxian was the first Chinese to closely observe the Meiji Restoration, but at the same time, he cannot be forgotten as a proponent of the rather popular saying that Japan and China are of "the same species." With his compound eye, he was able to view modern and ancient Japan with equal clarity as if in the same distance.

Isabella Bird *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880)

Takayo Kano

Isabella Lucy Bird Bishop

Isabella Lucy Bird Bishop was born in Yorkshire, England in 1831, as the daughter of an Anglican minister. Her parents were both religious, and her family members were socially active and had a strong sense of social justice and love of humanity. Isabella suffered from spinal pain from childhood. In 1854 she traveled to Canada and the United States and published her first travel book, *The Englishwoman in America* (1856). Two more travel books followed from her 1872 trip to Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii and the Rocky Mountains. Her travels in Japan, Hong Kong, the Malay Peninsula and Singapore during 1878 and 1879 resulted in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880) and *Sketches in the Malay Peninsula* (1883). In 1880, her only younger sister, Henrietta, died of illness. In 1881, she married Dr. John Bishop, who also died 5 years later, in 1886. Thereafter, she devoted herself to medical

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missionary work. In 1889, she traveled to Kashmir, Tibet, and India, and built hospitals in Srinagar and Amritsar in memory of her late husband and sister, respectively. In 1890, she traveled to Persia and published an account of her travels the following year. From 1894, she spent 3 years in East Asia, traveling back and forth frequently between Japan, Korea, Manchuria, and China. During this time she wrote *Korea and Her Neighbours* (1898) and *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond* (1899). A trip to Morocco in 1901, at 70 years of age, was her last. She then fell ill and died in Edinburgh in 1904 at 72 years of age.

Isabella Bird first set foot on Japanese soil in 1878 (Meiji 11), when she was 47 years old, only 10 years after the upheavals of the Meiji Restoration, and 1 year after the Satsuma Rebellion. She stayed in Japan from May to December of that year, and spent 3 full months between June and September traveling in the Tōhoku region and Hokkaido. The itinerary was extensive. First, she left Tokyo for the Aizu Basin via Nikkō, then down the Agano River to Niigata, then from Kizaki and Oguni to the Yonezawa Plain, north to Kaminoyama, Yamagata, Kaneyama, Yokote, and Kubota (Akita), then inland again to Ōdate, Ikarigaseki, and Aomori (this part of the trip took 2 months). Then, after crossing the Tsugaru Strait to Hakodate, she traveled to Biratori to visit the Ainos. On the way back she stopped at Shiraoi, Muroran and Usu to visit Aino villages. Bird traversed Tohoku and Hokkaido mainly on horseback, and sometimes on foot, accompanied only by an 18-year-old male valete named Itō.

The record of this journey, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* ("Nihon okuchi kikō" in Japanese), was published in England 2 years later in 1880 and quickly went into 3 editions within a month. The nineteenth century was an era when people's interest in tourism grew to such an extent that it has been called the century of travel and travelogue. Moreover, Isabella Bird focused her efforts on describing Japan, which had only recently opened to the outside world in the latter half of the century; in particular, rather than the ports of Yokohama or the capital Tokyo, she focused on the true interior of Japan, where only a few Westerners had set foot. At that time, there were no railroads, nor were there any horse-drawn carriage roads. Being thrown off the back of a horse or falling into a hole was a common occurrence, and other unusual accidents challenged her day after day. It is no wonder that Bird's travelogue became so popular: it was written by a Western woman who traveled by herself and undertook adventurous expeditions that were similar to *Around the World in Eighty Days*, a fiction by Jules Verne. This travelogue was especially welcomed by women. This is understandable, considering that it was still rare for a woman to travel abroad on her own, even in Western countries at that time.

Bird continued to walk and document what she experienced firsthand and on-the-spot at the inns where she stopped. In this book, her impressions of these travels are written in the form of letters to her sister in England. In fact, Bird had a sister, Henrietta, who was 3 years younger and bed-ridden. When the manuscript of this book went to the printer, she was her only remaining family member, but she died in June 1880, 4 months before the publication. The following year, Bird married her sister's doctor, Dr. Bishop. However, her husband also died of illness 5 years later in 1886. In retrospect, Bird's trip to Japan was a particularly memorable one.

From the beginning, Bird came to Japan with the intention of venturing into the interior of the country. While many attempted to stop her plan, as it was considered reckless, then British Minister, Sir Harry Smith Parkes, and his wife encouraged Bird and cooperated with her. At that time, foreigners were not allowed to travel freely in Japan, but the minister obtained a passport for her from the Japanese government, which allowed her to travel throughout Japan, north of Tokyo, and to Hokkaido, her ostensible objective being stated as "health, botanical research, or scientific investigation." Mrs. Parkes also bought Bird a folding bed and chair, a rubber bathtub, oil paper to keep dry from rain, and other items.

In addition, there was one more thing that was absolutely essential on this trip: an interpreter and valet, to whom she would be entrusting her entire fortune and even her own life during the trip. After interviewing several Japanese, with the help of Dr. James Curtis Hepburn as an interpreter, Isabella selected an 18-year-old young man named Itō, who was less than 5 ft tall, who looked stupid and seemed cunning. He was an unpleasant man, but Isabella decided to hire him because he spoke English better than the others and had travel experience in northern Japan and Hokkaido. He was to be paid a high salary of $12 per month.

It is quite interesting to see an ordinary young man of about the age of a college freshman, not trained in particularly strict ethics or morals, who, in his own way, earnestly serves his 47-year-old foreign mistress, even though he sometimes uses his wiles to take a rake-off or make use of her influence. Both of them are smart, so at first they devise various ways to find out each other's true abilities and intentions. Gradually, they grow closer and more trusting of each other, and by the end of their journey, they are an exquisite duo. Reading with this process in mind is one way to enjoy this travelogue.

On June 10, 1878, they finally set out. In addition to what Lady Parkes had provided, their luggage included blankets, air pillows, emergency rations of chocolate, meat extract, brandy, Mr. Brunton's map of Japan, several copies of the bulletin of the Asiatic Society of Japan, and clothing.

What bothered Isabella everywhere she went, besides mosquitoes, fleas, and lice, was the sheer variety of noises made by the Japanese. Prayers chanted in high-pitched tones, shamisen (Japanese string instrument) music, chatter, the sound of hot water being used in the bath, the singing of geisha, the growling of storytellers, and the clapping of clappers on the nightly rounds were "truly diabolical," she complained. Besides that, something that Bird could not bear was people's unabashed curiosity toward her. Numerous holes were punched in *shōji*-screen (Japanese-style thin semi-translucent paper) doors, and the *fusuma*-sliding doors to the room where she was sleeping were quietly opened. In Komatsu, in the Yonezawa Basin, when she was leaving the inn, there were 60 people inside the house and 1500 outside who had gathered to watch her.

However, she was no less curious than the Japanese. Of course, she was not as rude as them, but when she had a chance, she borrowed a *kimono* at a teahouse, put on a hood, and disguised herself as a Japanese woman to watch a funeral (This was at Rokugō in Akita Prefecture.). Later she said, "I found the restraint of the scanty 'tied forward' *kimono* very tiresome."

This relentless curiosity led Bird to meticulously record, in 44 letters, the things that caught her eye, along with exact figures, such as bed and board expenses, numbers of people in a village, distances between villages, the temperature, the width of a river, the size of houses, and so on. According to Fujikawa Yoshiyuki, travel writers of the nineteenth century, in general, always did so (Tosho, November 1986, Iwanami Shoten). This was due to their having "had a strong sense of duty to travel on behalf of their readers; they tried to accurately express their visual impressions of the journey through the linguistic camera alone."

So, what Bird faithfully captured with her "linguistic camera" is an interesting picture for us today. For example, she wrote the following about "the plain of Yonezawa," which she saw as "a perfect garden of Eden":

> tilled with a pencil instead of a plough," growing in rich profusion, rice, cotton, maize, tobacco, hemp, indigo, beans, egg plants, walnuts, melons, cucumbers, persimmons, apricots, pomegranates; a smiling and plenteous land, an Asiatic Arcadia, [...] mountain girdled, and watered by the bright of Matsuka[wa]. Everywhere there are prosperous and beautiful farming villages, with large houses with carved beams and ponderous tiled roofs, each standing in its own grounds, buried among persimmons and pomegranates, with flower-gardens under trellised vines, and privacy secured by high, closely-clipped screens of pomegranate and cryptomeria.

Bird's description of the streets in front of the prefectural office in Yamagata City can be compared with Takahashi Yuichi's oil painting, "Views of Yamagata City," which he painted 7 years later, to see how accurately she had recorded the same location. Not only that, but Bird's comment immediately after the description can be said to record what the painting could never depict. She writes, "At the Court House I saw 20 officials doing nothing," meaning there was no work for them to do yet.

Bird's depictions of children are also lively. For example, in Ikarigaseki, a forestry town with a population of only 800 people in Aomori Prefecture, she saw a group of boys, probably in the upper grades of elementary school, try to use 8 beetles to pull paper carts laden with grains of rice up a hill by connecting the beetles' backs to the carts with strings. The boys also tried their best to set up a toy waterwheel in the waterway that runs through the town and turn a model threshing machine that they had made themselves. In spite of summer holidays, "in the evenings you hear the hum of lessons all along the street for about an hour." The loud voices of children reading for review and preparation seemed to make a strong impression on Bird, the same thing she noted down during her stay in Nikkō.

But, regrettably, what she wrote about was not only those things that give one a sense of hope for the future of Japan. In her eyes, some villages seemed to have fallen into the depths of poverty, where "fowls, dogs, horses, and people herded together in sheds black with wood smoke, and manure heaps drained into wells." People wore almost nothing. "The adults were covered with inflamed bites of insects, and the children with skin-disease." She even noted that in terms of delicacy of habits, they are inferior to any savage she had ever seen.

The latter part of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, describes her experiences staying with the "Ainos" (Ainu) of Hokkaido. This is a report on a place where information was much scarcer than in the Tōhoku region, and in this respect it represents an even

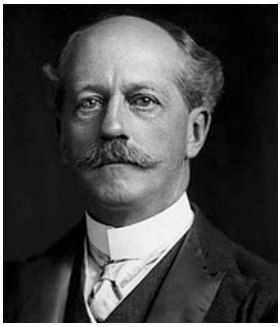
more valuable record. She is keenly aware of the sensitive aspects of the Ainu people's status under Japanese rule and of the problems they faced, and her writing style is careful, reflecting her sympathy although she tries to be as impartial as possible.

Now, what were Bird's qualities and abilities as an observer? Born the daughter of an Anglican pastor, she was a feeble and weak child who suffered from spinal pain and spent most of her 20th year glued to a couch. However, on her doctor's advice, she embarked on a trip to Canada and the United States at 23 years of age. Apparently, there were fleas and cockroaches as well as typhoid and cholera in her Chicago hotel, but somehow she returned to England in glowing health. From this trip came Isabella Bird's first travel book, *The Englishwoman in America* (1856). After a short time, her backpain returned in 1872. Therefore she again set out on a journey through Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, and the Rocky Mountains in the United States. Her health was restored again, and she wrote *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands* (1875) and *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (1879). Then, in 1878, when her back began to trouble her the third time, she chose Japan as her next destination.

Therefore, when Bird came to Japan, she was not an amateur tourist, but a professional traveler, so to speak. She was already well trained in withstanding the heat, cold, storms, and other natural hazards of travel, the filth and stench, the unpleasant vermin, and the "barbarous aborigines" that accompanied travel in the nineteenth century. She was not physically strong, but she had enough energy not to flinch at trifles. This trip to the backcountry of Japan was not without dramatic and shocking occurrences that surprised even her. But her eye for observation and her writing skills are always steady, fair, and humorous. In the end, this is what makes *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* so fascinating as well as a pleasant, interesting, and informative travelogue for us Japanese today.

Percival Lowell *The Soul of the Far East* (1888)

Shōichi Saeki



Percival Lowell

Percival Lowell was born in Boston in 1855 and graduated from Harvard University. The Lowell family is one of New England's most famous intellectual families. His sister, Amy, 19 years his junior, was the leader of the Imagist movement in poetry and an indispensable figure in modern American poetry. The stimulation and encouragement she received from her brother should not be overlooked. She was one of the first to write poems on the subject of ukiyo-e, clearly influenced by what Percival brought back from Japan. Percival Lowell came to Japan in 1883 as a diplomat. He was strangely attracted to the country and maintained ties with Japan for the ensuing decade until 1893. During this time, he lived in Korea as a diplomatic advisor and also returned to the U.S. with a Korean trading mission, but he seemed to

Shōichi Saeki passed away before the publication of this English language edition.

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have some mysterious connection with Japan. In 1888, he published this book, which was then followed by *Noto: An Unexplored Corner of Japan* (1891) and *Occult Japan: The Way of the Gods* (1895), the latter of which is particularly noteworthy as a record of his experience of climbing Mt. Ontake and coming into contact with the Shugenja (ascetic practitioners). It is interesting that he was a rationalist who loved logic, yet also had a fascination with mystery. After returning to the U.S., he devoted himself to astronomy and established an observatory in Arizona. He died in 1916.

"The boyish belief that on the other side of our globe all things are of necessity upside down is startlingly brought back to the man when he first sets foot at Yokohama. If his initial glance does not, to be sure, disclose the natives in the every-day feat of standing calmly on their heads, an attitude which his youthful imagination conceived to be a necessary consequence of their geographical position, it does at least reveal them looking at the world as if from the standpoint of that eccentric posture. For they seem to him to see everything topsy-turvy."

This is the opening text of *The Soul of the Far East*. It is a bit pretentious, and readers may be surprised at how naive, or even violent, the contrast he draws between East and West is. His claim that everything is opposite just because they are on opposite sides of the earth, may suggest to readers that he is a little crazy. It is true that Lowell was a bit odd and eccentric. Although a member of Boston's prestigious intellectual class, after graduating from Harvard University Lowell soon embarked on a trip to Europe and could not help but travel as far as Syria. In 1883 (Meiji 16), when he was only 28 years of age, he came to Japan, and for the ensuing decade his ties to the country remained unbroken. During that time, he accompanied a Korean trading delegation back to the U.S. and lived in Korea as a diplomatic advisor, but he also occasionally stayed in Japan, first to study the Japanese language, then to travel to Noto, and to research the Shugenja (ascetic practitioners) of Mt. Ontake and Ise Jingū Shrine. He was a man of great curiosity and activity, attracted to the strange and mysterious, and he could not help pursuing them in his own way to the end.

Moreover, this man was not just an enthusiast and a dilettante. There are plenty of facts to demonstrate his intellectual prowess. Having always had a love of mathematics and a mind for the natural sciences, he suddenly became interested in astronomy after returning to the U.S. from East Asia; he founded the Lowell Observatory, where he devoted himself to the observation of Mars and predicted the existence of Pluto. He was no ordinary man in terms of his abilities and work ethic. If you reread *The Soul of the Far East* with these later achievements in mind, phrases that may seem eccentric and dogmatic will have a slightly different nuance. Indeed, even if some of his indiscretions are undeniable; he seems to be the type of person who is attracted to clear-cut rationalism and who cannot help but think everything through logically. The fact that he rushes so quickly to an excessively clear-cut schematic can only be attributed to his inner rationalism and the urge to be consistent in his logic.

As evidence, Lowell goes on to say, "[. . .] they still appear quite as antipodal, mentally considered. [. . .] their world is one huge, comical antithesis of our own.

[. . .] To speak backwards, write backwards, read backwards, is but the a b c of their contrariety. The inversion extends deeper than mere modes of expression, down into the very matter of thought. [. . .] From the standing of a wet umbrella on its handle instead of its head to dry to the striking of a match away in place of toward one, [. . .] equal [to us] but opposite." He is so vigorous that he is unable to refrain from extending and, in his eyes, proving his basic proposition: "East and West are upside down," by using concrete examples. "It grows steadily more personal as we go west." This is without doubt a bit too rough a generalization and assertion, but he is, after all, a man obsessed with clarity and logical consistency. Let's scrutinize what he has to say further.

Looking at the world as a whole, and looking back through history, we realize that "almost all the nations of note in the world, past or present" have been included in "the earth's temperate zone, a belt of country whose northern and southern edges are determined by certain limiting isotherms, not more than half the width of the zone apart." And "if we examine this belt, and compare the different parts of it with one another," the above-mentioned proposition will become self-evident. "The sense of self grows more intense as we follow in the wake of the setting sun, and fades steadily as we advance into the dawn. America, Europe, the Levant, India, Japan, each is less personal than the one before," he says, and continues, "We stand at the nearer end of the scale, the Far Orientals at the other. If with us the 'I' seems to be of the very essence of the soul, then the soul of the Far East may be said to be Impersonality." Here the basic thesis that runs through this book is clearly set forth.

The book is structured as follows: Chapter 1. Individuality; Chapter 2. Family; Chapter 3. Adoption; Chapter 4. Language; Chapter 5. Nature and Art; Chapter 6. Art; Chapter 7. Religion; Chapter 8. Imagination. The contrast between the Western ego and individuality and the Oriental ego's weakness, absence, and impersonality is the basic theme of this book, and continues to resonate throughout. Lowell's homeland, the United States, was the pole of the West, and Japan was the pole of the East. This was an early comparative cultural theory, as well as a theory on the Japanese as seen through the mirror of America. As we have already seen, Lowell's emphasis is on the differences between the two, and he attempts to dramatically illuminate these differences and contrasts. For example, if we look at Chapter 4. Language, we are immediately confronted with almost the same proposition. "In the first place, the Japanese language is pleasingly destitute of personal pronouns. Not only is the obnoxious 'I' conspicuous only by its absence; the objectionable antagonistic 'you' is also entirely suppressed, while the intrusive 'he' is evidently too much of a third person to be wanted."

Lowell had been enthusiastic about studying Japanese during his stay in Japan. Apart from his language skills, there is no doubt that the above observations were based on his honest reactions to his own experiences. He was apparently surprised at how few pronouns were used in Japanese and how little presence they had in the language. He then returned to the great proposition of the "impersonality" of the Japanese, and not only does it convey his sense of astonishment, but it also has a kind of humor in its phrasing. The way he jokes around by adding exaggerated adjectives to English pronouns is amusing, but he also adds, "It is certainly delightful to be able

to speak of yourself as if you were somebody else," and that such "freedom" of the Japanese language is "not without its charm." In fact, he was not necessarily judging the ambiguity or lack of "individuality" of the Japanese language or assuming English expressions to be the supreme and absolute standard. While frankly expressing his surprise, he also did not try to hide his joy at the liberating feeling of being exposed to, so to speak, and immersing himself in the world of another culture.

When considering the fact that *The Soul of the Far East* was published in 1888 (Meiji 21), we cannot help but admire the brilliance and uniqueness of the eccentric Lowell. Although the word "impersonality" is translated here as "hi-kojinsei (非個人性)," there is a subtle duality in this phrase. Indeed, it has a negative connotation as a lack or absence of "personality" or "kosei (個性)," but it is not a demeaning term in and of itself. Rather, it is often used with positive connotations, such as detachment and freedom from personality. It should be noted that Lowell did not judge the East and Japan solely on the basis of American-style "personality." As the book progresses through Chapter 5. Nature and Art, and Chapter 6. Art, Lowell's role as a connoisseur of Japanese culture comes vividly into view. When it comes to art, "the scientific is not the Far Oriental point of view." Lowell writes, "To stroll down the Broadway of Tokio of an evening is a liberal education in everyday art," and that "in one point the bustling street and the hushed temple are alike—in the nameless grace that beautifies both." He also praises a Japanese cook, noting "the lowest artisan is essentially an artist." It is no wonder that Lafcadio Hearn was one of the first to appreciate the worth of this book which is said to have partly inspired him to come to Japan. Let's tip our hats to the spirit of Lowell.

Pierre Loti *Japoneries d'Automne* (*Autumn Japaneries*) (1889)

Hideharu Suzuki

Pierre Loti

Pierre Loti was born in 1850 in Rochefort, a port town in Brittany, to an old Protestant family that had produced seamen for generations. From an early age, he had a longing for the sea and faraway lands. In 1867, he joined the École navale (French Naval Academy), and spent the following 40 years of his life in the military. During this time, as a naval officer, he visited many countries around the world and wrote exotic novels and travelogues based on his experiences. In 1879, he published his first novel, *Aziyadé* (also known as *Constantinople*), followed by *Le Mariage de Loti* (1880) and *Le Roman d'un spahi* (1881). All of these works are autobiographical, dealing with his love affair with a foreign woman. After *Mon Frère Yves* (*My Brother Yves*) (1883), he wrote his masterpiece *Pêcheur d'Islande* (*An Iceland Fisherman*) (1886), which enhanced his literary reputation. With his impressionistic

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style of writing and exoticism, Loti's works, which broke through the heavy naturalism of his time, became very popular. In 1891, he was elected a member of the Académie Française. He also visited Japan in 1885 aboard the French frigate Triomphante and stayed in Nagasaki, followed by port calls in Kobe and Yokohama. The fruits of this visit were *Madame Chrysanthème* (*Madam Okiku*) (1887) and *Japoneries d'Automne* (*Autumn Japaneries*) (1889). In 1900, he made an unexpected return visit to Japan and wrote about his experiences in *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* (*The Third Youth of Madam Oume*) (1905). He retired from the Navy in 1910 and died in Hendaye near the Spanish border in 1923. His other major works include *Fantôme d'Orient* (*Ghost of the Orient*) (1892) and *Ramuntcho* (1897).

Pierre Loti first stepped on Japanese soil in July 1885 (Meiji 18), in the summer of his 35th year. He saw a Meiji Japan that had undergone a dramatic transformation since the Meiji Restoration. After spending a summer in Nagasaki, Loti visited Kobe, Kyoto, Yokohama, Kamakura, Tokyo, Nikkō, and other cities until the end of the year. Living with a young Japanese woman in Nagasaki resulted in *Madame Chrysanthème* (*Madam Okiku*), and his impressions of the various places he visited in Japan were compiled in the book *Japoneries d'Automne*.

These Japan-related works, like many of Loti's other works, were born from his experiences as a naval officer touring the world. Unlike *Madame Chrysanthème* and *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune* (*The Third Youth of Madam Oume*), which are novels, *Japoneries d'Automne* is a travelogue, which is the best suited writing for us to understand Loti's view of Japan. The word "japonerie" in the title *Japoneries d'Automne* generally refers to Japanese works of art, but here it is used in the sense of "things peculiarly Japanese." In other words, while *Madame Chrysanthème* is set in summer in Japan, *Japoneries d'Automne* is about "Japanese autumnal things," as the title suggests.

One of the most interesting chapters in *Japoneries d'Automne* is "Kioto: La Ville Sainte" (Kyoto: The Sacred City). Riding in a rickshaw through the streets of Kyoto, he views the city and thinks, "This is truly Japan." The dizzying changes in scenery that unfold one after another, make a dramatic impression: "What an uneven, changeful, bizarre place this Kyoto is!" Adjectives such as "uneven" (inégal), "bizarre," and "funny" (drôle) are repeated many times in this chapter. For example, the first gate of Kiyomizu-dera (Le temple de Kio-Midzou) is "monstrous" (monstrueux), and the fan-shaped painting seen at the Juraku-dai residence (Le palais de Taïko-Sama) is "the most bizarre." In Loti's eyes, the country of Japan, the Japanese people, and Japanese things are "uneven" and "bizarre."

> Japan is a disharmonious, heterogeneous, and implausible country, infatuated with modernity, which has hit it like vertigo after 1500 to 2000 years of immobility.

As an image of an enlightened Japan seen from the outside, perhaps it hits the nail on the head. For an artist who traveled to foreign lands in search of new tones, it was only natural that he would be drawn to "bizarre" or "funny" things. However, exoticism, which is Loti's forte, does not always work well with respect to Japan.

Faced with the huge gulf between his own familiar European culture and the Japanese culture he witnessed, Loti emphasizes the cultural rift.

> We look without understanding, and the symbols escape us. Between this Japan and us, the differences of the first origins dig a great abyss.

Japanese culture is difficult for Europeans to understand, Loti says. In this difficulty of understanding, he sees "the differences of the first origins" or differences in cultural origins. "What a country this Japan is, where everything is bizarre and contrasting!" sighs Loti. Loti does not attempt to understand Japanese culture, rather he treats it as something inexplicable.

In the sacred city of Kyoto, when Loti visited the Sanjūsangendō, a Buddhist temple of the Tendai sect, which he calls "the astonishment of astonishments (l'étonnement des étonnements)," he finally became tired and annoyed while looking at the group of Buddhist statues.

> And in the end, it is a weariness and an obsession to think that these expectations, these smiles, the brightness of this golden magnificence, [. . .] all this has been going on for seasons, for years and centuries, since 1000 years ago!

What Loti finds tiring and annoying is a Japanese culture and tradition that he does not understand. The fact that this incomprehensible culture has existed for over a thousand years tires him. Sanjūsangendō teaches him that even incomprehensible cultures have their roots and traditions.

"A Ball in Edo (Un Bal à Yeddo)" is one of the best-known chapters in the *Japoneries d'Automne*. This is because its descriptions provide a valuable record of the Tenchōsetsu (Emperor's Birthday) Ball held at the Rokumeikan (Banqueting House), and it was also used by Akutagawa Ryūnosuke as the basis for his short story *Butōkai* (*The Ball*, 1920). Loti took full advantage of the privilege of being invited to this ball as a French naval officer to observe the proceedings with a journalistic eye and to criticize the Meiji era's Westernization, as symbolized by the Rokumeikan.

The Rokumeikan, he writes, "resembles, my God, the casino of one of our bathing cities," despite its European-style architecture. The "implausible" Japanese ladies "disguise" themselves by dressing reasonably well, but cannot hide their "smiling with slanted eyes, inward-curving legs, and flat noses." Japanese gentlemen are "a little too gilded, too gaudy." Loti's witty and sarcastic writing knows no bounds:

> And then, the tailcoat, already so ugly for us, how singularly they wear it! [. . .] impossible to say why, but I think they all always bear some very close resemblance to monkeys.

Japanese people resemble monkeys—the phrase is repeated many times, not only in *Japoneries d'Automne*, but also in Loti's Japan-related works. In other words, it is Loti's basic view of the Japanese. He writes of the Japanese as "this tiny, frivolous people," and goes on to describe them as "the ugliness of this nation."

This is nothing but an impression which Loti, a person from a developed European country, receives when looking at Japanese people of a less developed country. A mere hundred years ago, in the eyes of a European, the Japanese looked

like monkeys: yellowish-faced, small, gauche, and frivolous. Loti's words cannot be taken as harsh criticism. Loti, who wrote his impressions of Japan exclusively for French and European readers, was simply speaking frankly about what he felt.

Today, we cannot help but feel uncomfortable and dissatisfied with a view of Japan wherein people from developed countries seem to look down on us. However, at this point, it would be better to confirm the following, rather than to rebel against Loti's words. The past century has been a period of unprecedented changes for Japan, and Japan was an upstart country like no other in the world arena.

Loti concludes the Ball at the Rokumeikan as follows.

> All in all, a very cheerful and pretty festival, [. . .] When I think that these costumes, these manners, this ceremony, these dances, were things learned, learned very quickly, learned by imperial order and perhaps against their will, I believe that these people are marvellous imitators[.]

The Japanese are 'marvelous imitators,' says Loti. This view of the Japanese was not uncommon, and it would still be worth considering today. In any field, including science and technology, the Japanese are excellent imitators with a talent for application. However, as creators, they have yet to fully demonstrate their talents. This is a major theme in old and new theses on the Japanese.

Loti's Japan-related works including *Japoneries d'Automne*, aroused European readers' interest in Japan. However, Loti's Japan-related works was merely an exotic rendering, skimming the surface of Japan and Japanese people. This is why it does not attract our active attention at present.

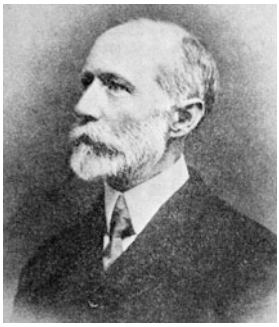
There are many chapters in *Japoneries d'Automne*, be it the chapter "The Sacred Mountain of Nikkō" (La Sainte Montagne de Nikko), in which Nikkō's Tōshō-gū Shrine and nature are described in exquisite detail, or the chapter "Empress Costume" (Toilette d'impératrice), in which Loti visits the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū Shrine in Kamakura to see costumes of Empress Jingū (Jingū-kōgō), or the chapter "At the Tomb of the Samurais" (Au Tombeau des Samouraïs), in which he visits the Sengakuji Temple at Shiba Takanawa and recalls the 47 rönin warriors, where Loti's colorful writing talent is evident. However, his observations and reflections about Japan are rather conventional and perfunctory.

Loti's eyes are the passerby's eyes. That itself is not a problem. However, Loti lacked the curiosity and love for Japan that would have allowed him to make the most of his own observations, and he certainly was aware of this. Finally, let me quote a passage from *La Troisième Jeunesse de Madame Prune.*

> countries where you have neither loved nor suffered leave you nothing
> (*les pays où l'on n'a ni aimé ni souffert ne vous laissent rien*).

Basil Hall Chamberlain *Things Japanese* (1890)

Hiromi Kawashima



Basil Hall Chamberlain

Basil Hall Chamberlain was born in 1850, in Southsea in the naval port of Portsmouth. The Chamberlain family was a prestigious family with ties to the Royal Navy; his father was a rear admiral in the Navy and his mother was also from an old-established family. His maternal grandfather was Captain Basil Hall, a naval captain known for his surveys of the coasts of Korea and the Ryukyu Islands. At the age of eight, his mother died, and he and his two younger brothers were raised by their grandmother in Versailles, where they attended high school (lycée). At the age of 17, he spent a year in Spain, but due to his physical ailments, he decided not to go to university. He resigned from a bank where he had been working, and spent about 3 years in Malta and other parts of Europe. He came to Japan in May 1873 (Meiji 6) at the age of 22, and the next year he was taken on as a tutor in the Japanese Naval

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Academy, teaching English and mathematics while publishing a series of studies on Japanese poetry and grammar in *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. He published *The Classical Poetry of the Japanese* (1880), "A Translation of the 'Ko-ji-ki', or Records of Ancient Matters" (1882) and other works. In 1886, he began lecturing on Japanese linguistics and philology at Tokyo Imperial University, where he also began research on the Ainu people and the Ryukyu Islands, making a major contribution to Japanese linguistics. In addition to his professional papers, he left behind *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (co-written with W. B. Mason; seven editions were published from 1891 to 1913). In 1911, he left Japan to live out the rest of his life on the shores of Lake Geneva, where he died in 1935 at the age of 85. In his later years he wrote . . .*encore est vive la Souris* (1933). One of his younger brothers, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, was a pro-German who preached the superiority of the Germanic race in *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1899) and the English edition of the same book, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (1911).

When Basil Chamberlain received as a gift from Lafcadio Hearn a copy of Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, the first work he wrote in Japan, Chamberlain was already Emeritus Professor of Japanese and Philology in the Imperial University of Tokyo, and already a major figure in Japanese studies. They were the same age except Hearn had arrived in Japan at the age of forty and Chamberlain's advice to him then had been: "Do not fail to write down your first impressions as soon as possible. [. . .] they are evanescent, you know; they will never come to you again, once they have faded out; and yet of all the strange sensations you may receive in this country you will feel none so charming as these." Hearn makes use of this quotation early in his narrative, making us smile, as it reminds us how both men shared a fascination with the scenery of this distant Eastern country and chose to spend their days there.

Chamberlain not only laid the foundation for national linguistics in Japan, but also prided himself on his broad knowledge of Japanese culture, which is clearly evident in *Things Japanese*. Chamberlain stated in his Introductory Chapter that he is often asked questions about Japan, so he compiled his responses into "a guide-book to subjects." This book has a broad scope. For foreigners who are interested in Japan, the selected topics vary widely, including Japanese history, geography, religion, literature, arts, industry, botany and zoology, customs and manners (such as *ohaguro* [tooth blackening] and tattooing), daily necessities (such as fans, towels, and pipes), and the biographies of Adams, Perry, and other famous people. It is a compact encyclopedia of Japan; Chamberlain arranges these and other articles in alphabetical order, and makes sure that the book is not too long, in accordance with his theory that "the book must not become too bulky, and above all things, not dull. That would kill it" (*More Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn and letters from M. Toyama, Y. Tsubouchi and others*, Hokuseido Press, 1937, p. 38).

From the first edition in 1890 to the sixth edition in 1929, the book underwent revisions, but its empirical and concrete approach lives up to the self-evidence of its title, *Things Japanese*. Chamberlain's basic stance remained the same: that "true appreciation is always critical as well as kindly." His writing style, which maintains

a certain distance from his subjects and is sometimes mixed with sarcasm, is typical of British intellectuals.

First, in the Introductory Chapter, Chamberlain states, "Old Japan is dead," and *Things Japanese* is intended to be "the epitaph" recording the many virtues of the deceased and his frailties. On the other hand, he also reveals his view that, despite "the modern Japanese upheaval," "more of the past has been retained than has been let go," and "the national character persists intact."

Thanks to this practical Englishman who examined, organized, and recorded one-by-one the old and new things that coexisted in Japan at the time of its rapid Europeanization, readers of this book today are able to glimpse the life of the Japanese during the Meiji era, which is now long gone. In the article "Dress," for example, he describes in detail the clothing of men and women, from underwear to formal wear, and then adds the following comments: A Japanese lady's dress will often represent a value of 200 *yen* ["400 *yen*" in the Japanese edition], without counting the ornaments for her hair, worth perhaps as much again; A gentleman will rarely spend on his clothes as much as he lets his wife spend on hers. Perhaps he may not have on more than 60 *yen*'s worth ["100 to 150 *yen*'s worth" in the Japanese edition]. Examples of such realistic observations are too numerous to count.

Chamberlain's academic knowledge as a scholar is of course also on full display in the articles on "Writing" (Japanese characters), "Ainos" (Ainu), and "Luchu" (Ryukyu), among others. It can be said that articles like "Books on Japan" and "Characteristics of the Japanese People," which cleverly introduce foreign scholars' views of Japan and the Japanese at the time were nonetheless still written by Chamberlain, a self-proclaimed leader in the academic world, making this book worthy of being read as an authoritative source of information.

Things Japanese also has enough to satisfy the modern Japanese reader with a curiosity for the miscellaneous. Hard-to-classify articles such as "English as she is Japped," "Pidgin-Japanese," and "Topsy-turvydom" are just a few of them. The book as a whole is a treasury of miscellaneous information, in the best sense of the word. One of the interesting articles in the book is "Fashionable Crazes," which covers a series of phenomena that had become popular after Chamberlain's arrival. The article begins with the sentences, "Japan stood still so long that she has now to move quickly and often, to make up for lost time. Every few years there is a new craze, over which the nation, or at least that part of the nation which resides in Tōkyō, goes wild for a season," and ends with a note on the bird-keeping craze, which was seen in from 1926 to 1927. Sixty years later, has Japan been able to make up for lost time? It would be interesting to read the book to see whether Chamberlain's short comments about Japan and the Japanese people are still relevant today. This is a book that offers a wide variety of reading possibilities and never ceases to fascinate.

However, when reading *Things Japanese*, we cannot help but be surprised at how strongly eurocentric Chamberlain's criteria for evaluating Japan are. Chamberlain's is perhaps the most remarkable and strongest characteristic in this entire book.

The "Food" article, in which he declares that "Japanese dishes fail to satisfy European cravings" enumerating items that are not on the table,: "a diet without

meat, without milk, without bread, without butter ...." It is, after all, a matter of personal opinion and taste all too common in the conservative realm, and, therefore, by its very nature, the article does not offend.

However, many people today, Japanese or not, may find Chamberlain's critique of Japanese culture perplexing. For example, according to him "much of that which the Japanese themselves prize most highly in their literature seems intolerably flat and insipid to the European taste (Literature)"; "the effect of Japanese music is, not to soothe, but to exasperate beyond all endurance the European breast (Music)"; "If Japan has given us no music, so also has she given us no immortal verse (Literature)"; "Nor can any one fully realise how picturesque our European languages are, how saturated with metaphor and lit up with fancy, until he has familiarised himself with one of the tamer tongues of the Far East (Language)."

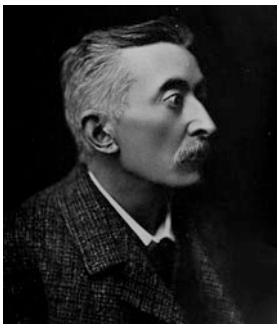
Chamberlain considered Japanese literature, art, music, and architecture as small "compared to Europe," lacking in breadth, depth, and size. He thought that the Japanese imagination, thought, and intellect that produced them all paled in comparison to those of Europe. *Things Japanese*, while styled as a compact encyclopedia, is not merely a guide to Japan, but the compilation of Chamberlain's many years of research on Japan. It is underpinned by his Western supremacist principles, and the conclusions he reaches are expressed in unambiguously throughout the book.

The reason why *Things Japanese*, with such characteristics, went through many editions and was translated into German and French and widely read in Western Europe at the time was due to the Westerners' growing interest in Japan, a new power that was then emerging in the international community. There is no denying that there was satisfaction gained from Chamberlain's judgment that this East Asian country, which was becoming militarily powerful, had little to offer in the way of culture. Nowadays, it is not unusual for people to turn to the East in search of what the West lacks, but it was not so long ago that the idea that "civilized" Western nations were superior to non-Western nations was common. In this sense, *Things Japanese* is truly a product of its time.

Chamberlain, who lived in Japan for 38 years and spoke fluent Japanese (including a knowledge of archaic words), was respected in the academic world where he trained many Japanese students. He gave Japanese people the impression of being a mild-mannered, pro-Japanese person, as is evident in his obituaries. On the other hand, *Things Japanese* also shows the spirit of an English scholar who was proud of his European cultural background and who never stopped measuring Japan against the splendor of his culture of origin.

Lafcadio Hearn *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (1894)

Yoko Makino



Lafcadio Hearn

Lafcadio Hearn was born in 1850 on the Greek island of Lefkas (after which Lafcadio is named) to an Irish-born British Army doctor father, and a Greek mother. Two years later, the mother and her son moved to his father's birthplace in Dublin, but due to her husband's absence and cultural differences, Lafcadio's mother became neurotic, and when Hearn was 4 years old, she was divorced by her husband and returned home alone. Later, his father remarried, so Hearn was raised by his great-aunt. From the age of eleven he studied at seminaries in France and England, but he lost his sight in his left eye in an accident, and the death of his father, his aunt's bankruptcy, and his dislike of theology combined to force him to drop out of school at age seventeen. He lived in poverty in London and moved to the U.S. in 1869 and, after much hard work, he found a job as a journalist in Cincinnati, Ohio. While

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working as a reporter for a local magazine in New Orleans from 1877, covering a wide range of topics from literary criticism to crime, he also translated French literary works, such as Gautier's, into English, published long stories *Chita* (1889) and *Youma* (1889), and a travelogue of the West Indies, titled *Two Years in the French West Indies* (1890), which gradually gained recognition. He came to Japan in the spring of 1890 and began teaching English at Matsue Junior High School in Shimane Prefecture in the summer. The following year he married Koizumi Setsu and moved to Kumamoto Fifth Higher School in November. In 1894, he became an editorial writer for the Kobe Chronicle and in 1896 became a naturalized Japanese citizen, changing his name to Koizumi Yakumo. In September of the same year, he began lecturing on English literature at the College of Letters, Tokyo Imperial University, but despite his popularity among students he resigned in 1903 due to a change in the university's policy regarding foreign teachers. He was replaced by Natsume Sōseki. In 1904, at the age of 54, he died suddenly of a heart attack and was buried in Zōshigaya Cemetery in Tokyo. Hearn and his wife Setsu had three sons and a daughter.

Lafcadio Hearn, or Koizumi Yakumo, is well known, first and foremost, as a person who introduced Japanese culture to foreign countries through his writings. Hearn's works, which depict Meiji Japan and tell old Japanese folktales in plain, clear, and attractive English, have not only been read by his students in academia and intellectuals, but have also been adopted as middle and high school textbooks, adapted into books for children, and widely read and loved by a general readership (sometimes forgetting that the author is a foreigner) perhaps more than any others written by foreign authors about Japan.

In 1890 (Meiji 23), at the age of 40, Hearn came to Japan and lived an unusual life for a foreigner of his time, taking a Japanese woman as his official wife, living in a Japanese house, and becoming a naturalized citizen until he died in Japan at the age of 54. During that time, he published more than a dozen books on Japan in the U.S., including *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* in two volumes (1894); *Out of the East* (1895); *Kokoro* (1896); *Gleanings in Buddha-Fields* (1897); *Exotics and Retrospectives* (1898); *In Ghostly Japan* (1899); *Shadowings* (1900); *A Japanese Miscellany* (1901); *Kottō* (1902); *Kwaidan* (1904); *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation* (1904); and *The Romance of the Milky Way* (1905).

The first of these, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, is his impression of Japan, describing his observations from the day he arrived in Yokohama to his first posting in Matsue, where he stayed for a little over a year. He observes with fresh and surprised eyes and writes vividly about the people living in the city and its surroundings, where old and new Japan coexisted in various ways in the Meiji 20s.

In terms of content, like his other works, it is composed entirely of short sketches and essay-like pieces, and can be categorized as reportage literature, such as travelogues, impressions, and descriptions of daily life. However, many of them are brilliant works of literature with their concise, bright, and clear style, skillful storytelling, and keen, sensitive observations. "From the Diary of an English Teacher" is a touching story of a group of students, which portrays the spirit of the youth of the time; their mixed feelings toward the West and their samurai spirit. It

explores their emotional interactions with Hearn at the Jinjō Chūgakkō, or Ordinary Middle School, and Shihan-Gakkō, or Normal School, of Matsue, Izumo where Hearn worked.

"The Chief City of the Province of the Gods" portrays Lake Shinji (Shinji-ko) and the city of Matsue at dusk almost like an impressionist painting. However, the attractive and therefore well-known morning scene is depicted with a pounding sound of the *kometsuki* (rice pestle), the cries of vendors selling vegetables or other goods, "a sound of clapping of hands" echoing around the lake, and a pattering sound of *geta* (clogs) over the Ōhashi bridge. Hearn was blind in one eye and severely nearsighted in the other, and perhaps due to this he had excellent hearing. He wrote of the beauty he found in the sounds of insects and croaking frogs, which to the average European sounded like noise.

As he clearly states in the preface of the book, Hearn's intended purpose was, using the easy-to-read form of reportage, to capture "the inner life of the Japanese [. . .] although their religion, their superstitions, their ways of thought, the hidden springs by which they move." Such attempts at cultural theory include: "Shinjū", which develops from an actual lovers' suicide into a general explanation; "Notes on Kitzuki", which focuses not on religious studies but on Shintoism as alive in the Japanese mind; "The Japanese Smile", which has long established the image of the so-called "Japanese smile" as an expression of self-control; and "In a Japanese Garden", which focuses on the introduction of the samurai residence he himself rented and lived in near the castle, discussing the theory of *ikebana* (the Japanese-style flower arrangement), the aesthetics of stones, and the gardening in Japan.

The main feature that makes Hearn's writings interesting is that, in the form of travelogues and sojourn diaries, he makes use of his knowledge of folklore to vary the content of his descriptions by incorporating folk tales, ghost stories, and folk beliefs related to each region, and he presents his readers with a dual image of past customs alongside modernization efforts. At the opening ceremony of "Matsue Shin-Ōhashi" (New Matsue Bridge), an old couple crosses the bridge led by the governor's hand, with ancient customs, overlapping the scene of nation-building in the Meiji era and the sad story of Gensuke, who was once made a human pillar; such juxtapositions add depth to the description. "At Mionoseki" recounts the legend of Koto-shiro-nushi-no-Kami, who is worshipped at Mio Shrine in a small fishing port, then mentions the arrival of an Imperial Navy cruiser the next morning. The travelogue "From Hōki to Oki" introduces the stories of Mongaku Shōnin, Emperor Go-Daigo, and the exiled Emperor Go-Toba, while noting the openness of Japanese buildings and the relationship between the features of landscapes and the uniquely Japanese beauty of "irregularity."

These non-Western ethnographic perspectives and leanings toward different cultures and races had already been evident during his American period. In Cincinnati, he wrote newspaper articles about the sorrowful life stories of Black people living on the docks along the Mississippi River and superstitions and songs of African origin. In New Orleans and the West Indies, he shed light on the Creole culture of mixed Black and French descent, and also attempted linguistic and

ethnographic studies in his travelogues and folklore writings. Hearn's work in Japan is an extension of these American interests.

What is remarkable about Hearn's approach to Japan and his attitude when discussing different cultures is that—unlike most nineteenth century Westerners—he was not limited to a perspective of the superiority of Christian civilization. This is what differentiates Hearn from the Western supremacist Chamberlain, or from Pierre Loti, who had a cold and cynical eye behind his exoticism. For example, Hearn loved to collect Japanese folk songs, which Chamberlain considered unworthy of the beautiful name "Music"; he also felt affection for a roadside Stone Jizō which Loti once described as resembling an "ugly dwarf". Hearn found in these Jizo statues a gentle, innocent smile, the result of a Buddhist inspiration that had seeped into the Japanese psyche. This smile, unique to the Japanese people, to suppress their emotions, would show itself even in times of sorrow ("The Japanese Smile"). He also hated it when his fellow countrymen treated Japanese women only as lowly wives.

Hearn depicted Meiji Japan as a mixture of the old and the new, and after moving to Kumamoto and Kobe, he wrote documentary-style short stories that revealed the post Sino-Japanese War society. His subjects were the small lives of unknown soldiers and women. Hearn loved the old and beautiful Japanese customs and the Japanese spirit manifest in the daily lives of ordinary people, while he hated the new Japan, which was eager to embrace modernization and Westernization. Hearn was repulsed by the westernized intellectual class among the Japanese, and he did not fit in with his colleagues who had returned from abroad, or even from Kumamoto and Tokyo, which were more urbanized than Matsue and which he did not like. In the Preface, Hearn writes, "the rare charm of Japanese life, so different from that of all other lands [. . .] is to be found among the great common people, [. . .] who still cling to their delightful old customs, their picturesque dresses, their Buddhist images, their household shrines, their beautiful and touching worship of ancestors." Also, in "In a Japanese Garden," he worries, "Yet all this—the old katchiū-yashiki and its gardens—will doubtless have vanished forever before many years. [. . .] and the quaint Izumo city, touched at last by some long-projected railway line—perhaps even within the present decade—will swell, and change, and grow commonplace, and demand these grounds for the building of factories and mills. Not from here [Matsue] alone, but from all the land the ancient peace and the ancient charm seem doomed to pass away." In short, Hearn distrusted and disliked modern Western society—science, rationalism, and industrialization—and was deeply concerned about Japan's attempts to open itself up to them. In particular, he strongly condemned the missionaries, saying that the spread of Christian values and beliefs would only destroy Japan's ancient beauty and morals, and that they would do more harm than good.

Hearn's upbringing played a major role in the formation of his anti-Western values. The combination of a lonely and unhappy childhood, in the care of a strict Catholic great-aunt and monastic boarding house, a deep-seated antipathy toward Christianity, created by a difficult first half of his life, combined with a longing for his Greek mother from whom he was separated at an early age, led Hearn to develop

a longing for and affirmation of a non-Western, premodern culture and the Greek polytheistic world. In the first place, Hearn did not come to Japan as a government-sponsored teacher, missionary, or official, and had no backing in his home country. Hearn's visit to Japan was directly prompted by the recommendation of Harper's Magazine, which had published his *Two Years in the French West Indies* appealing to the Western exoticism of the time and the budding American interest in its new neighbor. However, the terms of the assignment were ambiguous and unfavorable, and in fact, the contract was cancelled shortly after Hearn's arrival in Japan. Hearn had by then already made the acquaintance of Hattori Ichizō of the Ministry of Education at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans in 1884, where he had seen Japanese exhibits, and had read Chamberlain's English translation of the *Kojiki* and was deeply impressed. With Hattori's help and Chamberlain's recommendation, he was willingly transferred to Izumo, a province he had longed to visit.

Matsue, a quiet castle town facing the blue oceans of the Japan Sea, is a town upon which Hearn could project his inner Greek paradise, with its ancient land of eight million deities (yaoyorozu-no-kamigami) and frank, unaffected people. Here he formed a deep friendship with Nishida Sentarō, a young Japanese teacher of English in the Jinjō Chūgakkō, and married Koizumi Setsu, a daughter of a samurai family, with whom he would have a strong and loving relationship for the rest of his life. Setsu was a valuable companion, along with Nishida who shared his knowledge generously with Hearn, as well as Amenomori Nobushige, with whom Hearn would later develop a close friendship in Tokyo. Later, Hearn spoke broken Japanese, which his family called "Herun-san kotoba" (Hearn's language), and he began to write letters to his wife in Japanese kana, though he could not read. The ghost story literature and newspaper articles about the incidents he used as material for his work were told to him by Setsu. Hearn's descriptions of Japan reveal a warmth in the way he regards Japanese customs and women, and a deep understanding that ventures beyond the external appearance to the innermost hearts of people. For Hearn, Japan was the first place where he could find domestic happiness and emotional stability.

Hearn's more than one dozen books are basically expansions or stand-alone versions of elements of *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*. Year by year, his reportage became less a mixture of elements and the literary condensation became more intense in the later years. *Kokoro*, his masterpiece of the middle period, explores the inner life of the Japanese people and the cultural and spiritual climate of Japan by adding his psychological analysis to minor incidents he saw and heard around him. In his later years, Hearn's works are mainly retold stories (*Kwaidan* and others) such as "Yuki-Onna" (A Snow Woman), "The Story of Mimi-Nashi-Hōïchi", and "Mujina". His last book, *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, is, so to speak, the culmination of Hearn's study of Japan. It is an exceptionally formal, rather lengthy treatise with a scholarly approach that examines the relationship between Japanese Shinto and the family and society. However, Hearn's true talent lies in the short story.

In short, Hearn's works have been an introduction to Japan for foreigners as well as an opportunity for Japanese people to rethink Japan. His works were published

one after another in the U.K. and the U.S. In 1922, a complete collection with biography and letters was compiled, and German and French translations followed soon. One of the reasons why Hearn's work was widely read in the Western world then was that Japan, with its mysterious image, had just opened its doors to the world and was at the height of its power after gaining victory in Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars. Despite personal slander from such figures as Chamberlain, with whom he had a disagreement in his later years, Hearn's literature was praised by Hofmannsthal and other authors. In addition, many people, such as ceramic artist Bernard Howell Leach, came to Japan because Hearn had aroused their interest in the country. However, during World War II, Hearn's reputation in the U.S. and Britain fell for glorifying the enemy, Japan, and ever since then he has been neglected by the new generation of Japanologists (as of the time of writing). On the Japanese side, of course, his works were translated early on, and many of his students became professors of English literature. Although many writers and critics have been fascinated by and interested in Hearn, his depictions of Meiji Japan, moreover, evoke in his readers a kind of nostalgia for the soul, retrieve a picture of Japan that is almost forgotten by the modern Japanese people. Furthermore, Yanagi Muneyoshi, the discoverer of the beauty of Korean ceramics, held up Hearn as a model of how to approach a foreign culture by entering and understanding the heart of its nation.

Lady Fraser *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan: Letters from Home to Home* (1899)

Takayo Kano

Lady Fraser

Mary Crawford Fraser was born in Rome in 1851. Her father was an American sculptor and her mother, who was of French descent, was from the American South. She had three sisters and a younger brother (the novelist, Francis Marion Crawford). Her father died when she was 6 years old, and her mother was later married to an American painter. The family continued to live in Rome, though from the age of eleven, Mary attended a boarding school in England for 3 years. There were many notable visitors at her family home in Rome, including Hans Christian Andersen, Robert Browning and his wife, Percival Lowell, Henry Wadworth Longfellow, and Edward Lear. In the spring of 1874 she married Hugh Fraser (1837–1894), a British diplomat working in Rome. During their marriage she accompanied him on his visits to Vienna, Rome, Chile and in 1889, she visited Japan for the first time when he was

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appointed as the British Minister to Japan. *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan: Letters from Home to Home* (1899) is an account of their first 3 years in Japan. After Hugh's sudden death in Japan in 1894, she lived in Rome and England. Lady Fraser had two sons and she died in 1922. Other books on her memories as a diplomat's wife include: *A Diplomatist's Wife in Many Lands* (1911) and *Reminiscences of a Diplomatist's Wife: Further Reminiscences of a Diplomatist's Wife in Many Lands* (1912). Her writings on Japan include: *The Custom of the Country: Tales of New Japan* (1899); *The Stolen Emperor* (1904); *A Maid of Japan* (1905); and *The Heart of a Geisha* (1908).

> I am no longer homesick, so I know that the journey is nearly done, and the new country is drawing me as the sun draws the sunflowers in the old gardens at home. I am looking forward to seeing this new old friend, Japan, with the certainty of happiness which absolutely fresh surroundings always bring me; for, dearly as I love the old, I love the new still better [. . .] But I am a little afraid of Japan! I would rather not have a host of first impressions of the ordinary kind, which, as it seems to me, satisfy meagre minds, and prevent their ever really understanding new places and races.

Mary Crawford Fraser wrote this as the ship she was traveling on approached Japan. It was the end of April 1889 (Meiji 22). She was 38 years of age at the time and was on her way to Japan with her husband, Hugh Fraser (1837–1894), who was posted to Japan as the British Minister, leaving her two sons behind in England. The above text is taken from the beginning of "*A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan*," in which Lady Fraser wrote about her experiences and observations during the first half of their stay in Japan, the 3 years from May 1889 (Meiji 22) to April 1892 (Meiji 25). Her endearing personality is conveyed in the book, as is the mood of a young, newlywed woman full of innocent expectations and honest curiosity about a new country.

Her first impression was that "I think the friendship [with Japan] has begun. [. . .] The only thing that came to me as I stepped on shore at Nagasaki was a fit of really light-hearted laughter—laughter of the joyous and unreasonable kind whose tax is mostly paid in tears." In this way, she became instantly familiar with Japan, a blessing for both, and this did not change during the rest of her stay. Indeed, she consistently viewed Japan with a friendly, understanding attitude. When her stay ended under the tragic circumstances of her husband's death, the heartfelt comfort she received from many Japanese people further bonded her to Japan and the Japanese people. Minister Hugh Fraser died suddenly of a cerebral hemorrhage in the spring of 1894, shortly after returning to Japan from a 2-year vacation.

The historical period between 1889 and 1894, when Fraser served as minister to Japan had been a turbulent one. First, in February 1889, the Constitution of the Empire of Japan was promulgated, and on the same day, the Minister of Education Mori Arinori (or Yūrei) was assassinated for his allegedly un-Japanese views. The following year, in 1890, Foreign Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu was seriously injured by a bomb thrown at him. Also in that year, the first elections were held and the first Imperial Diet was convened, but the Diet was at odds with the government from the start, and was dissolved in 1891. The second election in 1892 was notorious for its blatant election interference and unlawful suppression. Amidst further turmoil,

including the reshuffling of the cabinet and dissolution of the Diet, Japan entered the Sino-Japanese War in the summer of 1894.

In terms of relations between the U.K. and Japan, negotiations that had been underway for many years were now reaching a critical stage, with the Japanese side seeking to revise the so-called "unequal treaty" that had been concluded in the 1850s. An agreement was reached between the two countries in the summer of 1894, 2 months after the death of Minister Hugh Fraser.

As such, Lady Mary Fraser lived in Tokyo under extremely tumultuous social and political surroundings. However, as can be seen from her biography, her cosmopolitan upbringing, her natural artistic sensibility, and her accumulated experience of living as a diplomat's wife in Beijing, China and Santiago, Chile before coming to Japan, perhaps made her so flexible that she seemed to have enjoyed her stay in Japan to a great extent.

She wrote, in the form of letters to Britain, about events inside and outside the British legation, about people she met, what was being discussed in the newspapers, the Japanese vacation spots she visited, her travels along the way, art and crafts, and what she had heard or learned about Japanese history, literature, myths, and legends. This is the substance of *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan*, a 466-page book published in London in 1899.

Because of her position as wife of the British Minister, she also wrote several accounts of her encounters with the Emperor, Empress, and other Japanese dignitaries of the time, as well as their families. There is a section describing an audience with Empress Haruko. She writes, "First the Empress asked after the Queen's health; and then, when she welcomed me to Japan, said she had been told that I had two sons whom I had been obliged to leave in England, and added that she thought that must have been a great grief to me. Her eyes lit up, and then took on rather a wistful expression as she spoke of my children. The heir to the throne is not her son, for she has never had children of her own, and has, I believe, felt the deprivation keenly." Whether it is the Empress or anyone else, Lady Fraser always seems focused on the humanity of the other person, rather than the trappings of social status.

She enjoyed observing the ordinary people around her, especially the servants working in the legation. She writes, "Okusama is [transl. "I am"] not supposed to enter this courtyard except at stated hours; but cannot resist the pleasure of occasionally watching, through the closed blinds of an upper window, the many-sided, brightly coloured life of its inhabitants, of listening to the hum of chatter which rises from the human hive. Really, servants in Japan ought to be very happy! Each man may bring his wife and children and mother to live with him, when he enters our service. I have drawn the line at grandmothers, on account of overcrowding [. . .]."

This was after one summer day, she had found the grandmother of one of the servants in the kitchen wearing only a waistcloth. She lamented that even though it was hot, the old woman should at least have the manners to wear something appropriate in public, so she offered the old woman a place to live outside the legation.

When an eccentric ukiyo-e artist Kawanabe Kyōsai died, the news prompted Lady Fraser to introduce into her writings detailed accounts of his upbringing, beliefs, and painting career.

As she writes, "A countryman and intimate friend of Kyōsai, tells me," Mary had a wide range of close friendships with the staff of the legation, the people around them, and beyond, and she seemed to get topics of conversation not only about Kyōsai but also about the theatre.

Each summer, she went on a retreat so places such as Ikaho, Karuizawa, Zushi, and in July of 1890, she sent a letter from Karuizawa detailing the Tanabata Festival: "[. . .] This is a very old story that was brought to Japan more than 2,000 years ago. Cyrus was in power in Persia, Rome was still a swamp where wolves roamed and where only a row of garrets stood, and Etruria was a land of vines and poppy blossoms, ruled by kings in purple robes and gilded gold." Such was the free-spirited quality of her narration that Sir Hugh Cortazzi, former British Ambassador to Japan and editor of the new edition of *A Diplomat's Wife in Japan: Sketches at the Turn of the Century* (1982), cut out Lady Fraser's retelling of the Tanabata story as it was already well-known enough. When they climbed the Usui Pass, she eagerly recounted the story of Yamato Takeru no Mikoto, whose childhood name was Ousu, the son of Emperor Keikō, focusing especially on his romance with Princess Oto Tachibana-hime. Her writings reflect her deep appreciation of such episodes and stories which she clearly wanted to share with people in Britain who had little opportunity to access such.

There are many episodes in the book which might be described as a little too à la mode at times. However, it was probably due to Mary's personality that made it possible for her to enjoy her life in Japan so much, as she was interested in a variety of miscellaneous topics, especially the human aspects of Japanese people. In contrast, her husband, who was 14 years older than her, is said to have been sober, philosophical, and a typical gentleman of Scottish descent. Sir Hugh Cortazzi writes that perhaps the husband envied his wife for being such a dreamy, sensitive, open-minded person with a wide range of interests and a keen attention to detail.

Be that as it may, throughout this book, one can sense Lady Fraser's attempt, in her own way, to understand Japan as much as possible within the historical and cultural context of the country. Wherever she goes and whatever she sees, she begins her story with historical context. While this may be due to personal tendencies or her upbringing and background, it is also probably not unrelated to the fact that the United Kingdom has always been one step ahead of other countries in promoting "Japanology" ever since the opening of 'modern' Japan to the outside world. It has been an excellent tradition of British foreign policy to train diplomats to become experts in their countries by keeping them in their posts for long periods of time. In fact, the names of those who served in the British legation in Japan before Hugh Fraser come to mind: Sir Rutherford Alcock (1859–1864), Sir Ernest Mason Satow (1862–1883, 1895–1900), William George Aston (1864–1889), Sir Harry Smith Parkes (1865–1883), and Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford (1866–1870). (Figures in parentheses indicate the period of tenure in Japan.) Accordingly, by the time Lady Fraser arrived in Japan, a considerable amount of knowledge and research

results on Japanese history, culture, and literature had been accumulated, mainly at the British legation. Lady Fraser was well aware of this tradition and took full advantage of its achievements.

Fraser's *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan* documents such a diverse cross-section of Japanese life that it could almost be called a foreign woman's version of Mori Senzō's anecdotal account of life in the capital, *Meiji Tōkyō itsubunshi*. For those interested in the details of life in Tokyo during the years of the Meiji era, this is truly an enjoyable book.

Ludwig Riess *Allerlei aus Japan* (Miscellaneous Things from Japan) (1905)

Naoichi Naka

Ludwig Riess

Ludwig Riess was born in Deutsch Krone, North Germany (now Polish territory) in 1861 (Bunkyū 1). He studied history and geography at the University of Berlin, (home to eminent historians such as Gustav Droysen, Theodor Mommsen, and Heinrich von Treitschke) and worked as a scribe for Leopold von Ranke. In 1887 (Meiji 20), he was invited by the Japanese government to teach history at the College of Letters of Tokyo Imperial University (now the Faculty of Letters of the University of Tokyo). There he helped establish a more rigorous Western style of historiography and helped established the "Historical Society of Japan," an academic society for historiography. During his tenure at the University of Tokyo, he taught historical methodology, history of civilization, ancient Germanic history, German and French history, in addition to his specialty of British constitutional history. It is said that Riess

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laid the foundation for the study of Western history in Japan. In the area of national history, he insisted on the need for research on foreign documents on Japan, especially the large number of Japan-related historical documents in the Dutch National Archives. During his tenure, Riess himself collected Japan-related documents in The Hague, London, and Rome when he returned home on furlough. Riess married a Japanese woman, Ōtsuka Fuku, with whom he had a son and three daughters. After retiring from the Tokyo Imperial University in 1902, he returned to Germany and worked as a lecturer at the University of Berlin (later as a professor outside the university) and as a lecturer at the Army War College, while at the same time publishing numerous works. *Allerlei aus Japan* (Miscellaneous Things from Japan) is a collection of various writings Riess published in German newspapers and magazines throughout his stay in Japan and thereafter. He died in Berlin in 1928 (Shōwa 3).

The newly born Meiji Japan was required to import Western learning in every field of study. To this end, many foreign teachers came to Japan as so-called "hired foreigners." Ludwig Riess was one such foreign teacher.

He came to Japan at the age of 26 and showed a youthful interest in all things Japanese. From time to time, he contributed articles on various topics of interest to newspapers and magazines in his native Germany. After returning to his homeland following over 15 years of teaching in Japan, Riess continued to publish articles on Japan in Germany. He selected more than thirty of these articles and published them in 1905 under the title *Allerlei aus Japan* (Miscellaneous Things from Japan) exactly when the Russo-Japanese War triggered European interest in Japan, a small country in the Far East.

With regard to Japan-Germany relations at that time, the two countries had been in rivalry over their interests in mainland China since the Sino-Japanese War. Japanese newspapers vilified Germany, while German Emperor Wilhelm II came up with his "Yellow Peril Theory," which warned of the perils of the yellow race (mainly with the Japanese people in mind). Riess, who had lived in Japan for a long time, and was happily married to a Japanese woman, must have found it hard to feel at ease when Germany and Japan were not only at odds politically, but also criticized and blamed each other in racial and cultural terms. In the preface to *Allerlei aus Japan*, Riess calls Japan "the country where I spent the most wonderful time of my life." His daring to use such a phrase in Germany at the time of 1905 accentuates his enthusiasm for Japan and for the publication of this book.

When reading *Allerlei aus Japan*, we may notice that Riess' writing is surprisingly calm and dispassionate. Perhaps, because of his background as a historian, Riess "lets the facts speak for themselves" regardless of the topic at hand. There is no effusive praise or, conversely, haughty and impassioned criticism in his writings on foreign countries. So, when reading *Allerlei aus Japan*, we may sometimes feel as if we are reading something like a report, a newspaper commentary, or, for that matter, a scholarly article.

When the so-called "Ōtsu Incident" occurred in 1891, in which the Russian Crown Prince Nicholas Alexandrovich was attacked by a Japanese policeman in the city of Ōtsu, Shiga Prefecture, Riess immediately wrote a report on the incident, which indeed has the feel of a correspondent's report. "The impression this unexpected incident made on the Japanese public was extremely powerful," he writes.

"Numerous schools, banks, theaters, and even the stock exchange were closed for one to three days to express sympathy for the injured Russian Crown Prince." He does not call the Japanese policeman barbaric, nor praise the reaction of many Japanese after the event, but merely reports facts about the incident.

Not surprisingly, his reports on historical events read like newspaper articles, but his method of "letting the facts speak for themselves" is used across the board, even when describing "Yamato-damashii" (Japanese spirit/Yamato-Geist) and "Bushidō" (the way of the warrior/der Weg des Kriegers). For example, on "Yamato-damashii," Riess writes: "Already three hundred years ago, the Dutch had this experience. [. . .] When a foreigner disputes with any one of the Japanese merchants, his fellow Japanese merchants quite spontaneously stand up in unison to boycott the foreigner. Once the 'Yamato-damashii' is aroused, the Japanese can no longer escape their implicit sense of duty." Whether "Yamato-damashii" or "Bushidō," from the perspective of someone raised in the European cultural sphere, and such concepts being uniquely Japanese, one would expect a more critical analytical approach. Riess, however, describes these concepts quite calmly, as if he were writing about a political event. It is more like reporting than discussion.

Much of Riess' writings are like this. Riess, like any historian, wanted to show the real face of Japan, a country hardly known to most Europeans, as faithfully as possible. For the same reason, Riess likes to take up the Japanese system, which may appear mysterious to Europeans, and gives a detailed explanation of it.

Take, for example, the "Genrō" (elder statemen) system. At the time of the Russo-Japanese War, the Tokyo telegraph frequently sent articles to Germany about the decision of the "Japan's elder political advisors," but the German translation of the word "Genrō" as "ältere politische berater" must have made German readers suspicious of the state of politics in Japan. Riess' writing style is at its best when explaining such things. With concrete examples, he attempts to inform German readers about the details of the foreign system by referring to German historical institutions which are similar to the "Genrō" system.

It is not a surprise that *Allerlei aus Japan*, which aims to inform Europeans about the realities of contemporary Japan, mainly discusses current affairs. However, the book is not merely a commentary on Japanese politics, but also explains in detail the traditional culture of Japan and the Japanese lifestyle and customs of the Meiji period, brilliantly describing Meiji Japan from a foreigner's perspective. The excitement of Japanese children in Meiji Japan celebrating the Momo no Sekku (Peach Festival) and Tango no Sekku (Boys' Festival); the hustle and bustle of adults welcoming the New Year; and the Bon festivals (to celebrate dead ancestors' homecoming), are vividly described in this simple narrative.

In addition, Riess also casually introduces Japanese Edo literature. He translated *Cash-strapped in the New Year's Eve* from the book *Saikaku Shokoku Banashi* (the miscellaneous stories of Ihara Saikaku, a writer of popular fiction) into German as *Koban-Münze gefunden* (Koban coin found), as if he had heard the story from someone else, without naming Saikaku or anyone else. The story is included in *Allerlei aus Japan*. One of the interesting aspects of this book is that we modern Japanese find Riess focusing his attention on unexpected aspects. Further, through

his eyes, German readers will be able to experience Japanese culture from various angles and perspectives.

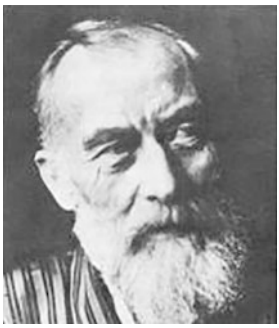
Needless to say, *Allerlei aus Japan* also includes Riess' own personal experiences. Foreigners who have lived in Japan often write about their experiences with fire, and Riess is no exception. In addition, he compares various nation's attitudes toward fire: "In London, the fire scene is often inundated with piles of onlookers causing a huge commotion. In Chicago, rumors spread quickly about the millions of dollars in fire damage. [. . .] In Tokyo, when a fire breaks out, people respond in a courteous and respectful manner, with neighbors doing their best to help put out the fire." It would be an exaggeration to call this "comparative cultural analysis." However, as a "thesis on Japan," Riess here uses a comparative methodology to explain "Japan," referring to various national characteristics. This deviation gives us a glimpse of another Riess, who is different from someone basing his research on close observation of Japan and its objective reporting.

Riess introduced Japan in positive terms based on his deep understanding of the country. Yet he was not devoid of a critical perspective on the country. One chapter in *Allerlei aus Japan*, entitled "A Flaw in Japan's Cultural Development," stands out from the other chapters, which focus on introduction and analysis. Riess' criticisms do not address the distortion of Japanese culture due to modernization, but he does criticize the lack of respect for individuality in traditional Japanese culture from a European perspective. That Riess, who was so focused on reporting, refers to "flaws" in Japanese culture points to the multifaceted nature of this book.

In the preface to *Allerlei aus Japan*, Riess likens himself to a person who, in his spare time, never tires of gazing at the clutter of mineral specimens arranged in a case. *Allerlei aus Japan* (Miscellaneous Things from Japan) is a collection of occasional writings, not a unified or systematic "thesis on Japan." This explains his choice of the word "*Allerlei*" (Miscellaneous) in the title of this book. It is also why we may find unexpected gems among the cluttered 'mineral' samples. This diversity is the book's most distinguishing feature, often absent in similar books that are meant to be "theses on Japan."

Erwin von Bälz (Baelz) *Das Leben eines deutschen Arztes im erwachenden Japan* (*Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German Doctor*) (1876–1905)

Naoichi Naka



Erwin von Bälz (Baelz)

Erwin von Baelz (Bälz) was born in 1849 (Kaei 2) in Bietigheim, southern Germany. He studied medicine at the Universities of Tübingen and Leipzig. After serving as an apprentice medical officer during the Franco-Prussian War, he became an assistant, and then a lecturer, in pathology and internal medicine at the University of Leipzig. He came to Japan at the invitation of the Japanese government in 1876 (Meiji 9), became a teacher at Tokyo Medical School (the later University of Tokyo Faculty of Medicine), and stayed in Japan for the next 30 years. During the period, he not only introduced modern Western medicine to Japan, but also devoted himself to the development of cures for diseases unique to Japan, including research on tsutsugamushi disease and beriberi. He also introduced the benefits of Japanese hot springs to the world. In addition, he conducted anthropological research on the

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physical characteristics of the Japanese, and the famous Mongolian spots are said to be Baelz's 'discovery.' He is known, in the field of psychiatry, for his research on *kitsune-tsuki,* or fox-possession, as well as for his creation of "Baelz water", a topical skin medicine. As for his family life, Baelz married a Japanese woman, Arai Mutsu (later Hanako), with whom he had a son and a daughter. After retiring from the University of Tokyo in 1902, he worked as a court physician for the Ministry of the Imperial Household for 3 years before returning to Germany with his wife in 1905. He died in Stuttgart in 1913 (Taishō 2). The diary that Baelz kept while in Japan was edited by his eldest son Toku and published in Germany in 1931 (Shōwa 6). The book *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German Doctor* contains not only the text of *The Diary*, but also draft speeches, memoirs, letters, and other writings.

Japanese medicine during the Meiji period was greatly influenced by German medicine. Many German physicians came to Japan to teach Western medicine in Japan. Among them, Erwin Baelz (who stayed in Japan for 30 years), deserves special mention. Some go so far as to call him "the father of modern medicine in Japan." Besides this medical contribution, Baelz left us today with a valuable testimony about Meiji Japan in the book *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German Doctor* (hereinafter *The Diary*), which was edited by his eldest son, Toku Baelz.

Baelz came to Japan in 1876, not long after the turmoil of the Meiji Restoration. During the 30 years before his return to Germany, he wrote in his diary a variety of his thoughts and feelings about the turbulent times of the Satsuma Rebellion, the Sino-Japanese War, and the Russo-Japanese War. He wrote with the sober eyes of a foreigner, and yet often, too, with excitement and animation as if he himself were Japanese. *The Diary* is an invaluable source of Meiji's historical facets, and as a theory of Japan that includes brief but incisive comments on various events. For example, on February 9, 1889, when the citizens of Tokyo were in a state of excitement over the promulgation of the Constitution, Baelz writes, "Tokyo is in a state of indescribable excitement over the preparations for the promulgation of the constitution on the 11th. [. . .] The great joke is that no one has the least idea of what the constitution will contain!" The reality of Japan during the Meiji period was thus aptly captured by the pen of a foreigner named Baelz.

Baelz was in an advantageous position to describe an unknown aspect of Meiji Japan. As a court physician for the Ministry of the Imperial Household, he was often present at important meetings attended by Meiji dignitaries, and through diagnosing and treating them he became acquainted with such dignitaries as Iwakura Tomomi, Inoue Kaoru, Yamagata Aritomo, and Ōkuma Shigenobu. A commentator on the English translation of *The Diary* said that the list of Japanese politicians of Baelz's acquaintance reads like a Who's Who of Japanese politicians in the Meiji era.

Indeed, *The Diary* is not only a record of various events, but also a Who's Who that shows the real personalities of Meiji politicians. For example, his description of Iwakura Tomomi's plea to keep him alive until Itō Hirobumi comes back to Japan with a draft constitution, when he realizes that he does not have long to live, is a true testament to the spirit of a Meiji politician. On the other hand, the description of Ito Hirobumi's audacity in showing with a gesture that the Crown Prince was like a

puppet is a valuable testimony obtained only because *The Diary* was not expected to be made public.

Baelz, who witnessed many deaths as a physician, often writes, with great grief and admiration, of the Japanese attitude toward death. In addition to the case of Iwakura Tomomi mentioned earlier, the stories of how Soejima Taneomi "bore his distress stoically" when he was informed of his son's imminent death, and of the brave attitude of Tokyo Governor Matsuda's wife, who "has been able to retain an appearance of dignified composure" in the midst of immense pain after being told that her husband has cancer, are described with sympathy and admiration. Baelz, who also wrote the book *Death and the Japanese*, was particularly interested in Japanese attitudes toward death. In this sense, *The Diary* is unique as a "thesis on Japan," because it describes, with concrete examples, the cultural behavior of the Japanese under the extreme circumstances of death.

The Diary has a variety of contents, providing a view of Japanese behavior under various circumstances. On seeing strangers helping one another at the scene of a fire and working quickly to restore the damaged area after the fire was extinguished, Baelz exclaims: "They are a wonderful people, these Japanese!" He was also amazed at the orderly behavior of many people enjoying boating on the Sumida River, describing them as "a people with whom good behavior has become second nature." However, he also expressed his dissatisfaction with some behaviors, such as the university authorities' treatment of foreign teachers. When the University of Tokyo was inaugurated shortly after his arrival in Japan, Baelz lamented the fact that no acknowledgment was made to the German teacher at the ceremony. In his diary more than 20 years later he was equally indignant because the Minister of Education had given few words of acknowledgement to foreign teachers at a farewell banquet.

A diary being a diary, it is not surprising to find a mix of positive and negative evaluations of the Japanese. Baelz writes harshly of the way the Japanese treat foreign teachers as if they were convenient machines, but also warmly regards the simple and honest attitude of the ordinary people.

The particularity and variety of its descriptions and anecdotes, and the raw, intimate form of expression, demonstrate that often a single concrete 'living' example is more persuasive than a theory of ten million words. In *The Diary*, a foreigner, whose own experiences inevitably led to a series of frictions with other cultures, expresses his non-uniform evaluations of Japanese culture in a direct manner, even in his ambivalent attitude. If cross-cultural understanding is achieved, never by drawing a straight line, but rather by walking a zigzag course, then *The Diary* is not only a "thesis on Japan," but also an example of how a person who comes into contact with a different culture may learn to "understand" it.

Baelz himself, after 30 years of contact with Japanese culture, was keenly aware that it is not possible to understand another culture overnight. Therefore, he always cautioned Japanese intellectuals who, in their haste to import things European, neglected to understand or explore the roots of European culture, and instead became preoccupied with importing foreign culture. He often made a record in his diary of his speeches at universities and other institutions, one of which warns against the

attitude of Japanese people who simply import the fruits of Western science without understanding its origin and essence:

> From all the lands of the West there have come to you teachers eager to implant this spirit in the Land of the Rising Sun and to enable you of Japan to make it your own. Often enough, however, their mission has been misunderstood. They have been looked upon merely as purveyors of scientific fruit, whereas they really were, or wanted to be, the gardeners of science.

Baelz felt his position enabled him to teach Japanese people how to import Western culture, and he was wary of Japanese perceptions of cross-cultural understanding. He writes, "One who wishes to understand a foreign nation must try to immerse himself in its modes of thought and expression, for only when he has done this will he be able to explain its views and customs." Having arrived alone in Japan, a foreign country in the Far East, and feeling perhaps isolated in his experiences there, he was sometimes struck by feelings of dislike for Japan. He was committed to trying to understand Japan, in all its complexity. and so became wary of the ease with which the Japanese imported the fruits of Western culture without experiencing any culture shock.

Because it was written over a period of 30 years, with occasional interruptions, *The Diary* does not have a consistent theme or tone, and it can be read in a variety of ways. In terms of volume, more than half of the book, which begins in 1876 and ends in 1905, covers the period from 1904 to 1905. This was the period from the eve of the Russo-Japanese War to the end of it. Thus this portion of *The Diary* is a valuable source of contemporary recount of Japanese history at the time of the war.

While engaged in education as a university faculty member, Baelz, who, as a physician, examined various people and associated with many Meiji dignitaries, left valuable records of Meiji history. At the same time, he was a keen observer, admirer, and critic of a variety of matters, ranging from the feelings and behavior of the Japanese people to the attitudes of intellectuals and to the state of ordinary people. Therefore, *The Diary* contains a wealth of content and can be read in a variety of ways.

Mustafa Kamil *al-Shams al-Mushriqa* (*The Rising Sun*) (1904)

Hideaki Sugita

Muṣṭafā Kāmil Pasha

Mustafa Kamil (Muṣṭafā Kāmil Pasha) was born in Cairo, Egypt in 1874. After graduating from a local law school, he studied at the University of Toulouse, France. In 1894, he returned to his homeland and founded the "National Party" (al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī) which aimed to achieve Egypt's complete independence. Thereafter, he continued to visit France and other European countries on an annual basis, and associated with many politicians and journalists along the way. His friendship with the two French writers, Madame Juliette Adam and Pierre Loti, are particularly important. In 1900, he launched the newspaper *al-Liwā*' (*The Standard*), which reflected his nationalist ideals and was later published in English and French with great success. Once the Entente Cordiale (Anglo-French agreement) of 1904 had shattered the hopes he had for France's role in the independence movement, he

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launched a vigorous anti-British and anti-French campaign through speeches and writings, and was at odds with both Lord Cromer, who was in charge of ruling Egypt, and his successor, Sir Eldon Gorst. In 1907, he convened the "National Assembly," which consisted of representatives from all over Egypt, in order to position the "National Party" on a broader foundation, and was elected as the party's representative for life at the assembly. However, in 1908, he died of illness at the young age of 34. His funeral was marked by a massive public demonstration. After his death, the idea of the "National Party" was taken over by Saad Zaghloul (Sa'd Zaghlūl) and the Wafd Party (Delegation Party).

Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War, in the modern era, drew the attention of Egypt and other Arab countries to Japan. The people of Egypt in particular, then under British rule, considered Russia to be a European country, as Britain is, and Japan an Oriental country, like theirs. Thus, they enthusiastically welcomed Japan's victories in the early phases of the war. For the Arabs, who were burning with nationalist spirit, Japan became a symbol of the awakening of the Orient. Mustafa Kamil, an Egyptian nationalist political leader, was the first to pay attention to Japan and respond actively to it by publicizing Japan's breakthrough in his speeches and writings.

Kamil had studied in France at a younger age, and had made many friends there. In particular, he had a close, almost brotherly relationship with Pierre Loti, the author of *Japoneries d'automne (Autumn Japaneries*). He was apparently hoping that France, the "land of liberty" since the success of the French Revolution, and also Britain's rival, would help Egypt gain its independence. In the end, however, his hopes would be unfulfilled. The Russo-Japanese War led Loti to become pro-Russian and Kamil to become ardently pro-Japanese (japonisant), creating a rift between the two men. Kamil eventually came to realize that his people themselves needed to develop their own strength, rather than hoping for a foreign power to help them gain independence.

Thus, Japan was chosen instead as a model for transforming Egypt into a modern state and achieving independence from Great Britain. However, there was no literature on Japan written in Arabic at the time, and Kamil himself did not know the Japanese language and had never set foot on Japanese soil. Moreover, even the literary works of Lafcadio Hearn, for example, had not been translated into French at that time. Kamil therefore drew on French-language works by social scientists such as Henry Dumolard's *Le Japon politique, économique et social* and Félix Martin's *Le Japon vrai*, as well as newspaper and magazine articles of the time. As a result of "years of reading and close study" of those works, he was able to write the first thesis on Japan in the Arab world, namely, *The Rising Sun (al-Shams al-Mushriqa)*, published in Cairo, Egypt, in June 1904, during the Russo-Japanese War.

While the title *The Rising Sun* was an Arabic translation of the phrase used in Europe to refer to Japan, "the land of the rising sun," here it was also meant to symbolize the rebirth of Japan as a remarkable new power in Asia.

In the preface to the book, he first describes Japan as follows.

> Who is this nation who have risen from the grave, who have moved armies on land and sea with the sound of cannon and bombs, who have made political demands, who have defeated a nation [China] that she herself and the world believed to be undefeatable, who have

> stunned people's minds with a victory so almost unbelievable that it has shocked all living things? [. . .] How could the world have witnessed such an exuberant power, a great power that could not help but shake the seas and numerous nations, a rising sun that shines on the whole world? Now everyone is asking questions about this nation with wonder and admiration.

Kamil wrote *The Rising Sun* in response to the curiosity and intellectual needs of the Arab people at a time when their interest in Japan was at its peak, thus the book's historical significance. "I believe that the history of Japan is the most instructive lesson for the nations of the East," he claimed, emphasizing his choice of Japan as a model for his nation.

Accordingly, as he indicates in the first part of the text, "Japanese history, politics, and society" is the subject of the whole book which, in summary, includes such chapters as: "The Japanese Archipelago," "A Brief History of Japan," and "The Meiji Restoration," all of which give an overview of the geography and history of Japan. Then, the key figures in the Meiji government are covered: "The Emperor (Mikado)," "Close Aides of the Emperor (Mikado)," "Marquis Itō [Hirobumi]," "Count Ōkuma [Shigenobu]," "Count Itagaki [Taisuke]," "Count Inoue [Kaoru]," and "Baron Ōkubo Tojimichi [*sic*]" (titles are in the original text)—are introduced in succession with their backgrounds, personalities, achievements, and other information, along with photographs. Furthermore, the chapters "Constitution," "House of Representatives and Political Parties," "Administration and Judiciary," and "Finance" explain the details of the government system, while the chapters "Education" and "Journalism" describe the society, and the book ends with a chapter on "Army and Navy."

This orderly overall structure was devised to best convey Kamil's insight into the "secret of Japan's development." That secret was none other than the patriotism (the spirit of nationalism known as "waṭanīya" in Arabic) of the entire nation, from the emperor (Mikado) down to the senior statesmen and common people, and the modern educational, political, economic, and military systems that were supported by that patriotism. Therefore, most of the book's content naturally consists of the emperor's and senior statesmen's achievements as an expression of their patriotism and a commentary on the modern institutions that Egypt should emulate.

The comparison between Japan and Egypt—the rising nation and the falling nation, the advancer and the retreater, the ruler and the ruled, the winner and the loser, the rising sun and the setting sun—inevitably causes pain in the hearts of Egyptians, Kamil says. However, the people's integrity and confidence in their own country (waṭanīya) are not unique to a chosen nation, but are, so to speak, acquired traits. Since this is so, how can the Egyptians fail to acquire them? He encouraged his compatriots, citing Japan as an example, saying that if the people rallied to a nationalist spirit under a powerful authority, they could build in a day what the constitutional states of the West could not achieve in many years.

Kamil was essentially a natural orator with a gift for winning the hearts and minds of his audience with his eloquence and rhetoric. His writings, especially the preface of the book, are full of high-toned romantic style which would have appealed to his

readers' sensibilities. Such rhetoric of his was thrown into the tide of the nationalist movement of the time and kept it going, thus contributing to the its upsurge.

In response to Kamil's *The Rising Sun*, Hafez Ibrahim (Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm), Egypt's national poet, published the poems, "A Young Woman of Japan" and "The Russo-Japanese War," further fueling "Japanese fever." In particular, "A Young Woman of Japan," a narrative poem created in April 1904 featuring a Japanese military nurse, was a work that expressed the fervent patriotism of the Japanese people by stating, "I am a Japanese woman. My resolve will not diminish, even should I face death" (translated by Sumi Akiko[1]). The emperor (Mikado) teaches the people to respect their homeland as their father and mother, and when he orders them to do their utmost for the honor of their homeland, the people respond and struggle to fulfill his command. This was nothing less than a poetic paraphrase of the basic composition of the emperor and the patriotism (waṭanīya) of the people loyal to him which made modern Japan "the rising sun," as put forward by Kamil in his book of that name.

Consequently, Kamil's *The Rising Sun*, along with Hafez Ibrahim's work, became the fundamental work that defined subsequent Arab perceptions of Japan. Inspired by these works, Egyptians began to visit Japan for military or religious purposes, and wrote travelogues.

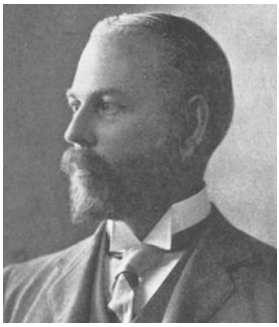
Of course, the information contained in *The Rising Sun* itself came from Europe and would not have been particularly new or unique. Even when viewed as the author's thesis on Japan, there was a strong tendency to glorify the factors that contributed to making Japan a modern, powerful nation. Moreover, we cannot ignore the one-sidedness of this praise and idealization, as indicated by the phrase, "Those who support Japan are those who support truth, progress, and nationalism." At that time in Japan, a number of books were published that held up British rule in Egypt as a model for Japanese colonial ventures on the continent and in Korea, but Kamil had no way of knowing such circumstances.

Nevertheless, the historical role played by *The Rising Sun* in Egypt and in the Arab world was very significant. At the very least, we should pay more attention to the curious fact that this kind of Japanology was written in the Third World during the Meiji era.

[1] Sumi Akiko and Nishio Tetsuo (ed.), *The Personal and the Public in Literary Works of the Arab Regions*; Resources for Modern Middle East Studies No. 5, Center for Modern Middle East Studies, 2021, p. 45 (https://www.minpaku.ac.jp/nihu/cmmes/activities/pdf/arabpoem.pdf).

Ernest F. Fenollosa *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art: An Outline History of East Asiatic Design* (1921)

Akiko Murakata



Ernest Francisco Fenollosa

Ernest Francisco Fenollosa was born in Salem, Massachusetts, U.S.A in 1853. He graduated from Harvard in 1874 with a graduate degree in philosophy, and studied art at the Massachusetts Normal Art School and the painting school of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. With an introduction by Edward Sylvester Morse, he came to Japan in 1878 (Meiji 11). He took up a position as a professor at the University of Tokyo, where he taught political science, economics, philosophy, and sociology. While there he also studied and collected Japanese artworks and conducted a pioneering survey of treasures preserved in Kansai shrines and temples. He began giving enlightening lectures on the subject in 1881, and made a great impression the

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following year with his speech "The True Meaning of Art" (Bijutsu Shin-setsu), given under the auspices of the Ryūchikai, an art association. In 1884, he founded Kangakai, an art appreciation society, with Kanō Hōgai and other colleagues, with the aim of creating a new style of Japanese painting. Fenollosa, along with Okakura Kakuzō, also served as a member of the Ministry of Education's Picture Survey Committee, and devoted himself to the promotion of art education and the administration of cultural property protection. From 1886 to 1887, Fenollosa traveled to Europe and the U.S. with Okakura and other artists to investigate European and American art, and upon returning to Japan, he became the executive secretary of the Tokyo Art School (now Tokyo University of the Arts). He taught pictorial elegance, aesthetics and art history at the Tokyo Art School since its opening in 1889. In 1890, he returned to the U.S. to become the Japanese Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Five years later, he divorced his wife Lizzie and remarried his assistant, Mary McNeil. In 1896, he came to Japan again and lectured on English language and literature at the Higher Normal School from 1898 to 1900, learning Noh from Umewaka Minoru and Takeyo and Chinese poetry from Mori Kainan, with Hirata Tokuboku as interpreter. (Fenollosa's manuscripts of English translation were edited and published by the poet Ezra Pound.) After returning to the U.S. in 1901, he lectured on Japanese and Chinese culture throughout America. He died while in London in 1908.

Fenollosa, who grew up in Salem, a port town that had prospered in the East Asian trade from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, probably had his greatest exposure to Japanese art prior to his coming to Japan in the form of ceramics exhibited at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. That year, after graduating from the Graduate School of Harvard University, he attended the Massachusetts Normal School of Art, which had just been founded. While admiring the magnificent bronzes and ceramics, he spent several days at the Exposition Museum of Art studying contemporary oil paintings from Europe and America, especially Dutch landscapes.

After his arrival in Japan in 1878 (Meiji 11), he soon acquired an appreciation for Japanese painting, systematically collecting old paintings, and spent almost every summer in Kyoto and Nara, surveying the treasures of old shrines and temples. He eventually became deeply involved in modern art education and the administration of cultural properties in Japan. Fenollosa was undoubtedly inspired, the year after his arrival, by an exhibition of Japanese paintings collected by the British doctor William Anderson. This was organized by the Asiatic Society of Japan, and accompanied by Anderson's lecture "A History of Japanese Art." Furthermore, the cultural upheaval during this transitional period in Japan's history meant it was a propitious period for the foreign art collector, and so Fenollosa was able to begin building a collection superb in both quality and quantity.

After the Meiji Restoration, temples were severely damaged by the Haibutsu Kishaku (the abolition of Buddhism) movement, and as a result of the abolition of feudal domains, the heirlooms of the former feudal lords and family treasures of hereditary painters were flowed out onto the streets. Fenollosa saw piles of damaged statues of Buddhas at Tōshōdaiji and Kōfukuji's Chūkondō (Central Golden Hall)

and Tōkondō (East Golden Hall). He was able to pick up a twelfth century Buddha head from an ash barrel at Daigoji; he found a Kannon-zu by Kanō Motonobu from the former collection of Marquis Hachisuka in the storehouse of Osaka Yamanaka Company and purchased it for 25 yen. He was handed down a picture of Prince Shōtoku by Takanobu, as well as a star mandala, when at Sumiyoshi Hirokata's deathbed; both were heirlooms that had been passed down in the Sumiyoshi family for generations.

All of these sources are from Fenollosa's own testimony, and can be found in this book. Of particular interest is his recollection of the third volume of *Heiji Monogatari Emaki* (illustrated stories about Heiji Civil War), which he considered the greatest masterpiece among the more than 1000 masterpieces deposited in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, after they were sold to Dr. Charles Goddard Weld in 1886. "This was formerly in the possession of the Honda family, and I had the privilege of studying it and photographing it more than once on the occasions of the loan collections of daimyos' treasures held by the Art Club annually since 1882. I hardly thought then that some day this supreme work would fall into my own possession. The overcoming of the difficulties in its acquirement would form a romance in itself."

A trial thesis on the History of East Asiatic Design had already been conceived in 1883 (Meiji 16). In the summer of the following year, while visiting ancient shrines and temples in Kyoto and Nara with Okakura Kakuzō and other members of a research team from the Ministry of Education, Fenollosa came into contact with many important examples, such as the Guze Kannon, which were being exhibited for the first time, and he noted their special significance because they "recovered the history of Japanese art from the 6th to the 9th centuries." (In his letter to Morse, dated September 27, 1884).

In the same year, a critical review of his was published in the chapter on painting in Louis Gonse's new book, *L'art Japonais*, marking him as an up-and-coming scholar who prided himself on being the "Schliemann of the Orient," in contrast to his European predecessors whose views were limited to ukiyo-e and other early modern decorative arts. Upon his return to the U.S., Fenollosa pointed out the serious flaws in Anderson's classification of paintings by country and subject, in *Pictorial Arts of Japan* (1886) and in his own book, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* he often makes fun of Anderson's Western, realism-biased views.

In 1888 (Meiji 21), on the eve of his departure for a major joint research project on the treasures of the Kinai area including Kyoto and Nara (managed by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of the Imperial Household, and the Ministry of the Interior), Fenollosa wrote a letter to the editor of Harper's Magazine offering to contribute a series of articles entitled "Oriental Paintings and Sculptures." This was to be organized around historical periods and the rise and fall of the various schools, and the six titles in his offer clearly reveal the framework of the chapters of his *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*. He emphasized that the first four chapters (I. Early Korean and Japanese Art; II. Influence of Early Chinese Art on Japanese Art; III. Pure Japanese Art; and IV. Medieval Chinese Art) were in a field that had never been explored before. This emphasis reflects the idea at the foundation of

his book: the initial rise of Japanese art could be dated to the Asuka and Nara periods and the peak of Chinese art came during the Tang and Song periods.

In a series of six lectures Fenollosa gave at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, in 1895, he divided Japanese art history into five periods (Nara, Fujiwara, Kamakura, Ashikaga/Momoyama, and Edo) and these five periods have remained more or less established ever since. The first period includes the Greco-Buddhist sculpture of northern India which influenced East-Asian art. In 1898, during his return to Japan, he wrote an article entitled "Outline of Japanese Art History" for Century magazine, in which he expounded on his explanation of "China as a source" of the fourth period and elaborated on the "Kōrin school" of the fifth period.

Around 1901–1902, he gave a series of slide lectures at Columbia University entitled "History of Japanese Art with an Introduction to the History of Chinese Art," in which he described the history of art according to the representative genres of each period: I. Early Religious Sculpture (seventh–eighth centuries); II. Early Religious Painting (ninth–eleventh centuries); III. History Painting and Portraiture (twelfth–fourteenth centuries); IV. Landscape Painting (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries); and V. Impressionism, Realism, and genre painting (seventeenth–nineteenth centuries).

Fenollosa wrote a draft of this book in 3 months during the summer of 1906, holed up in his New York apartment. At this stage, he probably incorporated the latest discoveries from Sven Hedin and Sir Aurel Stein's expeditions to Central Asia, as well as consulting new theories from China specialists such as Friedrich Hirth, Herbert Allen Giles, Terrien de Lacouperie, and later adding the first two chapters which discuss the influence of the Pacific and Mesopotamia on early Chinese art and Han dynasty art.

Each title and summary of the series of twelve lectures entitled, "Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art," organized by the Yamanaka Company in New York the following year, serves as a guide to much of the contents of *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*. The main difference is that in this book, China and Japan have respective, separate chapters, with two chapters each devoted to idealist art in each country, and the chapter on Ukiyo-e is truncated, while the last part of the lecture concludes by mentioning art education in the Meiji period, Kanō Hōgai and Hashimoto Gahō, and the Freer Gallery of Art, which accommodated the advice of Fenollosa.

Fenollosa had intended to return to Japan to make additions and corrections, but he died suddenly in 1908. His widow Mary therefore organized and edited his posthumous manuscripts. With the help of Ariga Nagao, a sociologist who had been Fenollosa's former student and art research collaborator, and Kanō Tomonobu, a painter and connoisseur, she combined the manuscripts and added a long preface. The book, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art,* was published in two large volumes in London and New York in 1912. The edition which remains popular today is the revised edition of the following year, which includes copious notes on artists' names by Professor R. Petrucci.

In 1913, the same year the revised edition was published, a German translation and an abridged French translation were also published, and the revised edition was reprinted in 1917 and 1921, followed by a reduced-size reprint by Dover

Publications in 1963. It is puzzling that the cover of the paperback edition's first volume features an illustration of an actor by Katsukawa Shunshō. For the author's original intention was to enlighten the West's biased view of Japanese art, which had been limited to ukiyo-e prints, and to introduce classical masterpieces, especially those of ancient times.

Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art is the first systematic work to treat Chinese and Japanese art as belonging to the same cultural current, according to period and style, and stands as the starting point for Japan's art historiography. Although there are, of course, anachronisms and inadequacies that are obvious by today's standards of specialized knowledge, due in part to the folklore and to scarce materials of the time, the basic framework of Japanese art history which Fenollosa established remains unchanged. One may well ask how many works on Japanese art from a global perspective have been written that surpass this book?

In 1880, 2 years after his arrival in Japan, Fenollosa discovered a Buddha statue amongst the accumulation of damaged Buddhas at Tōshōdaiji, which seemed to be a prototype of Greco-Buddhist art. He called the dry-lacquered Bodhisattva statue in the Hōryūji Denpo Hall "Caesar." He saw traces of Greco-Roman classical art everywhere in the ancient capital, a manner of seeing from which much can be learnt. For example, the statue of the attendant bodhisattva inside the Great Hall, Kondō, at the Yakushiji may remind him of the Nike statue at the Louvre, and the statues of Nikkō and Gekkō bodhisattva in Sangatsudō Hall of Tōdaiji also reminded him of the Torso in the Parthenon and Venus de Milo. Further, the transition from the hard vertical lines of the Shaka trinity in the Hōryūji Kondō Hall to the flowing curves of the Amida trinity (thought to be a personal worship object of Lady Tachibana), may similarly remind him of the passage from Egyptian to Greek art.

For Fenollosa, his first impression of Shōsōin was "a second resurrected Rome, of the continental scale of an Asia." Fenollosa may have been the prophet of the Silk Road boom of these days [the late 1980s].

Greek sculptures are to European art what landscape paintings during the Tang and Song dynasties are to East Asian art. Fenollosa writes, "The Wordsworths of China lived more than a thousand years ago." He visited a famous Zen temple in Kyoto in search of artifacts from the Tang and Song dynasties, and spent several weeks with the monks at Tōfukuji, where his companions, Kanō Tomonobu and Sumiyoshi Hirokata, were given the opportunity to copy old paintings. Fenollosa reflects, "I felt like an unworthy, degenerate Noami privileged to appreciate the very treasures that had delighted his eyes 450 years before."

The tradition of Zen Buddhist idealistic art from Hangzhou, which was transplanted and established in Kyoto by the shoguns Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and Yoshimasa, was passed down through the Sesshū to the Kano school, the Shogunate's official painters. Under Eitoku Tatsunobu, the head of the Kanō family, who was descended from Motonobu and Yasunobu, Fenollosa learned the way to appreciate ancient Chinese painting which had been introduced to the school together with a vast amount of reproductions, and he was allowed to take the Kanō name of Eitan Masanobu. Fenollosa was inspired to write this book by the unique opportunity he had to study the copies of Japanese and Chinese masterpieces made by Tan'yū and

Yasunobu, and to take advantage of the results of Isen and Tanshin II's reexamination of Chinese paintings.

Fenollosa traces the history of the Tang-Song art tradition to its conclusion in Japan. Hōgai, who was entrusted with reviving the Wu Dao-zi tradition, had long since died, and Tomonobu, the last painter to have studied at the Shogunate Bureau of Painting and the sole survivor of the Kanō family lineage, was already old and alone in his life. Kangakai, the art appreciation society Fenollosa created with them in 1884 (Meiji 17), to raise the standards of connoisseurship and criticism, was modeled after the Chinese Emperor Huizong's Imperial art gallery, but "ours was merely stepping into its shadow and its shadow's shadow again." Even Sesshū, the supreme authority on Ashikaga art and the best translator of Chinese art, had to settle for sixth place on the list of East Asian masters.

Perhaps one of the most appealing aspects of this book is that the author's own valuable art experiences are told with a vivid sense of reality. Together with Fenollosa, we hear the keys of the Dream Hall clang in the rusty locks, and then fearfully climb the treacherous stairs of Shōsōin. We can even scrape off some of the surface pigment to verify the now lost technique of murals of the Hōryūji Kondō murals! This sense of realism that pervades the book is probably due to the fact that his narrative is based on actual research notes (some of which are still extant). One would be hard-pressed not to feel a kinship with a foreigner who states about the Kitano Tenjin Engi Emaki (Jōkyūbon scroll on the foundation of the Kitano Tenmangū in Kyoto), "I have sat before these stupendous rolls again and again, with the flesh of my back creeping as during a Wagner opera and tears standing in my eyes."

At a time when the literature-centered preoccupation with antiquity dominated art history circles at home and abroad, and Western prejudice undermined understanding of East Asian art and, more importantly, "the essential humanity" of the Chinese and Japanese, it was urgent for Fenollosa to write a history of East Asian art from a global perspective, emphasizing the commonalities between Eastern and Western art, commonalities which provided conceptual room for rich parallels. Before Fenollosa it would have been inconceivable to suggest that Prince Shōtoku is "the Constantine of Buddhism for Japan," or "Fra Angelico and Yeishin Sozu" are "so much alike," or to view Zeami as "the first Japanese Shakespeare," and Hokusai "the Dickens of Japan." Similarly, Unkei and Tankei can now be compared to Donatello and Michelangelo, and Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and Yoshimasa to Cosimo and Lorenzo Medici.

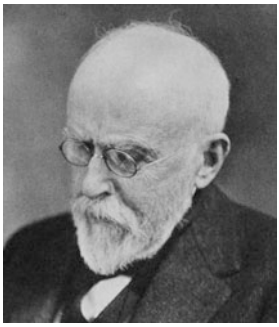
With the transfer of the capital to Heiankyō by Emperor Kanmu, the "Holy Kyoto Empire," a union of politics and religion, represented by the Hieizan temple complex, was established, and at the same time as St. Francis of Assisi, there arose Saigyō, Shinran, Nichiren, and other itinerant high priests who preached the simple faith to the people of the land. Just as the deeds of Egyptian kings were carved in caves and those of Babylonian kings were painted in colored tiles on city walls, the Tosa school sought to portray heroic battles on fragile paper scrolls to immortalize them. The Rinpa school has been called "the true Japanese school of 'impressionism,'" and the Genroku period, during which Hishikawa Moronobu, the founder of

ukiyo-e, was active, has "much resemblance to the gay, roystering, unconscious mingling of lords and people in the Elizabethan days of Shakespeare, before the duality of puritan and cavalier divided them."

Today, when the arts of East and West have come closer than Fenollosa had predicted, and the era of international simultaneity has arrived, the role of Japan, which he saw as "Greece in the East," has become increasingly significant. For, to quote Fenollosa, we are "endowed by temperament to become the interpreter of East to West and of West to East."

Edward S. Morse *Japan Day by Day, 1877, 1878–1879, 1882–1883* (1917)

Yuzo Ota



Edward Sylvester Morse

Edward Sylvester Morse was born in Portland, Maine, U.S.A. in 1838. Although he worked mainly as a draftsman and did not go to university, Morse's research—which he had been passionate about since childhood (e.g., collecting shells)—caught the attention of Louis Agassiz, a renowned naturalist, thus launching his career as a zoologist. A singularly gifted lecturer on popular science, Morse used the money from his winter lectures to pursue vigorous research at his own expense, and he gained sufficient fame as both a scholar and a proponent of evolutionism, to be elected a member of the National Academy of Sciences, the equivalent of the Academy of Sciences in 1876. Three visits to Japan between 1877 and 1883 marked a turning point in Morse's life. The discovery of the Ōmori shell mound and a deep interest in Japanese ceramics and Japanese culture that was aroused during his visit

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to Japan led Morse to become a Japanologist rather than a zoologist. Morse wrote several excellent books on Japan, including *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (1886) and *Japan Day by Day* (1917), and also gave numerous lectures on Japan, promoting understanding of Japan from a pro-Japanese standpoint. Morse's collection of Japanese ceramics (in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston) and Japanese folklore (in the Peabody Museum, Salem) are both world-renowned. He died in 1925.

Morse's *Japan Day by Day, 1877, 1878–1879, 1882–1883* (the numbers in the title indicate the length of Morse's stays in Japan) was published by the Houghton Mifflin Company in Boston in 1917, more than 30 years after his actual visits to Japan, although Morse had originally intended to publish his detailed diary (approximately 3500 pages long), which he had begun to keep immediately after his arrival in Japan.

In his preface, Morse explains that this long-held but unrealized plan finally came to fruition, largely by virtue of the advice of William Sturgis Bigelow, with whom he had worked during his third visit to Japan in 1882–1883. According to Morse, he was planning to use his long research leave after many years as director of the Peabody Museum in Salem and Japanese ceramics curator at the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, to pursue his original zoological interests, when Bigelow suggested that Morse put aside his specialty of brachiopods and spend his time recording the customs and habits of the Japanese people, for posterity.

Morse's diary of his stay in Japan, which first appeared in the form of *Japan Day by Day* in 1917 had in fact been used as a "material book" for the countless lectures on Japan that Morse had given throughout the United States since 1877. Thus, even if *Japan Day by Day* had never been published, Morse's Japan diary was not wasted. On the contrary, this may have been one of the reasons why *Japan Day by Day* was published so long after his actual stay in Japan.

In Hozumi Shigetō's "Memories of an Overnight Talk with Dr. Morse" (an essay included in *Kagaku Chishiki* [Scientific Knowledge], December 1935), the following story is told: When Hozumi visited Morse in Salem in 1915 and said that Japan "has changed so much since then that I think you should come again," Morse replied, "No, it has changed so much that it's kind of scary to go and see it." Since his first encounter with Japan in 1877, Morse has talked about Japan constantly. His infatuation with Japan was so great that he was termed the "Japantheist" suggesting a person who worships Japan as if it were a god. The Japan that Morse spoke of with such passion—even though his lecture was given in 1910—was essentially the Japan he described in *Japan Day by Day*, the Japan that he had actually seen with his own eyes from 1877 to 1883 (the early Meiji 10s). In *Japan Day by Day* Morse stops time in 1883 to give his readers the best possible Japan, in his view, so when those who had listened to Morse's many lectures on Japan read *Japan Day by Day*, they would realize that Morse's "contemporary" Japan was actually the period from 1877 to approximately 5 years later.

Morse's original purpose of coming to Japan was not to study Japan but—as stated in the preface to *Japan Day by Day*—but to study the marine life of the abundant species in the waters around Japan as a zoologist. Initially he had little prior

knowledge of Japan. In fact, from the fragmentary words that appeared later in newspaper reports on Morse's lectures, it seems that Morse, like many Americans, initially thought of Japan as a province of China and imagined it to be a barbaric place with a backward culture.

However, when Morse arrived in Japan for the first time, he discovered a country quite different from what he had imagined. One of the charms of *Japan Day by Day* is that readers can feel the delight of Morse's "discovery" in what he sees and hears. When he landed in Yokohama late at night and looked around from his hotel window in the morning, "What a world of delight burst upon me as I looked out the hotel window this morning on the frigates of the various nations in the harbor and the curious native boats and junks, with everything novel but the ships and the sea," Morse writes.

Believing in the importance of recording his first impressions before the fresh wonder faded, Morse set out to document the "world of delight" he saw in Japan. What helped him then was his extraordinary sketching ability. Morse's lectures were well known for the amazingly fast and skillful drawings he made on the blackboard, and the 777 illustrations in *Japan Day by Day*, drawn by Morse himself (originally drawn on the spot), greatly enhance the reader's understanding and sense of reality.

Japan Day by Day is by no means a systematically organized book. With an insatiable curiosity, a flexible mind that is easily surprised, and a foreigner's eye for discovering interest in little things in the daily life and culture, considered commonplace by the Japanese, Morse tries to record what he sees, no matter how big or small. Therefore, the topics covered often shift from one to another without any context, except for the temporal relationship of the order in which they are seen by Morse. However, perhaps because of the overall style of the book, which is very plain and easy to read, this does not amount to a flaw, but rather contributes to heightening the reader's sense of reality, as if they were touring around Japan with Morse in the Meiji 10s.

One of the reasons why *Japan Day by Day* is more than a mere encyclopedia of information about Japan is that, if Japan is the main character of the book, Morse, an innocent, energetic, and pleasant man, appears as an interesting secondary character. He is exceptional among foreigners of his time in that he is deeply and actively involved in Japanese culture, learning about Noh chanting and tea ceremonies. Morse, a man with a sense of humor, a bit of mischievousness, and a curious spirit, who would run out—even in the middle of the night—at the mention of a fire, participates very naturally in the Japanese community.

The view of Japan expressed in *Japan Day by Day* differs from the average Westerner's view of the country during Morse's time. Speaking in broad generalities, I dare say that the majority of Westerners at the time believed in the superiority of the West over Japan. Many of them seem to have believed that Japan was a barbaric and uncivilized country before Perry's arrival, and that it was only with the opening of Japan that it began its journey to civilization. From their perspective, Japan's Westernization was tantamount to civilization. This Western-centric view was embodied in the most aggressive form—even if implicitly—by the Western

missionaries of the time, who came to Japan to "elevate" the country through Christianity.

Morse acknowledged this view as erroneous soon after his arrival. While he was impressed by the rapid adoption of Western culture in Japan at the time—especially in the capital city of Tokyo—and by the Japanese people's eagerness to learn from foreign strengths without any hesitation, Morse's primary interest was in the traditional Japanese culture that had not yet been so changed by Western influences. Morse did not take the Japanese adoption of Western culture as evidence that Japan lacked a civilized culture. He had the opportunity to observe regions of Japan that were still largely untouched by the waves of Westernization, including a trip to Nikkō and a stay on Enoshima Island upon his arrival in Japan, as well as to observe the high level of traditional Japanese culture, and believed that Japan's rapid adoption of Western civilization was possible only with an advanced indigenous civilization. Morse thought that Westerners who came to Japan thinking they could teach the Japanese anything would find themselves with much to learn if they observed the Japanese and their culture with an open mind. In *Japan Day by Day*, Morse makes a number of comparisons between Japan and the U.S., but in most cases, it is Japan he favors. When Morse saw something in Japan that impressed him, such as the politeness of rickshaw men, the kindness of the Japanese toward animals, the good mood of Japanese babies, the tolerance of the Japanese toward foreigners, the safety of Japanese society, the aesthetic sense and love of nature that is evident in so many aspects of Japanese life, it usually created in his mind a feeling of how far his homeland, the United States, fell short of Japan's standards.

Many readers of *Japan Day by Day* may find the Japan depicted in the book too utopian. In the preface to *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (Nihon no Sumai), Morse writes, "In the study of another people one should if possible look through colorless glasses; though if one is to err in this respect, it were better that his spectacles should be rose-colored than grimed with the smoke of prejudice" (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1889, p. xxviii).

However, no matter how much one tries to view a foreign country favorably, it is unlikely that such deliberate efforts alone will make it appear rose-colored. Morse's *Glimpses of China and Chinese Homes* (1902), in which he wrote about his impressions of China based on his brief stay there, does not necessarily portray it in a favorable light. The "rose-colored Japan" that emerges through *Japan Day by Day* seems based not on a mere whim but on his genuine recognition of a wonder hidden in traditional Japanese culture, often considered old-fashioned and outdated by the Japanese themselves, which has been gradually disappearing in the process of modernization. However, if the degree of "rose-coloredness" is stronger than it should be, it may be partly because Morse had almost no unpleasant experiences in Japan. Morse's warm and engaging personality probably helped bring out the best in others.

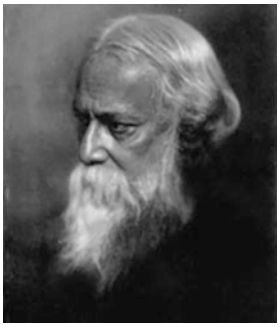
Morse's natural charm often made people feel compelled to do things for him. For example, during his stay in Japan, Morse once visited the statesman Ōkuma Shigenobu's house to show him his ceramics, and on this occasion, Ōkuma gave Morse many of his own treasured ceramics. Ōkuma later told Ishikawa Chiyomatsu,

who was accompanying Morse as an interpreter at the time, "I didn't want to give up the pottery when you came as an interpreter, but during our conversation, I had to do it." (Ishikawa Chiyomatsu, "Ah, Dr. Morse!" *The Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, December 25, 1925 [Taishō 14]). When *Japan Day by Day* was published in 1917, it was favorably reviewed in Western book reviews. However—probably because it was published at a time when knowledge of Japan was already somewhat widespread—its impact seemed to be less than that of *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings*, which Morse had published more than 30 years earlier in 1886, and which had opened the eyes of many Americans to Japanese culture for the first time.

However, *Japan Day by Day* is even more interesting to contemporary Japanese readers than it was to Western readers in the 1910s. As can be seen in the preface, Morse himself placed the main value of *Japan Day by Day* on the fact that it documented an old Japan that would soon be transformed and disappear. It is becoming much more difficult to find such vestiges of old Japan in today's Japan than it was a couple of decades ago. This book may be one of the best guides for the younger generation of McDonald's hamburger-eaters and motorcycle-riders if they want to gain a concrete picture of the lifestyle and culture of their grandparents' generation.

Rabindranath Tagore *Nationalism* (1917)

Yoshihiro Ohsawa



Rabindranath Tagore.
(Source: *25 portraits of Rabindranath Tagore*, Visva-Bharati, Calcutta, 1951)

Rabindranath Tagore was born in Calcutta, West Bengal in 1861. His father, Debendranath Tagore, was a religious man who was devoted to the Reformation movement. The Tagore family was a distinguished family that included many artists and thinkers. The eminent scholar, Okakura Kakuzō, visited the Tagore family and was inspired by them. In 1901, Tagore opened a boarding school (later to be named Tagore International University) in Shantiniketan, where he was to base his activities from then on. After receiving the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1913 for the English translation of his collection of poems entitled *Gitanjali*, he became internationally renowned and he interacted extensively with Western intellectuals such as Romain

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Rolland. Tagore visited Japan five times, beginning with his first visit in 1916. He became increasingly critical of Japan, and his arguments with Noguchi Yonejirō regarding the Sino-Japanese War are particularly famous. Although Tagore himself was a non-political person, he was bound to get involved in the political controversies of the times, and is known to have once disagreed with Gandhi on the Indian independence movement. His true genius, however, was poetry. His poems in his native language, Bengali, are considered classics of modern Indian literature (many of which he himself translated into English). He also wrote plays, short stories, and long novels such as *Gora*. Tagore had a strong interest in painting too. He himself often painted and he often received Japanese artists as visitors at Shantiniketan. Tagore died in 1941.

In 1913 (Taishō 2), Tagore became the first Asian in history to receive the Nobel Prize in Literature. The honor was enjoyed not only by Tagore, but also served to heal the inferiority complex of Asians at the time, including the Japanese.

Tagore was invited to Japan after receiving the Nobel Prize, but did not visit the country until 3 years later, in 1916. He arrived in Kobe on May 29 of that year. He gave a lecture in Osaka on June 1, then went to Tokyo on June 5 where he first stayed with Yokoyama Taikan, an acquaintance of his. The lectures in Tokyo, "The Message of India to Japan" (Tokyo Imperial University, June 11, 1916) and "The Spirit of Japan" (Keio University, July 2, 1916) were incorporated the following year into Chapter II "Nationalism in Japan" of the book. The other chapters are Chapter I, "Nationalism in the West," and Chapter III, "Nationalism in India."

As the chapter titles suggest, the book discusses the situation in the West, Japan, and India with respect to the growth of nationalism. Tagore's concern, however, was not political. What he addresses in the book are the cultural transitions and conditions in the three cases as he sees them.

What, then, does he have to say about Japan?

Tagore begins by describing how instrumental Japan was for the Asia's Awakening. He writes, "One morning the whole world looked up in surprise when Japan broke through her walls of old habits in a night and came out triumphant. It was done in such an incredibly short time that it seemed like a change of dress and not like the building up of a new structure. [. . .] This it is which has given heart to the rest of Asia. We have seen that the life and the strength are there in us, only the dead crust has to be removed." Here, Tagore seems to be referring to Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War which had a strong impact on Asian nations, as Tagore acknowledges elsewhere.

However, Tagore believes that Japan's victory could not have been produced merely by its imitation of Western material civilization. He says, "I, for myself, cannot believe that Japan has become what she is by imitating the West. We cannot imitate life, we cannot simulate strength for long, nay, what is more, a mere imitation is a source of weakness."

Tagore valued the power of the soul above all else. He says that no matter how powerful Western civilization may seem, uncritical assimilation of it, to the point of losing one's soul, is a weakening of the self. If Western civilization has an evil aspect, which he believes it does, the dangers will be great. He says, "Europe is

supremely good in her beneficence where her face is turned to all humanity; and Europe is supremely evil in her maleficent aspect where her face is turned only upon her own interest, using all her power of greatness for ends which are against the infinite and the eternal in Man." Tagore felt that even if, for a time, one gains material power through the introduction of Western civilization, if one's soul is depleted and one loses spiritual power as a result, what is important is the latter, not the former.

Of course, such thinking was surprisingly far removed from the prevailing views of the time, and many people did not understand what he was saying, with some even criticizing him vehemently. Since Chapter II of *Nationalism* was written first, the criticism he received in Japan is mentioned in Chapter I, "Nationalism in the West." Critics said that his ideas, though poetic, were defeatist. The same was true in the U.S., where he visited afterwards to give a lecture. According to Krishna Kripalani, who wrote Tagore's biography, he was even criticized for trying to deceive American youth.

Tagore was a fierce critic of the shortcomings of Western civilization, but this does not mean that he did not recognize its virtues. He recognized that even Western materialist civilization had some value, as long as one did not get caught up in it. He was also well aware of the existence of a deep spiritual culture at the base of Western civilization. He writes, "In the heart of Europe runs the purest stream of human love, of love of justice, of spirit of self-sacrifice for higher ideals. The Christian culture of centuries has sunk deep in her life's core."

Tagore believed that if non-Western nations overlooked the deep spirituality of the West and focused their attention solely on material wealth, national power, and military might, it would lead to unfortunate consequences for humanity. However, despite his advice, the current of the times was moving rather swiftly in the direction of parochial nationalism. Tagore's initial hopes for Japan, he felt, had grown to a level of overconfidence after its victory in the Russo-Japanese War. He writes, "What is dangerous for Japan is, not the imitation of the outer features of the West, but the acceptance of the motive force of the Western nationalism as her own. Her social ideals are already showing signs of defeat at the hands of politics. I can see her motto, taken from science, 'Survival of the Fittest,' writ large at the entrance of her present-day history—the motto whose meaning is, 'Help yourself, and never heed what it costs to others.'"

Of course, it would be an exaggeration to say that non-Western evils were brought about solely by the West, for Eastern societies had not been free of contradictions. Tagore was well aware of this. For example, he criticizes the caste system in his native India. Its contradictions were not brought about by the modern West. For Tagore, however, the biggest problem facing the world today was how to stay out of the movement of nationalism created by Western civilization. Japan, however, was already caught up in it, and India was about to be caught up in it. Tagore's immediate task was to criticize and curb this trend. He was condemned in both Japan and the United States for criticizing the nationalist movement. In fact, even in India, most people did not support his arguments.

It is not surprising that his views on these issues were difficult to understand, especially for the Japanese people of that time. Even the Japanese newspapers, which at first gave Tagore's visit to Japan a great deal of publicity, gradually began to give him a cold reception. When Tagore left Japan for the United States, only a few people saw him off. The change was extreme.

As time passes and we read his words again today, after two world wars, few would be willing to endow nationalism with absolute value or be unaware of its destructive aspects. In this respect, Tagore was ahead of many. He was also undoubtedly unique in his discussion of the trends of modern civilization, focusing on the three poles of the West, Japan, and India, and attempting to clarify the situation and characteristics of each.

However, it is also true that Tagore's words are still difficult for the Japanese to understand. There are many logical leaps in his writings. The Edo period thinker Tominaga Nakamoto (1715–1746) once said in his book *The Writings of an Old Man* (Okina no fumi), "The tendency peculiar to Buddhism is magic, which is now called sorcery. Indian people like it. In preaching a Way, or in teaching people, if a good dose of magic is not mixed, people would not believe and follow." (*Nihon no meicho*, vol. 18, Chūōkōronsha, 1972, p. 69; English translation by Katō, Shūichi, "Okina no fumi: The Writings of an Old Man," *Monumenta Nipponica* 22, nos. 1–2 [1967]: p. 207.) There is a strong inclination of this in Tagore. Many who speak of India are fascinated by its "magic." I believe that knowing about India is very useful for knowing about Japan. To do so, we must first dodge their "magic" and get closer to the reality of Tagore and India.

Wenceslau de Moraes *Ó-Yoné e Ko-Haru* (*OYoné and Koharu*) (1932)

Takayo Kano

Wenceslau de Moraes. (Source: Moraes of Tokushima editorial committee, *Moraes of Tokushima*, Tokushima City Central Community Center, March 1972)

Wenceslau de Moraes, the heir of an old, established Portuguese family, was born in 1854 in Lisbon, Portugal. After serving as a naval officer in Mozambique for more than 10 years, he was given a position in Macau in 1881 (Meiji 14) and wrote a series of articles about his experiences there for a Lisbon newspaper (*Traços do Extremo Oriente*, Lisbon, 1895). After his first visit to Japan in 1889, he fell in love with the country, and from then on he frequently visited Japan as part of his business activities. Once relieved of his position as deputy commander of the port of Macau in 1898 and ordered to return to his home country, he decided to emigrate to Japan and became the first Portuguese consul there, living in Kobe among his fellow countrymen and acquaintances. In 1900, he made a common-law marriage

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with a *geisha*, Fukumoto Yoné, paying her debit out of bondage. While working as consul, he continued to send correspondence and essays from Japan to Portuguese magazines (e.g., "Nihon Tsushin," Oporto, 1904–1907). The course of Moraes' life had to change, once again, owing to the Portuguese revolution of 1910 and the fall of the monarchy, followed by OYoné's death in 1912, as well as the disruption of remittances to the consulate (due to political unrest in his home country). In 1913 (Taishō 2), he resigned as Consul General and moved to OYoné's hometown, Tokushima City. He stayed there with her niece, Saitō Koharu, and even after her subsequent death, he remained in Tokushima, writing essays such as *O Bon-Odori Em Tokushima* (*Bon Dancing in Tokushima*) (Oporto, 1916) and *Ó-Yoné e Ko-Haru* (*OYoné and Koharu*) (Oporto, 1923), all of which he continued to send to Portugal. In 1929 (Shōwa 4), he fell on the dirt floor of the house where he lived alone and died a lonely death at the age of 75.

Ó-Yoné e Ko-Haru (*OYoné and Koharu*), a late masterpiece by Wenceslau de Moraes, is a collection of 18 short stories. These were written intermittently in Tokushima between 1916 and 1920, when Moraes was in his sixties, and published in the Portuguese literary and scientific journal *Lusa*, and finally put together as a book in 1923.

Moraes' debut work was *Traços do Extremo Oriente* (1895), an account of his observations and impressions in Singapore, Macau, and Japan, which was first serialized in the Lisbon newspaper O Correio da Manhã (The Morning Post). When it was published, his publisher and friend, Vicente Almeida d'Eça, described Moraes as "without flattery, a good naval officer, ... with a melancholy face, a thin body, blond hair, thoughtful blue eyes, ... a very shy and timid man." He also described his "melancholy gloom, a deep sympathy for human misery, and the ability to grasp the small facts that others consider insignificant, but which, when studied closely, contain a world full of significance." He suggests that Morares "can be called the Pierre Loti of Portugal, but he is not as dandyish or snobbishly proud as Loti, nor does he have the smug pride of his genius," (Introduction to *Traços do Extremo Oriente*).

In 1898 (Meiji 31), 3 years after the publication of *Traços do Extremo Oriente*, Moraes decided to settle in Japan. From then until his death in 1929 (Shōwa 4) at 75 years of age, he wrote extensively about Japan from his vantage point in Kobe and Tokushima. The words above used by his friend to describe him concisely capture the basic characteristics that would remain with Moraes until his later years.

It is relatively well known that Moraes was a naval officer who came to Japan at around the same time as Lafcadio Hearn, later became a consul in Kobe, retired to Tokushima and died there. His personal story, however, has somewhat more unusual and dramatic aspects, such as the desperate love affair he had with a married woman while a naval officer in Lisbon. Then, in Mozambique, East Africa, where he was posted, he lived with a native woman, and in Macau with an Anglo-Chinese woman named Atchan. (Moraes adopted Atchan's two sons and made them the only legitimate heirs in his will.) After arriving in Japan, he made a common-law marriage with a *geisha*, Fukumoto Yoné, paying her debt to take her out of bondage. The 13 years he lived with her OYoné in Kobe seemed to be relatively peaceful and

productive for Moraes. During this period, from 1902 to 1913, he wrote an enormous amount of correspondence on Japan for O Comércio do Porto.

A major turn of events in Moraes' life occurred in 1912, when OYoné died suddenly of heart disease at 38 years of age. Furthermore, his country was plunged into turmoil after the Revolution destroyed the Portuguese royal family. Moraes abruptly resigned as consul the following year, at 59 years of age, deregistered himself from Portuguese military service and moved to Tokushima. It is not surprising that there was a rumour at the time in the Macau political office in Portugal that Moraes had gone insane. Moraes began living in Tokushima alone with 20-year-old Saitō Koharu (OYoné's niece) as his "maid." When World War I broke out in 1914 (Taishō 3), the police were on high alert in Moraes' neighborhood and the citizens showed blatant hostility (even though Portugal and Japan were allied against Germany), which was unpleasant for him. Soon after, Koharu gave birth to a baby, fathered by her former Japanese lover, and the following year she was hospitalized with hemoptysis and died. Koharu could claim the right to choose her own course, but from Moraes' point of view, the situation was a complete disaster.

A letter written by Moraes to his Portuguese friend Dias Branco at that time reads as follows: "Since you worry about so many things, I'll tell you the truth of it. I have not told you the truth enough. In fact, I had a maid here. She used to be my maid in Kobe, and she is the same here. She was an uneducated, unattractive maid, but she loved me at least. But on the second of this month, she died in hospital of tuberculosis. An alarmingly horrible way to die!" (From "Personal Letters – Osoroshi (Fearful)," October 22, 1916).

Five months later, he wrote again to the same friend, "As you see. I have suffered a terrible blow with the death of the poor girl I told you about, Koharu. She is the little maid who appears in *Bon Odori* (*Bon Dancingin Tokushima*, 1916). She gave me countless pieces of advice, but then did something stupid [i.e., pregnancy and childbirth] and I had to let her go. Anyway, even though she was such a girl, she had some respect for me, and was the only person in Tokushima whom I trusted very much. Above all, I was going to have her attend my deathbed and carry out my last testament. That hope was gone. Everything is gone. Now I am all alone. I am utterly alone. Oh, poor Koharu, at the young age of twenty-three, she died in such agony. ... I wrote a confession about it, titled *Koharu*" (ibid., March 23, 1917).

The opening story of *OYoné and Koharu*, "Koharu," was written under these circumstances. Moraes had already decided that this would be his last book and that he would never write another line for publication, but perhaps with the comfort, encouragement, and suggestions of friends who had read "Koharu" in Portugal, he picked up the pen again and started writing one small story after another.

The resulting *OYoné and Koharu* is much more personal in quality than the other works by Moraes such as *Dai-Nippon* (1897), *Paisagens da China e do Japão* (Landscapes of China and Japan) (1906) and *Os serões no Japão* (Evenings in Japan) (1926). The latter seemed to contain the message of "This is the Japan you do not know." *OYoné and Koharu*, on the other hand, is a piece of writing about the most personal and most particular aspects of life. It is an essay written by a person who has come to realize that not only has his own heart been deeply wounded, but

that he has also deeply wounded others. This notion of his is what gives *OYoné and Koharu* a depth and a complicating sense of eternity that makes it more than a mere theory of Japan.

However, this does not necessarily mean that his writing style in these small stories is heavy. For example, "Koharu" begins brightly as follows.

> Koharu is a literal translation of "little spring" ("ko" means little and "haru" means spring), and Japanese people use this sweet name to describe the last days of autumn, when the breeze is balmy, the sun is absorbed into the transparent blue sky and shines clearly, and the days are fading away in a hurry.

After this, he mentions a specific Japanese woman, "I was intimate with a Koharu [...]" and the "tomboy" must have fallen in love, but "[...] her naughty life didn't last any longer [...] The name 'Koharu' is a well-chosen name. It reminds me of the fleeting, false spring that appears suddenly and then quickly disappears." By placing the word "Koharu" in "Koharu-biyori" (balmy autumn day) at the beginning of this story, he cleverly suggests the springlike splendor of the maiden's name "Koharu" and the pity that it was a false spring. Other stories in *OYoné and Koharu* that deal with Koharu's death include "The shot of the Noon-gun," "The last glance of the landscape," and "Half a banana."

"Dreaming," a remembrance of OYoné, whom he loved as a wife for more than a decade during his Kobe years, is also a beautiful little storYoné day OYoné appears in Moraes' dream and she says, "I then, in life, was the opposite; I kept all, even the meanest crumbs, a little rag which I judged useless, any meaningless thing." Moraes is tempted by these words to open the kitchen chest that OYoné left behind. There he found "small pieces of silk already worn, small cases spoiled by the use, remains of a skein of silk thread, remains of skeins of woolen thread, post cards received, receipts of shops [...] and still an infinity of unqualifiable trifles [...] all were carefully and neatly arranged either in pieces or tied together with ribbons or twine. They [...] were tidy enough to honor the delicacy of the hands that patiently and carefully put them away and the simple, organizing, good, innocent, and adorable nature of the bearer of such hands." This is a fine story that unexpectedly depicts one of the ideal types of tender and modest Japanese housewives who were everywhere in those days, and whom we may nostalgically recall.

Also, in the short story of "Kimono or Money?.....Kimono," Moraes asks Chiyoko, Koharu's younger sister, "Since *Obon*—the season of the festival of the dead—is coming, would you like me to buy you a kimono, or would you prefer me to give you money?" She clearly answered "Kimono!" and Moraes was overjoyed at her reply, saying that "That's a swell answer. [...] Money, the shabby money, the ignoble money! Try walking down the street wearing a kimono." The image of Chiyoko, since we know she too would die of tuberculosis a few weeks later at 13 years of age, emerges even more vividly. Perhaps it is because we know that there were many girls like Chiyoko who grew up in poverty, were not nourished or cared for by their parents, and died of tuberculosis. Reading the short stories in *OYoné and Koharu* one by one, it almost seems as if Moraes is writing elegies to the many Japanese women and girls who have died young and in poverty.

Why in the world did Moraes stay in Japan until his death, especially after Koharu's death? Yoshii Isamu, a tanka poet (thirty one-syllable Japanese verse), composed a poem which means that "Moraes was pathetically in love with Japan until his death in the remote Awa province". But did Moraes really long for Japan, believing—for example—that he could achieve bliss by assimilating into Japan? Did he not return to Portugal because there was no place for him in his homeland, or because his homeland would not accept him? No, that was not the case. His letters to his friend Dias Branco, his two sisters and their husbands, and his nephews and nieces, written over the decades while he lived in Japan, clearly reflect his strong attachment to his native Portugal and his deep affection for his homeland, its people and its culture. It is evident from these letters that he was keenly aware of his Portuguese identity and proud of being Portuguese until the very end. Rather, after Koharu's death, Moraes stubbornly remained in Tokushima, which was never a comfortable place to live, either psychologically or physically, because he felt in his heart that he would continue to take responsibility for the choice he had made at the age of 60 when he decided to leave the consulate and retire to Tokushima. Another people for whom he felt responsible feature in his will. In the will he skillfully handled the distribution of his possesseions, namely to Achan's sons. But for the women he loved who died in Tokushima, he chose to die himself there. It was his way of taking responsibility. In that sense he was a martyr to them.

The English translations of quotations from Moraes' works were based in part on the following:

Wenceslau de Moraes, *OYoné and Koharu: Essays of a Portuguese Recluse Who Lived in Japan,* translated by Okamoto Kazuo. Kyoiku Shuppan Center, Tokushima, 1980.

Wenceslau de Moraes, *Bon-Odori in Tokushima: Essays of a Portuguese Hermit in Japan,* translated by Okamoto Kazuo. Kyoiku Shuppan Center, Tokushima, 1979.

Paul Claudel *L'Oiseau noir dans le Soleil levant* (*The Black Bird in the Rising Sun*) (1927)

Takashi Naito

Paul Claudel (©Indivision Paul Claudel)

Paul Claudel was born in 1868 in Villeneuve-sur-Fère-en-Tardenois, in Aisne, northern France. His father was a regional officer in the Ministry of Finance. At the suggestion of his sister, the sculptor Camille Claudel, he left for Paris at 13 years of age to receive his education at the Louis Le Grand secondary school. He then attended the Faculty of Law at the University of Paris and the Paris Institute of Political Studies. He had a difficult time adjusting to life in Paris, but in 1886, he encountered Rimbaud's "Illuminations," and was inspired to pursue a career in literature. In December of the same year, he was moved to convert to Catholicism during a service at the Notre Dame de Paris. His writing shows the influence of his devout Catholicism and also of his affinity with the works of Stéphane Mallarmé. In

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1890, he passed the diplomatic examination with the highest grade and was posted to Boston in 1893, followed by posts as a diplomat in various parts of the world. He spent a long time in China, and in 1898, he made a month-long excursion from Shanghai to Japan, visiting Tokyo, Nikkō, Shizuoka, Kyoto, amongst others. In 1935, he retired from the diplomatic service in Brussels, but continued his creative work and biblical commentaries. He died in Paris in 1955. While working as a diplomat, he engaged in vigorous creative activities. His representative works (as translated into English) include the plays *Golden Head*, *Break of Noon*, *The Shoes of Satin* and the poems "Five Great Odes" and "Knowing the East?" in addition to various art essays, diaries, and biblical commentaries.

Starting with Boston, Claudel had assignments in many cities, including Shanghai, Fuzhou, Prague, Frankfurt, and Rio de Janeiro, before arriving in Japan as the French ambassador in November 1921 (Taishō 10) in the fulfilment of a longstanding wish. Except for a temporary return to France in 1925, he remained in Japan as a diplomat until February 1927, when he finally left for Washington, D.C. In addition to his official duties, Claudel deepened his understanding of Japanese society and culture through a range of activities, including travel, his lively curiosity about art and theater, and association with a variety of personalities. *The Black Bird in the Rising Sun* (*L'Oiseau noir dans le Soleil levant*) is a collection of short essays that emerged from individual encounters Claudel had during his exploration of Japanese culture.

The title suggests a reference to Claudel as "the black bird" in Japan. Claudel was amused to share how his name, pronounced "klodɛl" in French, reminded him of kurodori (black bird) in Japanese, and so he likens himself to an old raven that comes to the garden of the ambassador's residence every year, as a witness to the passing of time.

The content of the essays is diverse, and the main works are as follows: "A glance at the Japanese soul" (Un regard sur l'âme japonaise), which deals with the nature of Japanese ethos and the human emotions and modes of behavior that are permeated by it; "Hinterland" (L'arrière-pays) and "The solar abyss" (L'abîme solaire), which describe the forces of nature and the four seasons at work within the country; "Through the burning cities" (A travers les villes en flammes), a document of the Great Kanto Earthquake; "Abdication among the pines" (L'abdication au milieu des pins), "Meiji," and several other essays which examine, for example, the symbolic role of the emperor; "Noh" (Nô), the court dances and music of "Bugaku," the traditional puppet play of "Bunraku." "Nature and morality" (La nature et la morale), addresses the meaning of "allusion" in Japanese art. "A promenade through Japanese literature" (Une promenade à travers la littérature japonaise) was written for a lecture on Japanese literature given in Europe during his temporary return to France in 1925. "The house at Pheasants Bridge" (La maison du Pont-des-Faisans), was an attempt to evoke the origin and historical resonance of the land where the ambassador's residence is located. There are also several beautiful prose poems inspired by works of art he came in contact with. Finally, "Farewell, Japan!" (Adieu, Japon!) written much later in August 1945, just after the end of World War II, was subsequently added to these collections. It evokes Claudel's memory of how Japan's

foundations, such as its paucity of resources, coexisted with the richness of meaning in artistic expression.

With the exception of the last work and the aforementioned essay written at the time of the Great Kanto Earthquake, each of the works in *The Black Bird in the Rising Sun* may be inadequately characterized as a record of the social events that Claudel encountered during his stay in Japan. But what Claudel seeks to discover in Japan is more than mere individual historical incidents. Rather, he attempts to interpret what exists behind appearances and beyond the passage of time. What Claudel presents is not a scholarly theory of Japanese culture based on expertise and analysis. He admits that he is not a professional Orientalist and that his theory lacks a systematic method, declaring that all of his knowledge of Japan is the result of the atmosphere he has immersed himself in, the various conversations he has had, and his daily impressions. For a stranger, he says, "the truth is beautiful but error has charms of its own." In this regard the book is not a guide for foreigners trying to learn about Japan. In this context, the author is a man of letters, not a diligent diplomat that he was, and readers are expected to read this book as they would read a literary work (and a rather arduous one at that).

Despite this, however, Claudel's book holds our attention as an excellent writing on Japanese culture. As a poet and playwright, his keen eye often captures Japan at a deeper level than would the ordinary analyst.

Then, what did Japan mean to this poet? Claudel had been interested in Japan since his youth. Although he was not immediately assigned there, it was his first choice for a diplomatic posting when he took his first steps into the diplomatic service. Having spent his youth suffocating in Paris at the end of the nineteenth century, when a materialistic atmosphere strongly dominated the scene, Japan may have seemed to him, first and foremost, a suitable place to escape to. At the time, Japonism was flourishing in literature and art. Paul's elder sister, the sculptor Camille Claudel, was an avid lover of Japanese art and, under her influence, Paul also became familiar with Hokusai's prints and other works from early on.

However, what Claudel sought in Japan was not simply a country that had been naively perceived as exotic, but rather a country that would reveal a glimpse of its origins. During his stay in Japan, Claudel showed little interest in Tokyo, which was undergoing rapid modernization at the time. In contrast, as his work shows, he was drawn to images of nature, dense forests, wild and roaring craters, and sanctuaries deep in the mountains in Nikkō and other places where he spent summers each year.

When Claudel seeks to immerse himself deeply in Japanese nature, he is not content to simply see and savor it as if it were a landscape painting. He pays attention to the emotions of the people who live in it, and the connection between nature and the people. Claudel addresses this issue in particular in his essay, "A look into the Japanese soul," in which he locates the root of the French soul in the constant verbal expression and assertion of one's self and one's righteousness. The French people always find themselves in the midst of discussions and open courtrooms, where words and intelligence are valued above all else to explain to others the reasons for their own righteousness. In contrast, for Claudel, the Japanese people, who live in nature and in sympathy with various other beings, show a spontaneous acceptance of

and respect for things inaccessible to intelligence, and this sentiment shapes their mentality. The Japanese people submit their personal existence to the presence of the mystery that surrounds them, Claudel says. And so nature takes on a religious nuance in the light of this mystery and awe. In this country, "the supernatural is therefore nothing other than nature," and "all of nature is a temple already prepared and arranged for worship."

For Claudel, the various phenomena and artworks seen in everyday life are imbued with a sense of ritual, an expression of respect for nature. In such a world, not only human beings but also every creature has its own meaning and shows it in its own image. While walking in one of the beautiful gardens in Kyoto, Claudel noticed a big pine tree about to fall down supported by a kind of huge crutch, and wrote, "It was a living being, a kind of vegetal grandfather to whom its human children and grandchildren lend filial assistance." He is also moved by a newspaper article in which printmakers offer a memorial service for the cherry trees they used to make their woodblocks. The tree is a being like a human being, and in such an act, the poet shows human respect for that which sustains its existence.

When talking about these things, Claudel's tone is sympathetic and gentle. However, he also focuses on a deeper force, a more disturbing force and destructive side of this sustaining nature. A country made up of volcanoes at its core is always susceptible to earth tremors. The Great Kanto Earthquake, which occurred in the third summer of his stay in Japan, made an impression on him. At the time, the French Embassy was burned to the ground and Claudel lost valuable books and manuscripts he was working on. Claudel made his way first by car, then on foot, through Yokohama and then further south to Zushi, where his daughter was waiting for him. "Through the burning cities" is unique among the essays in *The Black Bird in the Rising Sun* as it chronicles the events that unfold: the flames rising over the cities he passes, the concern for the safety of his acquaintances, the reported mass deaths, the restrained actions of people in the midst of panic, the fire in the port of Yokohama and the courageous act of a foreigner, for example.

Claudel alludes to how this unstable force shapes the emotions and actions of the Japanese people. "The Japanese never lose the sense of the dangerous mystery that surrounds him. His country inspires in him an ardent love, but not confidence. One must always be careful. The man here is like the son of a highly respected but unfortunately short-tempered mother. He has found only one way of safety on her shifting ground: to make himself as small and as light as possible," he writes.

The forces of nature work against man, sometimes gently, sometimes wildly and violently. This interaction between nature and humanity is the central theme of *The Black Bird in the Rising Sun*. Claudel views many Japanese rituals and behaviors as expressions of an arrangement of the relationship between nature and humanity that continues from their genesis. It is from this perspective that Claudel is interested in the mythological structure of Japanese society, including the existence of the emperor system.

And the variety of Japanese art that Claudel deals with in *The Black Bird in the Rising Sun* reveals this sensitive correspondence between nature and humanity. Japanese paintings are not mere reproductions of nature, but are expressions of the

life hidden within it, as well as "a perpetual allusion to Wisdom" that has dwelled in the world since ancient times. Claudel is also attracted to the term "ahare" (*mono no aware*, or a sensitivity to the impermanence of life), which appears in Japanese literature. He emphasizes how this word, which includes the interjection "Ah!" is above all a straightforward demonstration of the mystery of the life that exists in front of us for a moment, the fresh surprise of its discovery, and the moment of disclosure of a new world.

This relationship between the forces of nature and human behavior is sharply examined on a mythic level in his essays on traditional Japanese arts such as "Noh," "Bugaku," and "Bunraku." Many Western writers have shown interest in Noh, but none were as involved as Claudel was, by actually going to the theater and seeing the stage and the actors' performances with his own eyes. (This experience was actively incorporated into his playwriting after his return to France, thus sustaining its value as a new experiment in contemporary European theater.) Beginning with the famous definition that "Noh is someone who arrives," the essay "Noh (Nô)" focuses specifically on the interaction between the supernatural world and human beings initiated by the appearance of the dead. By bringing the past to life before our eyes, it reveals our present existence, which has followed the currents of the past. The Noh performance teaches us that the insignificant gestures we perform by chance are an "unconscious and improvised imitation" of the eternal.

While discussing the New Year's Noh play *Okina*, Claudel sees the representation of earth and flowing water performed in it as a ritual for possessing the earth. Imitating nature is a ritual to tame the wild part of it and to cooperate with it through mimicry. It is in his understanding of theatre that Claudel's eye is most acute, when he sees the land as a stage and human behavior as a single act defined by nature, myth, and the like. The best part of this essay lies in the fact that he sees Japan not as a fragment, but as a whole place composed of nature flowing from the past.

Dai Jitao *Theory of Japan* (1928)

Hideaki Sasaki

Dai Jitao

Dai Jitao (戴季陶) is often referred to as Dai Chuanxian (傳賢) or by his pseudonyms, Dai Xuantang (選堂) or Dai Jitao (季陶). As a journalist, his pen name was Dai Tianchou (天仇). He was born in 1890 in Hanzhou, Sichuan (north of Chengdu, now Guangmo). He learned Japanese in Chengdu, and from 1905 to 1909 (from the age of 15 to 19), he studied at the law department of Nihon University. After returning to China, he became a reporter for Shanghai Daily and then Tianduo Newspaper, where he wrote editorials and became a well-known writer. In 1911, he was exiled to Nagasaki, Japan, after his writing at Tianduo Newspaper caused trouble. He then moved to Penang, Malay Peninsula, where he edited Guanghua Newspaper and joined the Tongmenghui of China (Chinese United League). After the Wuchang Uprising, he returned to Shanghai, where he met Sun Yat-sen, and

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founded Civil Rights Newspaper. From 1913 onward, he served as Sun's interpreter and secretary and worked with him as a Kuomintang proponent until Sun's death in 1925. From 1913 to 1916 he stayed in Japan. During this period he became acquainted with Inukai Tsuyoshi and other Japanese figures, and in 1917 he was to return to Japan to investigate the Manchu Restoration Movement and met with Tanaka Giichi, Akiyama Saneyuki and others. In 1920, he became a major associate of Chen Duxiu's Marxist Institute. Two years after a failed suicide attempt (by throwing himself into a river), he joined the National Revolution and became a member of the central executive committee, a political commissar, and the head of the propaganda department of the Chinese National Party, or Kuomintang (KMT). He completed *The Philosophical Foundation of Sun Yat-senism* soon after. In 1926, he retired from politics and became the principal of Guangdong University (later to become Zhongshan University). A second suicide attempt was followed by his return to Japan in 1927, when he was dispatched by the right wing of the Kuomintang (KMT) to give public speeches in various places. It was after returning to China again that he wrote *Thesis on Japan*. With the establishment of the Chinese Kuomintang government in 1928, he became President of the Examinations Authority, and for the next 20 years he led the government's education policy. In 1948, at the outbreak of the Chinese Civil War, he moved to Guangzhou, where he died the following year at 59 years of age. The cause of his death is said to have been an overdose of sleeping pills, which he took regularly.

Sun Yat-sen's death caused a rift in the Chinese Kuomintang (KMT) between the pro-communist left wing (Wuhan government) led by Wang Zhaoming, the party president, and the anti-communist right wing led by Chiang Kai-shek, who had promoted the Northern Expedition. Dai Jitao, who had worked with Sun Yat-sen for many years as an interpreter and secretary, was a shrewd realist who saw himself as the legitimate heir to the "Three Principles of the People," rather than a radical nationalist, even though he belonged to the right wing.

Since coming to Japan to study at 15 years of age, he had spent a total of more than 8 years in the country, and it is said that he was even better than the Japanese when it came to giving speeches in Japanese (i.e., according to Hu Hanmin, Introduction to *Thesis on Japan*). The right wing of the KMT decided to dispatch this intelligent Japanist orator to Japan to make their case to the Japanese people. This was in February 1927 (Shōwa 2), just two months before the so-called First United Front, also known as the KMT–CCP (Chinese Communist Party) Alliance, which resulted in the reunification of the KMT.

In his speeches Dai Jitao stated: "Stop armed aggression and work for peace, for the revival of Asia depends solely on a China-Japan cooperation." However, as posterity knows, the Japanese government of Tanaka Giichi, the last great leader of the Chōshū warlords, was about to form his cabinet, and Japan subsequently dashed in the opposite direction of Dai Jitao's expectations. After returning to China, he monitored and criticized the Tanaka Cabinet, and wrote *Thesis on Japan* as a final recommendation to Japan and as a prayer to his homeland, "Learn from Japan and know the secret of her strength."

As a natural consequence of these circumstances, the book has a strong political and topical aspect, with its emphasis on the need of his homeland for knowledge of contemporary Japan. Accordingly, it includes one or two chapters dedicated to the introduction and analysis of Tanaka Giichi, Itagaki Taisuke, Katsura Tarō, and Akiyama Saneyuki, among others. However, this does not diminish the abiding relevance of *Thesis ont Japan*, as evidenced by the fact that this book, first published in Shanghai in 1928, is still being reprinted in Taiwan.

This book, with its emphasis on "the two positions of theory and history," succeeds as a systematic theory of the Japanese people and Japanese culture. It can be compared to, and in some respects even surpasses, the later published *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* by Ruth Benedict, partly because Benedict never set foot on Japanese soil, whereas Dai Jitao had a rich and intense experience in Japan, including meeting many influential figures as Sun Yat-sen's interpreter and secretary, and getting to know Itagaki, Tanaka, and many others very well. For example, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* is said to be one-sided due to the fact that the author's perspective was limited to that of the "pseudo-samurai class" and the "samurai-like world" (Nishi Yoshiyuki, "'Kiku to Katana' Kō," Studies of Comparative Literature, No. 44). Dai Jitao, on the other hand, had firsthand contact with the Japanese people and did not have this one-sidedness.

Rather, he actively discovers that behind bushido (the "way of the warrior"), for example, there is always something anti-samurai, or a "mercantile spirit," which is nothing more than one of the two wheels that have supported the amazing energy of modern Japan. "While samurai disregarded life or death and valued trust and duty, merchants disregarded trust and duty and valued money. The former is the Muslim mystical morality, and the latter is the Jewish mercantilism," he boldly points out, and also offers the following astute insight:

> Europeans crossed into the Americas and slaughtered hundreds of thousands of native people. I have always thought that such cruelty was not possible for pure warriors. They could only have done it because they were merchants and convicts with weapons. Even the so-called "mercantile spirit" of feudal Japan has an aspect of cruelty behind its obedience. [. . .] Let us compare Shibusawa (Eiichi), a samurai, and Ōkura (Kihachirō), a merchant, among a group of 80-year-old Japanese businessmen who grew up before the new Meiji era education system. The former is a sincere gentleman and the latter a cunning broker. The former is noble, the latter vulgar. One speaks of cultivation, while the other is all about profit. These two extremes clearly reveal the difference between the samurai and the merchant.

According to Dai Jitao, however, such a "fussy and lowly" "mercantile spirit" was due to the fact that merchants "had to live near and depend on the ruling class for their livelihood while they belonged to the 'ruled' class and were politically weak," and they "had no choice but to be this way if they wanted to be winners in life." He also says, "It is natural that a merchant whose character was not recognized as having even a modicum of status had nothing to do with the higher virtues," and that "the higher virtues not only did not help him in his life, but on the contrary, they even hindered him."

The complexity of his view of the "mercantile spirit" as a complementary shadow behind bushido, the Japanese "flower" (Nitobe Inazō's *Bushido*), is the true essence

of Dai Jitao's analysis, and it runs through the entire *Thesis on Japan*. It lies in the fact that he recognized that, in the modern era, bushido and "mercantile spirit" could no longer be separated, and that both now, as an inseparable whole, support the nation.

"The temperament of the upper and middle classes in modern Japan," he asserts, "is nothing more than the skeleton of 'mercantile spirit' clothed in the garb of bushido." From this viewpoint, the following contradiction of the Japanese people can be understood: On the one hand, there is the samurai-like "self-confidence" (including pride and ambition) that the Japanese people should emulate, as shown in the Meiji Restoration and the Russo-Japanese War, and on the other hand, there is the "fussy" and "deep-rooted insularity," as the author laments, "When I come in contact with their many words and actions, in which they tirelessly worship the West and scorn China, I fundamentally doubt their spirit of public morality." His insights seem to foreshadow postwar Japan's successful transformation from a "military power" to an "economic superpower."

However, the book, which focuses on encouraging the Chinese, does not dwell too deeply on the shortcomings of the Japanese, but rather focuses on introducing and analyzing the strengths of the Japanese from which the Chinese should learn in the future. As a result, *Thesis on Japan* can be considered an appropriate cultural and social comparison of Japan and China, even though it is a bit soft on Japan and hard on China. Dai Jitao outlines Japan's advantages over China as follows:

1. "The truth of faith." An "idea" becomes "faith" only when it is "merged with life." "The idea of suicide," which is unique to Japan, as shown in "seppuku" and "shinjū," is one expression of the purity of this "faith." Chinese "calculated people," should know that without "faith" there will be no revival of the nation.
2. Japanese people are "beauty-loving people." "In general, they are more graceful and rich in aesthetic sentiments than the Chinese." "People who do not appreciate beauty" have no ambition, and "they never hope for moral progress."
3. "A martial spirit and peace." The martial spirit of the Japanese people is well known throughout the world, but it is realized only when it is complemented by the "peace and mutual aid" that pervades Japanese society. This integration of the two elements corresponds to the Japanese people's outstanding talent for blending, as in the fusion of Shinto and Buddhism (or Chinese culture), or the harmony of "faith" and "love of beauty."
4. "Gender relations." The "samurai morality of protecting the weak is especially evident between the sexes." As a result, even though Japan and China share the same "male-dominated" society, there are no "two sides of the same coin" in Japan as in China, and therefore "domestic violence," which is common among Chinese men, and cohabitation between a wife and concubine, where Chinese women suffer, are "absolutely absent" in Japan. In addition, Japanese women's "sense of chastity," which is misunderstood as being scarce in China, is in fact "extremely strong"; it is just that in Japan, the way of thinking about it is "not as cruel as in Chinese society."

Having laid out the virtues of Japan in this way, Dai Jitao, however, emphasizes that those virtues are already disappearing from early Shōwa-era Japan, saying, "I have now visited Japan for the first time in six years, and what I saw and heard gave me a sense of a different world." Nostalgic for the "good old" Japan of 20 years prior, when "capitalism was immature," "class division by money" was still weak, and "life was not as hard as it is today," the author laments the change in the minds of the Japanese people from "peace" to "non-peace," from "religious faith" to "superstition" (of the divine nation and divine authority). The man with a view towards synthesis notes that since Japan's "martial spirit and peace" were originally one and the same, this change is in fact a sign of the decline of the Japanese people's martial spirit, and that their excellent "self-confidence" and "religious faith" are now being undermined by a calculating and ruthless "mercantile spirit".

The Manchurian Incident would occur 4 years later.

Zhou Zuoren "A Personal View of Japan" (I–IV) (1935–1937)

Hideaki Sugita

Zhou Zuoren

Zhou Zuoren was born in Zhejiang, China in 1885. His eldest brother was the writer Zhou Shuren (or Lu Xun) and his youngest brother was the politician Zhou Jianren. Following his brother, Lu Xun, he went to Japan in 1906 to study at Rikkyō University amongst others, and published a translation of foreign literature titled *Stories from Abroad* (1909) in collaboration with Lu Xun. During this period, he married a Japanese woman. After returning to China in 1911, he engaged in teaching and research activities, and from 1917 he served at Peking University. He participated in the literary revolutionary movement and vigorously published criticism and translations. As a prose writer, he published more than twenty collections of literary-style essays throughout his life, including *Books of the Rainy Day* (1925), *Talks on Dragons* (1927), *Talks on Tigers* (1929), *Looking at Clouds Collection* (1932),

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Jokes from the Bitter Tea Studio (1935), *Talks on Wind and Rain* (1936), *Melons and Beans Collection* (1937), *Candlelight Chatter* (1940), and *Taste of Medicine Collection* (1942). They include, among others, the essays "A Personal View of Japan," "Letters on Japanese Culture," "Reconsidering Japan." In contrast, Lu Xun did not write a single essay on Japan. In his personal life, he and Lu had become estranged in 1923. After the Japanese occupation of Beijing in 1939, Zhou remained there, which put him in a difficult political situation, and after the war he was arrested and imprisoned by the Kuomintang government as a "hanjian" (collaborator with the enemy). Even after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, this stigma was not removed, and he remained engrossed in literary activities in Beijing under home confinement. He died in 1967, leaving behind a series of writings on Lu Xun, translations of foreign literature, and an autobiography, *Zhitang's Memoirs* (1970). Even today, Zhou Zuoren's lack of reputation in China contrasts sharply with the high reputation of Lu Xun.

Located on the periphery of the East Asian cultural sphere, Japan has looked to China as its teacher and has formed a long and rich tradition of Chinese studies. In contrast, China, a country of "Sino-centrism," had very little interest in Japan, and apart from the "Wokuochuan" (Accounts of the Land of Wa, from the third century CE onward) and commentaries such as *Riben yijian* (*Encyclopedia of Japan*) and *Riben fengtuji* (*Gazetteer of Japan*) of the Ming dynasty, there were very few works on Japan by Chinese scholars until the modern era. This situation remained basically the same even after the end of the nineteenth century, when Chinese students were dispatched to Japan in large numbers. Soon, however, three excellent works on Japan emerged: Huang Zunxian's *Riben zashi shi* (*Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects from Japan*) (1879), Dai Jitao's *Thesis on Japan* (1928), and Zhou Zuoren's series of essays on Japan, which were written with reference to these two works.

Unlike the other two works, Zhou's essays on Japan were not published in a single volume. In this section, we will focus on the four essays entitled "A Personal View of Japan," as well as many other essays on Japan that are scattered throughout his various collections of essays—in order to highlight the outlines of his views on Japan as a whole.

To begin with, two main sources of Zhou's theory of Japan should be taken into account. The first is the personal experience of studying in Japan between 1906 and 1911, which formed the basis of his views on Japan. The second comprises the chronological and historical conditions of Japan's continental policy and the escalation of the Sino-Japanese War, decades later, which motivated him to write a series of articles on Japan.

Zhou studied in Japan for 6 years, around the same time as his elder brother Lu Xun. While living a "completely Japanese lifestyle" in Tokyo, Zhou learned Japanese, English, Greek, and other languages, and deepened his interest in Japanese literature and culture. Everything about his life in Tokyo, especially the simplicity, cleanliness, and meticulousness of Japanese life and culture, including food, clothing, and housing, as well as the beauty of the Japanese people's humanity, blended well with his nature and nurtured his attachment to and fondness for Japan. Of course, having a Japanese wife also made him all the more familiar with Japanese

culture. In many of his later recollections of his years in Japan, Zhou fondly recalls his life in Tokyo with memories of the universities and bookstores, and even states that "nostalgia for Tokyo is the basis of almost all of my observations of Japan." There is no doubt that his experiences at the time made him strongly "pro-Japanese."

It is also important to note that his love of Japan was combined with his sympathy for the fact that Japan did not adopt the four evils of eunuchs (Tang Dynasty), foot-binding (Song Dynasty), eight-legged writing of the civil-service examination system (Ming Dynasty), and opium (Qing Dynasty) from China, which in turn led to his criticism of traditional Chinese culture.

On the other hand, in terms of historical conditions and developments, he had to witness his own attachment to Japanese culture being trampled on and betrayed one time after another by the actions and words of the Japanese in China, especially those called "Shina rōnin" (civilian nationalists who lived and wandered in mainland China) and "Shina-tsū" (the so-called "China experts"), and he had to suffer the contradiction and gap between his view of Japan that was cultivated while studying there and the current reality before him.

> The Japanese people's exceptional love of beauty is equally evident in their literature and art, as well as in the forms of their food, clothing, and housing. But why is it that the same Japanese people can be so ugly in their behavior toward China?

It was natural for him to have this doubt at the time. Japan's provocative actions had damaged his self-esteem as a Chinese, and had marred his admiration for the country. Japan's continental policy had forced him to do an about-turn from his "pro-Japanese" orientation to an "anti-Japanese" one. Moreover, the circumstances of the times did not allow him the leeway to adopt a "third scholarly attitude" that was neither "pro-Japanese" nor "anti-Japanese." Thus, Zhou sought to construct an outlook on Japan that would answer the above question, and at the same time, he had to express a certain political attitude. This is the reason why his thesis on Japan is expressed in a full range of ironical and ambiguous terms.

What exactly are the contents and characteristics of Zhou Zuoren's theory of Japan?

First, he began by recounting Westerners' traditional views of Japan, noting that they regard East Asia as more or less "romantic," starting from a taste for the exotic, "like the disappointment or satisfaction of seeing some tropical plant, and not at all a solid understanding. Even the famous Lafcadio Hearn [Koizumi Yakumo] is not free from such tendencies," he criticizes. On the other hand, China shares the same culture as Japan, including "political conditions, family systems, social customs, traditions of writing techniques, and Confucian-Buddhist thought," and the Chinese should be in a much better position than Westerners when it comes to understanding Japan. For this reason, Zhou argued that the Chinese must abandon their conventional arrogance (Sino-centrism) and contempt for Japanese culture, and that it was time to conduct thorough research on Japan.

Thus, his own thesis on Japan inevitably took the form of a Japan-China comparative study, focusing on the similarities and dissimilarities between the two countries.

First, regarding the similarities between Japan and China, he quotes a passage from Nagai Kafū's *On Edo Art*, in which he said, "I am not a Belgian like Verhaeren, but a Japanese. I am an Oriental who was born with a different fate and circumstances. [...] I am a citizen who knows that out of the mouth comes evil." He then goes on to say that this sentiment, or this grief, is the "grief of Orientals" shared by both China and Japan. This was an observation that came naturally from his attachment to the Edo way of life, and at the same time, it was an aspect that (ironically) corresponded with slogans such as "the common destiny of East Asian nations" and "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity," which were popularly advocated at the time.

However, simply recognizing the similarities between Japan and China, or "seeking similarity in dissimilarities," ignores the unique Japanese element of "seeking dissimilarity in similarity," and hardly constitutes a true understanding of the culture of a nation. The next question then arises as to what elements are unique to the Japanese which are lacking in the Chinese. Zhou attempted to find them in the "religious character" of the Japanese. Inspired by Yanagita Kunio's article describing the phenomenon of "kami-gakari" (神憑り) (possession by spirits) or "shinjin wayū" (神人和融) (unification of the supernatural and humanity) among young people who carry *mikoshi*, or portable shrines, on festival days, Zhou emphasized that such a state of kami-gakari that transcends reason is never seen in the pragmatic and utilitarian Chinese, and that the religious character of Japanese people, as symbolized by the Shinto spirit, is the key to understanding Japan.

Of course, as Zhou noted, "If I could understand the mindset of the young men who carry *mikoshi*, I would understand the true meaning of Japan's actions against China." It is suggested that the "kami-gakari" situation is criticized because it is superimposed on Japan's nationalist movement and irrational policy toward China at the time. In fact, the text entitled, "The Problem of Ideology in China," which included this criticism, was severely criticized by a Japanese writer immediately after its publication. Nevertheless, Zhou was able to explain, in his own way, the contradiction between the aesthetic sense inherent in Japanese culture and the ugliness of the actual policy toward China.

Having reached this conclusion on Japanese religiosity, Zhou "closed the Japanese Studies store" for the time being. It is noteworthy, however, that during this period he did not go so far as to publish any work directly labeled as a thesis on Japan, but was framing an indirect comparative analysis of Sino-Japanese culture by way of his appreciation of the literary works of the two countries.

The following are some of Zhou's works, which are full of flavor and well written, demonstrating his true potential as a secluded writer in his simple, straightforward narrative. In an essay "Concerning the Thunder God," Zhou contrasts the familiarity of Japanese people with the Thunder God and the fear that Chinese people have of him, citing various depictions of him in classical literature from both Japan and China; "Changyan fao" and "Ukiyo-buro," which compare comedic literature from Japan and China; A comparative study of folklore, such as "Kakashi" and "Mame maki;" "Simingchan," which discusses the translation of Noh songs into Chinese; and *"I am a CAT"*, which deals with the nuances of different words in

Natsume Sōseki's novels and their Chinese translations. They also demonstrate the depth and breadth of Zhou's knowledge of Japanese literary and art forms, including *haikai, waka, yōkyoku* (Noh chants), *kyōgen, sharebon* ("witty books," a genre of Edo popular fiction), *kokkeibon* ("funny books," also a genre of Edo popular fiction), *rakugo*, and modern novels.

Zhou Zuoren was one of the most knowledgeable Chinese Japanologists, in terms of his deep understanding of Japanese literature and culture. It is unfortunate, however, that he has not been properly appreciated in either Japan or China due to the limitations of the times. A reevaluation of his theses on Japan remains a challenge for the future.

Katharine Sansom *Living in Tokyo* (1936)

Miharu Okubo

Katharine Sansom. (Source: Katharine Sansom (1972), *Sir George Sansom and Japan*, Diplomatic Press)

Katharine Sansom was born in Skipton, North Yorkshire, England, in 1883. When in London she met George Bailey Sansom, a British diplomat and Japanologist who was on leave. Soon he went back to Japan. She joined him there in May 1928 and they were married in Tokyo. It was the second marriage for both of them. Her husband, George Sansom, worked as Commercial Counselor at the British Embassy in Tokyo from 1927 to 1940, while researching the language, history, and culture of Japan. During this period, he published *A Historical Grammar of Japanese* (1928) and the classic, *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (1931). While fulfilling her duties as a diplomat's wife, Katharine traveled with her husband throughout Japan and Korea, coming into contact with traditional Asian culture. In 1936, she published *Living in*

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Tokyo. Her husband considered it "the best book on modern Japan." With the deterioration of the political situation in Japan, the Sansoms returned to England in 1939. After World War II, she accompanied her husband, who pursued Japanese studies at Columbia University and Stanford University in the United States. George Bailey Sansom died in 1965, two years after finishing his magnum opus, *A History of Japan*. Katharine Sansom compiled her husband's memoirs based on his diaries, letters, talks, and lectures, and published them in 1972 under the title *Sir George Sansom and Japan*. She died in 1981.

"This small book," the author says in the preface, "is an attempt to answer the questions of friends and relatives who ask, 'What is it like to live in Tokyo?'" *Living in Tokyo* is a book by Katharine Sansom, who experienced life in Japan for 11 years, describing the Japanese people, especially the common people, whom she met, got to know, and observed as the wife of a diplomat and as a foreign woman.

For the author, who was born and raised in a small town in Yorkshire, England, and had hardly ever visited London during her childhood, life in Japan, a country in the Far East Asia, was an interesting experience full of surprises and contradictions. Despite the frustrating differences in lifestyle and language, Katharine Sansom loved the Japanese people, whom she described as "a gentle people unless vitally roused, singularly generous and ungrudging in their deeds and gifts of kindness, comparatively little ruthlessly competitive amongst themselves, a people whose crowning love is a love of Nature." She described the servants, gardeners, and the country people with a truly warm eye. She humorously described how they eat rice: "the labourer will shovel in the rice as though he were pitchforking grain into a yawning barn, holding his bowl for the purpose as near to his open mouth as possible and sucking in the rice from his busy chopsticks with appreciative noises." Katharine Sansom's humorous and light-hearted writing, combined with the 42 illustrations by her friend Marjorie Nishiwaki, former wife of Nishiwaki Junzaburo, are part of the book's charm.

Being very curious, Katharine Sansom took the tram and rode the dreaded buses that hurtle down the bad streets to explore the city of Tokyo. Not a single one of the ladies bowing deeply to each other at the stop failed to catch her eye, nor the baby sleeping comfortably on his or her mother's back, nor the schoolgirls in school uniforms dragging their leather shoes along. She would visit department stores and walk from the rooftop to the basement, observing each item on display. She noticed when the fabric and color of the cushion covers changed with the seasons, and marveled at the beauty of the kimonos, obis (sashes), folding fans, and umbrellas. She also paid attention to the menus in the cafeteria and the people sitting in the rest areas. When she happened to see Bon Odori, she joined the dancing circle, and when she climbed the Japanese Alps, she described in detail the conditions of mountain lodges and hot spring inns, from the way maidens served tea and meals to the way the futon was spread and the scene in a public hotel bath. Through her writings, we can get a glimpse of life in Japan in the 1930s, and learn about the calm and placid lifestyle of ordinary people at a time that is often portrayed in dark images.

Living in Tokyo is a 13-chapter essay-style book of observations. Chapter 1 begins with a scene of a ship approaching Tokyo Bay with George and Katharine

Sansom, who have returned to Japan via Canada after a brief leave in England, and describes the customs handling, the scene at the wharf, the servants who greeted them, and the character of the Japanese servants. The remaining chapters cover: cooks, dishes, and traditional Japanese food (Chapter 2); the Japanese character, and Japanese women (Chapter 3); the Japanese view of the family and marriage (Chapter 4); department stores (Chapter 5); scenes in train stations and vehicles (Chapter 6); trees, gardeners, and bonsai (Chapter 7); the peculiarities of the Japanese people and the need for contact with foreigners (Chapter 8); a comparison of Japan's past and present, and entertainment imported from the West (Chapter 9); criticism of Japanese closedness (Chapter 10); the similarities between Japan and Britain (humility as a virtue, talent for combining traditional and modern civilizations), and the differences between Japan and her home country (Japan is a family-oriented society while Britain is an individual-oriented society, and the Japanese live in a more sophisticated cultural environment) (Chapter 11); a travelogue of the Japanese Alps (Chapter 12); and Japanese children, the modernization of women, the wave of modernization and the future of Japan (Chapter 13).

Each topic is vividly observed from a woman's viewpoint, and Katharine's comparative eye reveals the unique characteristics of Japanese life, culture, and society. In her writings, there are many detailed observations comparing Japan and England. For example, Japanese people wash their leather shoes with water; teachers lead and students follow, contrary to the British practice; food is served at once rather than in order; and Japanese people pay attention to the color of food but are insensitive to its temperature.

As a wife and a mother, Katharine makes further interesting observations about the Japanese view of the family, marriage, child rearing, and women's lives. According to her, in the West, individual freedom is respected, whereas in Japan, the family—and even social order and prosperity—are more important than the individual. Japanese women do not marry for happiness. It is a woman's duty to marry a man of her parents' choice and to bear and raise children, and she finds happiness by fulfilling this duty. The Japanese women who lose their freedom by living with their husbands' parents, and who are content with a monotonous life of housework and childcare, are just as the British women were in the English countryside before motorization. Katharine, who believes that life without dialogue, discussion, and intellectual stimulation is unsatisfying for educated women, explains the need for women to work outside the home. In her opinion, wise and intelligent women have much to contribute to society, and if women's status improves and their freedom increases, the Japanese people will enjoy a more affluent life and become more self-critical in a positive sense.

Katharine's views on children are as follows: Japan is a paradise for children. In Japan, it is taken for granted that mothers take care of their children, and children are spoiled and rarely scolded. In England., nannies and governesses are considered more desirable than mothers, and children are disciplined strictly from a very young age. It is strange that British children are fiery-tempered and selfish, and need strict discipline, while Japanese children are calm and docile and do not become spoiled by being pampered.

Katharine's assessment of Japanese culture and her suggestions for Japan are another interesting aspect of this book. She praises Japan highly as a country with an excellent traditional civilization and the ability to skillfully incorporate the new civilization introduced from the West into its own, and as a rich country living in two civilizations, old and new. She also points out two major advantages of traditional Japan: the nation is calm, peaceful, and nature-loving, and daily life is conducted in a sophisticated cultural environment. She envied the Japanese who write their own unique characters by dipping their brushes in ink rather than typing, and whose lives are surrounded by handmade, tasteful goods, not mass-produced cheap tableware and furniture, with only the bare minimum of necessities. Her admiration for the beauty and nobility of Japanese sensitivity is well expressed in the striking description of Mt. Fuji at the beginning of this book. "You never feel like using such a term as 'towering giant' about Fujisan: she is curiously ethereal; she hangs from Heaven. [. . .] You look across in the direction where she should be and you cannot find her; [. . .] she is a dream, a poem, an inspiration, and on seeing her again after absence my heart misses a beat. There is an extraordinary beauty about her. One can understand how she exercises so tremendous a grip on the imagination and aesthetic sensibility of the Japanese people."

Katharine also had her criticisms. One of Japan's greatest shortcomings, in her view, is the closed nature of its society. Japanese people, content with an idyllic but unstimulating life in a peaceful, prosperous, self-contained island nation, are unaware that they are ignorant of foreign countries and misunderstood by them. She argues that the Japanese people, who "are deeply embedded in their own country like fossils in the rock, with little more knowledge of the worlds over the seas than those same fossils," need to be more proactive in going abroad to broaden their perspectives. Therefore, she suggests the following. The way to change the proud, yet shy and sensitive Japanese character is to have contact with other nationalities. For this purpose, they need to spend more time studying foreign languages. More and more children of the middle class should also go abroad, and Japanese society needs to adapt itself in such a way that people who have been abroad can make use of their valuable experiences.

Katharine held a belief that "the only way to understand any people" is presumably "through sympathy and love." Her attempt, based on this belief to understand Japan in the 1930s, which was isolated from the rest of the world and on the path to war, was indeed valuable.

Finally, I would like to quote the closing remarks of the author who, with this book, introduced Japan to the West, and pointed out to Japan that it needs to know the West. Her words are directed at the Japanese, who in the nineteenth century worked hard to learn and introduce Western knowledge and technology, and who have now successfully digested and are busy further developing, and who are gradually forgetting the existence of the West as the provider of this new civilization.

> Laughing and talking and studying together, the twentieth-century Easterners and Westerners ought to be able to put a crown on the efforts of their enterprising forerunners, who met so amiably half a century ago.

Eugen Herrigel *Zen in der Kunst des Bogenschiessens (Zen in the Art of Archery)* (1936)

Akiko Tsukamoto

Eugen Herrigel. (Source) Eugen Herrigel, Zen in the Art of Archery, (English Edition), Kindle Edition, Sanage Publishing House, 2021, cover.

Eugen Herrigel was born in Lichtenau in 1884. After studying theology at the University of Heidelberg, he studied neo-Kantian philosophy with Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert. He served in World War I for 5 years, that is, from 1914, the year after he was awarded his Doctor of Philosophy degree, until the end of the war. He then returned to the University of Heidelberg as a lecturer in philosophy, and in May 1924 (Taishō 13) he was invited to Tōhoku Imperial University as a lecturer and came to Japan with his wife Gusty. He taught philosophy and classical languages and received his Doctor of Letters degree in 1929 for his thesis "Die metaphysische Form" ("The Metaphysical Form"). However, what was decisive for him was that during his stay in Japan, he practiced kyūdō (Japanese

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archery) at the kyūdō dōjō (archery training school) of Awa Kenzō, who advocated "One Arrow, One Life" and "to see true nature in the shot (Shari Kenshō)." Five years later, he was awarded fifth dan (grade) in kyūdō. This is described in detail in his *Zen in der Kunst des Bogenschiessens (Zen in the Art of Archery)*, published in Germany in 1948. His wife, Gusty Herrigel, studied ikebana (Japanese flower arrangements) and sumi-e (ink painting) under Takeda Bokuyō and received a master's diploma. After returning to Germany, Herrigel succeeded Emil Lask as full professor at the University of Erlangen, where he taught philosophy and logic while deepening his studies of Japanese thought and Zen. After World War II, his new house in Erlangen was confiscated by the U.S. military, and in 1951 he moved to Garmisch-Partenkirchen, where he passed away in 1955 at 71 years of age.

When Herrigel was asked whether he would like to teach philosophy at Tōhoku Imperial University, he welcomed the opportunity to get "to know the country and people of Japan with especial joy," if only because it held out the prospect of his making contact with Buddhism and hence with an introspective practice of mysticism.

At the University of Heidelberg—where Herrigel was teaching philosophy at the time—Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert, who pioneered the philosophy of value and the philosophy of culture in the neo-Kantian tradition, were active. This Heidelberg School, (or, Southwest German School) with its emphasis on idiographic method, dominated Japan from the Meiji (1868–1912) to Taishō (1912–1926) periods.

After World War I, Herrigel often met and befriended Japanese philosophers who came on "pilgrimages to Heidelberg," including Ōhazama Shūei, a translator of Buddhist selections published in Gotha, and Amano Teiyū, a Kant scholar who attended Herrigel's lectures on Plato's philosophy. Ishihara Ken, a historian of Christianity who was in Heidelberg at the time, later began teaching at Tōhoku Imperial University with Herrigel, and a close friendship was born between the two. In other words, even before Herrigel left for Japan, Heidelberg already had an established Japanese circle in the form of a reading group with German philosophers, and it was here that the idea of inviting Herrigel to Tōhoku Imperial University came about.

Herrigel's classes at Tōhoku Imperial University originated with Kant, and included teachings about Emil Lask, H. Rickert, W. Windelband, and Hermann Lotze. Herrigel taught his Japanese students to read the original texts faithfully and to think for themselves, and to this end he often asked them to write papers on what they thought, to which he would sometimes add a longer critique than the original, thus demonstrating his attitude of devotion and passion to each problem, however small it was. He also diligently taught Latin and Greek texts to give them the foundation in the classical languages of Europe.

How Herrigel found his way to Zen in Japan is described in detail in his own book, *Zen in the Art of Archery*. He says, "Even as a student I had, as though driven by a secret urge, been preoccupied with mysticism, despite the mood of the times, which had little use for such interests. For all my exertions, however, I became increasingly aware that I could only approach these esoteric writings from the

outside; and though I knew how to circle around what one may call the primordial mystical phenomenon, I was unable to leap over the line which surrounded the mystery like a high wall. Nor could I find exactly what I sought in the extensive literature of mysticism, and, disappointed and discouraged, I gradually came to realize that only the truly detached can understand what is meant by 'detachment,' and that only the contemplative, who are completely empty and rid of the self, are ready to 'become one' with the 'transcendent Deity.'"

"But—how does one become a mystic?" Nowhere did he find anything approaching a satisfactory answer to his own question. In the first place, the mystical experience cannot be induced by any planning on the part of man. "No matter how much I stared at it, I found myself confronted by locked doors."

Thus, for him, the chance to visit Japan was, in essence, a chance to experience the tradition, practice, and masters of Zen as a unique mystical experience preserved in Japan. It is not surprising, therefore, that upon arriving in Japan, he was determined to fulfill his wish. The first obstacle he encountered, however, was that the Japanese would not let him practice Zen. They reasoned that no European had ever seriously concerned himself with Zen, and since Zen repudiated the least trace of "teaching," it was not to be expected that it would satisfy him "intellectually." And he was not able to succeed in making them understand that he wished to devote himself to Zen specifically in a non speculative manner. "Thereupon I was informed that it was quite hopeless for a European to attempt to penetrate into this realm of spiritual life—perhaps the strangest which the Far East has to offer—unless he began by learning one of the Japanese arts associated with Zen."

Herrigel therefore chose the art of archery among arts, based on his "erroneous" assumption that his experiences in rifle and pistol shooting would be to his advantage. He asked his colleague Komachiya Sōzō for an introduction, and with his help also as an interpreter, he was able to become a student of Awa Kenzō, who had once turned him down because he did not want to have a foreign student. Awa Kenzō, 45 years old at the time, had a dōjō in Higashi Nibanchō, Sendai, and was an honorable Dainippon Butokukai kyūdō instructor and had Dainippon Kyūdōkan eighth dan. Awa Kenzō, whose yell at the moment the arrow leaves the bow was as fierce as a lion's, was revered as a great archer who preached "the unification of the universe and shooting" It is said that his archery had been becoming more and more philosophical around the time when Herrigel became his student (from Afterword, *Nihon no kyūjutsu*, trans. Shibata Jisaburō).

In *Zen in the Art of Archery*, Herrigel organized and developed his own kyūdō experiences through reflection over these 5 years of apprenticeship. In it he describes how the contradiction between the rational "I" with a will and the irrational "It" was sought and explored in search of a possible answer, and lost in skepticism and despair, and further sought again and again. It was a process in which each stage of progress brought new contradictions and anxieties, as if it were that of negative theology, and this one European disciple was shaken each time, resulting in an intense conflict between master and disciple. It was the trajectory through which a single philosopher, over a period of years, defied logic with logic, without half-

hearted and ambiguous compromise, and was also a process that was only possible through a holistic master-disciple relationship based on total, mutual respect.

The big crisis came in the 4th year, when Herrigel was still not able to make the "unconscious loosing of the arrow" that his master demanded, and he began to get impatient. Herrigel forgot the master's warning that "we should not practice anything except self-detaching immersion." After turning all the possibilities over in his mind, he came to the conclusion that "the fault could not lie where the Master suspected it: in the absence of purposelessness and egolessness, but in the fact that the fingers of the right hand held the thumb too tightly. [. . .] And ere long I had found a simple and obvious solution to this problem. If, after drawing the bow, I cautiously eased the pressure of the fingers on the thumb, the moment came when the thumb [. . .] was torn out of position as if spontaneously: in this way a lightning loose could be made and the shot would obviously 'fall like snow from a bamboo leaf.' This discovery recommended itself to me not least on account of its beguiling affinity with the technique of rifle-shooting."

Almost every shot went off to his way of thinking. At the same time, however, the precision work of the right hand demanded his attention. It did not mean that he was in a position to let off the shot "self-obliviously and unconsciously."

The very first shot he let off after the recommencement of his lessons was, to his mind, "a brilliant success." "The loose was smooth, unexpected. The Master looked at me for a while and then said hesitantly, like one who can scarcely believe his eyes: 'Once again, please!' My second shot seemed to me even better than the first. The Master stepped up to me without a word, took the bow from my hand, and sat down on a cushion, his back towards me."

The next day Mr. Komachiya informed him that the Master declined to instruct him any further because Herrigel had tried to cheat the Master. Herrigel desperately explained to Komachiya the reason he had hit upon such method of loosing the shot. "On his interceding for me, the Master was finally prepared to give in" and the lessons finally resumed. The Master's attitude was as casual as if nothing had happened, but Herrigel's bow was back to square one, not taking a single step forward.

> Weeks went by without my advancing a step. At the same time, I discovered that this did not disturb me in the least. [. . .] Whether I learned the art or not, whether I experienced what the Master meant by "It" or not, whether I found the way to Zen or not—all this suddenly seemed to have become so remote, so indifferent, that it no longer troubled me. [. . .] Then, one day, after a shot, the Master made a deep bow and broke off the lesson. "Just then 'It' shot!" he cried.

More than 5 years had passed since Herrigel had started the lessons, and upon receiving his fifth dan, the master handed over his best bow to the foreign student who was soon to leave Japan.

After his return to Germany, Herrigel received an honorary doctorate from Tōhoku Imperial University. Friedrich Kaulbach, one of his students and professor of philosophy at the University of Münster, wrote: "I received understanding and important advice for my doctoral thesis under Eugen Herrigel in Erlangen. He had started out in the neo-Kantian tradition, but had fundamentally left that world during

his stay in Japan. Now he is a Zen Buddhist at heart." After World War II, D. T. Suzuki already 83 years old at the time, visited Herrigel.

Zen in the Art of Archery, published in 1948, was based on a lecture, *Die Ritterliche Kunst des Bogenschiessens* (*The Knightly Art of Archery*), presented to Germans at the Berlin chapter of the German-Japanese Society in 1936, twelve years previously. This manuscript first appeared in the magazine *Japan* (*Zeitschrift fur Japanologie*) and in the same year (1936) a Japanese translation by Shibata Jisaburō was published in the magazine *Bunka* (*Culture*) edited by the Literary Society of Tōhoku Imperial University, and was published in hardcover by Iwanami Shoten in 1941. In 1982, a revised edition was added to the Iwanami Bunko (Iwanmi classics in paperback) collection.

It is no exaggeration to say that many Germans and other Europeans first became able to imagine the mystical world of Japanese Zen through Herrigel. *Zen in the Art of Archery*, first published in Konstanz, was taken over by Otto Wilhelm Barth Verlag publishing in Munich in 1951, and reached its 20th edition. It was translated into Dutch in 1951, into English in 1953, and into French and Italian, and has continued to attract people's attention up to the present.

> Dear good old friends,
>
> The one life that had always kept the tranquility of mind with its constant contemplation, passed away on April 18. Like petals falling from a tree, quietly and calmly, my dear husband is buried in a mountain grave in Partenkirchen. We laid him to rest in his last resting place, dressed in his much-loved Japanese silk kimono. [. . .]
>
> The letter "From Mrs. Herrigel to Japanese Acquaintances," May 10, 1955

Herrigel's main writings:

Zur Logik der Zahl, (The Logic of Numbers) (1921)

Urstoff und Urform (Raw Material and Form) (1926)

Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Kant, Bd. 1: Der mundus sensibilis *(A Duel with Kant)* (1929)

Die metaphysische Form (Metaphysical Form) (Doctoral dissertation submitted to Tōhoku Imperial University, 1929)

Die ritterliche Kunst des Bogenschiessens (The Knightly Art of Archery) (1936), a transcript of a lecture given under the same title, (trans.) Shibata Jisaburō, Shōwa 16 (1941), Iwanami Shoten, (New edition, Shōwa 57 (1982)

Zen in der Kunst des Bogenschiessens (Zen in the Art of Archery; Yumi to Zen) (1948) (*See* List of Original Works and Translations)

Der Zen-Weg (The Method of Zen) (Collection of posthumous manuscripts) (1958)

Bruno Taut

Das japanische Haus und sein Leben (The Japanese House and Its Life) (1936)

Bruno Taut *Das japanische Haus und sein Leben (The Japanese House and Its Life)* (1936)

Kimiko Mochida

Bruno Taut

Bruno Taut was born in 1880 in Königsberg, East Prussia. His birthplace was a traditional medieval city; a vibrant port city that also gave birth to Kant. In 1902 he graduated from the Königsberg School of Civil Engineering. He was greatly inspired by Olbrich's work in the Secession Movement while practicing in Hamburg and elsewhere. He struggled with the choice between becoming a painter or an architect, and eventually his paintings were integrated into the architecture. From 1904 to 1908, he studied under Fischer in Stuttgart. In 1909, he opened an architectural office in Berlin with F. Hoffmann. His achievements include the design, in 1913, of the "Iron Monument" for the International Architecture Exhibition in Leipzig, which established his name in German industrial circles. In 1914, Taut designed the "Glass

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House" for the Federation of German Workshops Exhibition in Cologne, a pavilion dedicated to Paul Scheerbart, a poet to whom Taut was devoted. His books include *The City Crown*, *Alpine Architecture* and *The Dissolution of Cities*, among others. He served as chief architect of Magdeburg from 1921 to 1924, returned to Berlin in 1925 and built many large housing estates there. In 1932, he worked on the Great Moscow construction project. The following year he went to Japan and worked in Sendai as a contractor for the Ministry of Commerce and Industry's Industrial Arts Institute. In 1934, he resided at "Senshin-tei (Mind-Washing Arbour)" in the suburbs of Takasaki, and published *Nippon*. In 1935, he co-designed the Okura House in Azabu and Hyuga House in Atami. It was planned that he would go to the U.S. via Japan, but it was never realized. In 1936, he was transferred to Turkey, where he was in charge of schools, parliament buildings, and residences. He passed away in Istanbul in 1938.

Bruno Taut, along with Lafcadio Hearn (*alias* Koizumi Yakumo) was one of the most famous and well-liked foreigners to visit Japan. Although he was 53 years old when he came to Japan, he was already a famous leading architect, not only in his native Germany, but in the rest of the world. He had a strong appreciation for ancient Japanese architecture such as the Ise Jingū Shrine, and private houses, especially praising the Katsura Rikyū, or Imperial Villa ("Katsura Palace" or simply "Katsura" in Taut's book). He referred to the latter as "the greatest world miracle of our time," which is probably the reason why Japanese people feel so affectionate towards Taut.

Shortly after Taut's departure from Japan, an abridged translation of the essays, diaries, and lectures he wrote during his stay in Japan (1933–36) was compiled into a single volume and published under the title "Rediscovering Japanese Beauty" (Iwanami Shinsho). It is still in print today, winning a wide readership, perhaps due in part to the portability of the Iwanami Shinsho format (the paperback pocket edition). In addition, complete works and collections of Taut have been published three times, and in 1981, his *Katsura Album* (画帖 桂離宮), a collection of sketches of the Katsura Rikyū by his own hand, was reprinted in beautiful color prints by Iwanami Shoten.

This is very unusual treatment for a foreigner who was in Japan for only three years and whose main occupation is not writing. The reason for this national popularity can be explained not only by Taut's own influence, but also, for better or worse, the fact that the Japanese people already had sensitivity to respond to him. Nationalism could be cited as one factor. While Taut praises Katsura and the Ise Jingū Shrine as the pinnacle of Japanese architecture, he is critical of contemporary Japanese architecture of the 1920s and 1930s, which was busily learning from European and American modernism, and labels it "ikamono" (a word Taut himself chose as a translation of the German word kitsch). It is easy to see how these ideas could have been fortunately or unfortunately aligned with Japan's cultural nationalism, which was becoming increasingly conscious of a return to tradition under the intensifying militarism. However, even if Taut's popularity contains misunderstandings or misinterpretations, this is not the fault of Taut himself, but only that of the recipient. What is needed now is to read Taut's words again in line with their true intentions. For this purpose, it is essential to know what kind of architect Taut was

before he came to Japan. His writings on Japan should not be discussed in isolation; they can only be truly understood when read with reference to Taut himself, an artist who lived in a time of great crisis.

Taut, along with such highly contradictory architects as Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, founded the Working Council for Art (Arbeitsrat für Kunst) in Berlin in 1918. He was basically in tune with functionalist modernism and practiced its methods in housing, urban planning, and apartment complex design. Indeed, one of the reasons he praised Katsura Rikyū was that "the essence of this miracle lies in the style of relationships, so to speak, the interrelationships that have been built," and he also points to its rational structure, saying "When I asked my friend, 'How would you characterize it if you were to describe this kind of architecture in a modern concept,' we both agreed that it could be called a functional architecture or a purposeful architecture." But that is not all.

Two aspects coexisted in Taut: the mystical, individualistic tendencies of expressionism, and social engagement. The former is represented by *Alpine Architecture* (1917), a plan to build a magnificent utopian city in the Alps using iron and glass, materials to which he had always been attached. It was never intended to be realized, and only a colorful drawing book from his own hand remains. Apart from functionalism, colorful architecture and cities were Taut's persistent ideas.

On the other hand, in contrast to Gropius, the most notable manifestation of his engagement with social trends was his vigorous construction of housing for the working masses. In fact, Taut built a total of 12,000 houses, of which the *Hufeisensiedlung* (Horseshoe Estate) in Blitz, Berlin (1925–30) is particularly famous. As Taut said around 1924, when he was chief architect of GEHAG, the Berlin Public Housing Association: "An architect must be a sociologist, an economist, and a rigorous scientist as well as an artist." He was aware of his social mission as an architect and successively turned into reality the social ideal of "expressing the community in relation to the city and bringing new art into social life."

While these thoughts of Taut certainly overlap with socialism to a large extent, they are unlikely to be exactly the same. Taut probably meant that when he said: "This is not political socialism, but socialism in the non-political sense, beyond politics." In any case, he was labeled by the rising Nazis as a man of socialist tendencies. The fact that Taut was torn between two contradictory aspects, one expressionist and the other socialist, was in the end a manifestation of expressionism, and it is safe to assume that this very contradiction was no other than the source of his vitality.

In 1932, Taut went to Moscow on business. This approach to the Soviet Union directly obliged him to flee Germany. He escaped Berlin just before the formation of Hitler's cabinet. Although he had an idea of defecting to the U.S. in mind, he decided to go to Japan instead, relying on a well-timed invitation he happened to receive from the International Architecture Association of Japan.

In general, when considering cultural discourse by a foreigner, it is important not to overlook the qualifications and position of the foreigner who came to the country. The Taut we have accepted came as an exile. What is an exile? It is a person who has abandoned his/her country or has been forced to abandon it. It is a person who has

stopped living in the figurative sense of the word. In Japan, Taut did almost no work as an architect, and was only involved in the design of two houses, and even then only as a mere collaborator. Unable to find anything to do, he referred to himself as an "architect on leave." Taut's devotion to crafts and writing, which were not his main occupation, seemed to make quite a few Japanese people feel that he was a "lonely person." This is in contrast to his vigorous and multifaceted work after moving to Turkey, where he was appropriately appointed as professor at the Istanbul Technical University and also held the position of the government's chief architectural technical advisor, which was reminiscent of his former times in Germany. For Taut, his days in Japan were an interlude, a holiday in his life.

The Japanese House and Its Life is a kind of literary work featuring a foreigner who came to Japan. The story is based, of course, on Taut's own experiences in Japan, but the author has made some creative changes in the structure, such as shortening his three-year stay to one year, and treating Katsura Rikyū, which he actually visited immediately after his arrival in Japan, as the climax of the work by making it his last visit.

In the book, he repeatedly praises Katsura Rikyū for its simplicity, which contrasts with the palaces and castles of Europe. The moods of simplicity, tranquility, friendliness, and modesty that is commonly found in all Japanese residences, including folk houses, farmhouses, and tea rooms, was a quality that would naturally have keenly and vividly appealed to someone in exile. Taut writes, "Here Japan has created something lacking in the world of today, a great idea for the proper employment of leisure."

The Japanese House and Its Life can be read as a "philosophy of holidays" written by an architect on leave, and as a "literature of déraciné" by a man who has ceased to live, in the figurative sense. Near the end, Taut devotes a rather lengthy page to praising the artist who created Katsura Rikyū, beginning with: "Thus there was an everlasting strain on his nerves, and even more an antithesis between politics and violence on the one hand, and art and culture on the other. These problems Kobori Enshū had to solve primarily in his own person." This is a very impressive passage, as it seems to be layered with memories of "the serious cultural strife which he had to go through" himself in his abandoned homeland of Germany. For him, it had already become a thing of the past.

Fortunately, Taut was able to work as an active architect again. Interestingly, there is little Japanese influence on his architectural works in Turkey. Its trace can be seen in the three-story slanted roof and the lattice-framed, sliding-glass windows of one of his residential works (Villa on the Bosporus, 1938), but it is a minor influence compared to the influence of African art on Picasso, for example. His stay in Japan seemed to be, after all, only a short holiday for Taut.

Joseph C. Grew *Ten Years in Japan* (1944)

Kei Ushimura

Joseph Clark Grew. (Source: Shōichi Saeki & Tōru Haga, Eds., *Gaikokujin ni yoru Nihonron no meicho - Goncharov kara Pinguet made*, Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1987, p. 175)

Joseph Clark Grew was born on May 27, 1880, the third son of a prominent Boston family. He entered Groton School in 1892, where he met Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was 2 years his junior. He graduated from the school in 1898 and entered Harvard University. After graduating from the university in 1902, he traveled around East Asia and returned to the U.S. via Japan. In 1904 he took his first steps into diplomatic life as secretary of the Consulate General in Cairo, Egypt. In the United States, where professional foreign service career had not yet taken root, Grew's career was part of the history of the establishment of the professional diplomacy system. The following year, he married Alice Perry, a distant relative of Commodore Matthew Perry. After

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working in Mexico and Russia, he was temporarily stationed in Vienna, but basically remained in the US embassy in Berlin from 1908 until 1917, when the U.S. entered the First World War. During that time, he had a time to serve as Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin. After attending the Paris Peace Conference as a member of the U.S. delegation, he served as minister to Denmark and Switzerland before becoming Under Secretary of State in 1924. In 1927 Grew became Ambassador to Turkey, where he successfully concluded the U.S.-Turkey Commerce Treaty. In 1932, he was appointed Ambassador to Japan by President Hoover, the post he held until June 1942, when he left Japan following the outbreak of war between the U.S. and Japan. After the war, while still in the U.S., he served as chairman of the committee to build the International Christian University in Tokyo, and also established the Grew Foundation to encourage Japanese students to study in the U.S. In 1960, he was awarded the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun, First Class. He is the author of *Sports and Travel in the Far East*, *Report from Tokyo* and *Turbulent Era*. He died in 1965.

> After all, life is a succession of hurdles and once over them they look a great deal easier to negotiate than before one took off. Most of our troubles—the kind that will wear us out if we let them—are based on totally unnecessary apprehension.

Soon after his arrival in Japan, Joseph C. Grew, the U.S. ambassador to Japan, wrote this in his diary. He was passionate about sports while at Harvard, and may have actually competed in the high hurdles race. With this attitude of "fear is often greater than the danger," Grew began his ambassadorial duties.

As young graduate, Grew had traveled around East Asia and made a name for himself by hunting a giant tiger in China. At the time, he had stopped by Japan on his way home. However, when he returned to Japan as ambassador some 30 years later, the country was not what it used to be. The capital, Tokyo, had transformed into a metropolis with wide streets and large buildings. And the change was deeper than that.

When in Chicago preparing to go to Japan after receiving a transfer order, Grew heard the news of Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi's assassination. The Lincoln, which Inukai ordered before his death, oddly enough became Grew's official car after his arrival to Japan. In September of the previous year, the Manchurian Incident had occurred and Japan had begun its actions in Manchuria. Thus, Japan had entered an era in which party politics had come to an end and the military was heavily involved in policymaking. Grew writes, "[O]ne thing is certain and that is that the military are distinctly running the Government and that no step can be taken without their approval." In this way, the crisis in East Asia had already begun when Grew arrived in Japan.

Known as *Ten Years in Japan*, Grew's "Diary" is more than just a diary, as is evident in its subtitle, *A Contemporary Record Drawn from the Diaries and Private and Official Papers of JOSEPH C. GREW United States Ambassador to Japan 1932–1942*. It was also not published as a "Memoir," as is clear from Grew's own preface, mentioned below. Until his return to the U.S. about 7 months after the outbreak of war between Japan and the U.S., Grew spent 10 years in Japan. His extensive diplomatic experience and knowledge of Japan were highly valued, and he

later played a major role in determining Japan occupation plans in the capacity of acting Secretary of State. This "Diary" provides a glimpse into the decade of experience that formed the basis of Grew's attitudes to and judgments about Japan.

The day he was invited to the Kabuki-Za Theater to see two plays, *Kiri-Hitoha* and *Kagami-Jishi*, Grew wrote down every detail of the actors, from their costumes to their body language, and added the following comments.

> [I]n America there is nothing that approaches or can be compared with the nationally venerated classical acting and dancing or such nationally venerated exponents as Utaemon and Kikugoro.

Grew also wrote the following about his first experience watching sumo:

> The sport is carried on as a Shinto rite, a priest being in the ring for every bout and striking a dramatic attitude when the contestants crouch; [. . .] the announcer of each match carries a fan and declaims in a high sort of chant.

"It is entirely ludicrous," Grew says, yet he manages to summarize everything from the gestures of the sumo wrestlers in the ring to the outcome of the match in a concise and pointed description.

Grew's hearing was impaired due to scarlet fever in his childhood. However, this was more than compensated for by the fact that he was a very observant man, and his descriptions of kabuki plays and sumo tournaments are a testament to Grew, the "astute observer." If Grew had come to Japan in a time of peace, he would have left behind another excellent Things Japanese (both in italics, if possible. Note: what I have in mind as a preceding work is Chamberlain's Things Japanese), given his keen eye for observation. Unfortunately, the tense situation at the time did not allow him to devote himself exclusively to his observations of Japanese culture. As tensions in East Asia escalated, such references to Japanese culture disappeared from Grew's diary. Instead, Grew's "images of the Japanese" are based often on Japanese foreign ministers and government officials, and sometimes on ordinary citizens.

Grew was once one of America's top diplomats, having served as Under Secretary of State in his mid-forties. However, the ambassador to Japan is merely the head of the Japanese branch of the U.S. government, and although he negotiates directly with Japan, he does not have the authority to make policy decisions. What is the mission of such a diplomat?

> My principal role here, as I conceive it, is going to be that of interpreter, and I shall hope to be able to interpret each country to the other in a way which will redound to the steadily increased mutual confidence of both. It seems to me that my chief problem will be in explaining your country to mine.

It was Ambassador Grew's mission to convey to Japan the true picture of his own country, and to convey to his government what he and his embassy staff had actually seen and heard about the real Japanese people. Accordingly, his diary and official correspondence to his home country frequently contain images of the Japanese people.

> Japan is a country of paradoxes and extremes, of great wisdom and of great stupidity, an apt illustration of which may be found in connection with the naval conversations; while the naval authorities and the press have been stoutly maintaining that Japan cannot adequately

> defend her shores with less than parity, the press and the public, in articles, speeches, and interviews, have at the same time been valiantly boasting that the Japanese Navy is today stronger than the American Navy and could easily defeat us in case of war.
>
> Their mental processes and methods of reaching conclusions are radically different from ours; the more one associates with them the more one realizes it; [. . .] The Westerner believes that because the Japanese has adopted Western dress, language, and customs he must think like a Westerner. No greater error can be made. This is one of the reasons why treaty commitments between the West and the East will always be open to misinterpretation and subject to controversy.

Japan's diplomacy is riddled with blunders, and even many in the upper echelons of the government do not know much about foreign countries. Since the battle is being waged on Chinese territory, Grew says, the American people would hardly consider it Japan's self-defense, yet they would send a completely meaningless goodwill mission to the U.S. to explain the state of the nation.

But, on the other hand, the American people also do not know exactly what is going on in Japan. So what can be done? The best way to find out is to actually visit Japan. Once there, they will see that it is not true that the pendulum is swinging between moderates and extremists in Japan, and that one day the pendulum will naturally swing back to the moderates and the crisis in East Asia will subside. As early as 1935 (Shōwa 10), the year before the attempted coup known as the February 26 Rebellion, Grew wrote in his diary that appeasement measures to curry favor with Japan would strengthen Japan's conceit and make Japan even more aggressive, a stance that would become the basis of his attitude toward Japan. However, he was never "anti-Japanese."

> One can dislike and disagree with certain members of a family without necessarily feeling hostility to the family itself. For me there are no finer people in the world than the best type of Japanese.

Among these "finer people in the world" were Saitō Makoto and Hirota Kōki. That is why Grew was so saddened by the loss of Saitō in the February 26 Rebellion, and why he set out to save Hirota, who was sentenced to death by hanging at the Tokyo Tribunal after the war.

But it was not only people in important positions that Grew respected or was moved by. One day, while walking his dog with his youngest daughter, his dog fell into a moat. Deciding that he could not rescue the dog by himself, Grew sought an officer, and returned to find his dog trembling in the street amidst a circle of people. He was told that a young cab driver and a delivery boy, who were passing by, risked their lives to rescue the dog and left without telling their names.

He also gives an account of how, when the U.S. Navy gunboat Panay was sunk by a Japanese bombing attack after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, letters and donations arrived at the U.S. embassy from all levels of the Japanese population, from government officials to schoolchildren. They wanted to express their apologies and regrets for the mishandling of their country's armed forces as best they could.

Grew's mission to avert a U.S.-Japan conflict and bring peace to East Asia ultimately failed with the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 8 (December 7 in the U.S.), 1941. Japan had committed "national hara-kiri," as Grew had feared.

Grew, who was interned at the outbreak of war, wrote in his diary on February 19, 1942, as follows.

> Appointed to Japan ten years ago today. They have been an interesting ten years, and despite the final failure of my mission I would not now willingly have given up that experience even in the light of events.

Grew certainly could not have overcome the hurdle of preventing a U.S.-Japan conflict, but no one could have done better than he did in the circumstances of the time. Although Grew himself did not speak Japanese, he had several close associates, including Neville and Dooman, who were fluent in the language. Furthermore, Grew was always trying to learn, through embassy officials, about ordinary citizens whom he could not meet in person.

When Grew returned to the U.S., he was old enough to retire, but his mother country would not allow him to stay idle because of his outstanding knowledge of Japan. In his capacity as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, Grew gave speeches throughout the United States. In the 250 speeches he is said to have given in his first year, Grew emphasized the belligerence of the Japanese people and the efficiency of their military forces, and stressed that the U.S. must not underestimate them and must overwhelmingly defeat Japan. However, the content of his speeches gradually began to change. He made a clear distinction between the Japanese people and the Japanese military, and began to concentrate his efforts on making the American people recognize the Japanese as human beings. In response to the popular belief that "The only good Japanese are the dead Japanese," he went around spreading examples of pacifists in Japan, even those under the control of the military.

In May 1944 (Shōwa 19), Grew was appointed director of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs, the same month this "Diary" was published, and for 2 months in a row it was the number two bestseller. The intent of the publication is clear from the preface.

> This book aims to present to our people and, I hope, to the people of all the United Nations, a more accurately focused view of Japan than is now widely held, for only through a correct conception of that country and its people can we approach with intelligence the difficult problems which will have to be solved after our military victory is complete. [. . .] The present book will not have served one of its purposes, however, if it does not bring home to my readers the fact that there are many Japanese today who did not want war, who realized the stupidity of attacking the United States, Great Britain and other United Nations, and who did everything in their power to restrain the military extremists from their headlong and suicidal aggressions. [. . .] men who courageously but futilely gave all that was in them and ran the gravest dangers of imprisonment if not of assassination—indeed several were assassinated—in their efforts to stem the tide or, let us say, to halt the tidal wave of insane military megalomania and expansionist ambition.

Grew considered the rebuilding of Japan and the re-establishment of friendly relations between Japan and the U.S., rather than the destructive and punitive treatment of Japan, as the last task of his life and urgently devoted his efforts to it. Although Grew was widely criticized as an "appeaser" for insisting that the continuation of the Emperor system was indispensable for an early end to the war and the reconstruction of Japan. However, from the end of 1944, as Under Secretary

of State (acting Secretary of State), he gained the understanding of Secretary of War, Stimson, and became one of the driving forces behind the process to realize Japan's surrender on August 15 of the following year.

Grew retired from public service at the end of the war against Japan, and died at his home in Manchester, Massachusetts, on May 25, 1965 (Shōwa 40), two days before his 85th birthday. The New York Times reported the old diplomat's death on its front page.

Ruth Benedict *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1944)

Takaki Okubo

Ruth Benedict

Ruth Benedict was born in 1887 to an old New York family. After graduating from Vassar College, she traveled to Europe and on her return she taught English at girls' schools in California for several years. During this time, she was exposed to the lives of Asian immigrants and became very interested in them. In 1914, she returned to New York, married and changed her surname from Fulton to Benedict. In 1919, she entered Columbia University to study anthropology under the tutelage of Franz Boas, where her talents rapidly blossomed. After graduating in 1923, she remained at her alma mater and eventually became a leading figure in American anthropological studies, following in Boas' footsteps. She began her research activities with a survey of Native Americans, and in 1934 she published *Patterns of Culture*, which

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established a methodology to view the culture of an ethnic group as a single, holistic, interrelated "personality," and received a great deal of critical acclaim. Later, when the Nazis rose to power in Germany, she joined the anti-Nazi movement. In 1943, Benedict and her colleague, Gene Weltfish of Columbia University, published *The Races of Mankind* in which they criticized racism. When the war broke out, Benedict was commissioned by the government to study the Romanians, Thais, and Japanese, and she applied her theory of cultural patterns, the results of which became *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. She died in New York in 1948. Benedict wrote poetry in her youth, and she is credited for combining her keen sensitivity with a broad and tolerant view of the cultural diversity of various ethnic groups and a humanitarian passion, all of which shaped her scholarly style.

In the summer of 1944, American troops landed on the island of Saipan and finally began to formulate a concrete plan to finish the war against Japan. In the process, several major issues regarding the thinking and behavior patterns of the Japanese people came up for consideration, for instance: How would the trapped Japanese army resist? How would it react when it finally surrendered? And what form of postwar American occupation would be most suitable (as a specific example, how to deal with the Emperor system and the current Emperor)? Predicting the behavioral patterns of the Japanese in response to each of such situations had become as important a task as military operations, as the Japanese people (apparently) think in a completely different way from Americans. Therefore, Ruth Benedict, who at the time was regarded as the leading anthropologist in the U.S. for her research on the cultural patterns of various ethnic groups, was urgently called upon to accomplish this task. Until that time, Benedict had not studied Japan professionally, did not know the Japanese language, and had never been to Japan. In other words, she began her study of the country from the very basics, but she mobilized every means at her disposal to systematically grasp the characteristics of Japanese values and feelings. The result is *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*.

To most Westerners, the Japanese appear, above all else, to be the epitome of contradictions which may be summarized as follows. The Japanese are extremely polite, but can be aggressive and cruel. They can be stubborn on one hand, but also adapt themselves readily to new things. They are lovers of beauty and art, but also cold-blooded killers. From the outside, the Japanese are as mysterious as Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, but it is not impossible to unravel and understand their mysterious mental structure, which combines many of these incompatible extremes, symbolized by the "chrysanthemum" and the "sword." If we look inside the Japanese psyche, we will find that it is not a contradiction at all, but a rational and orderly system.

The first and most important principle is to "take one's proper station [or place]." The Japanese people, both as a nation and as individuals, place importance on making decisions based on each person's place in the situation. For example, at the outbreak of war with the U.S., the Japanese envoy handed a statement to U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull that read as follows: "It is the immutable policy of the Japanese Government [. . .] to enable each nation to find its proper place in the world." When the war thus begun was fought to the utmost of its power and ended in

defeat, Japan completely changed its position and began striving to regenerate itself as a peaceful and democratic nation obedient to the United States. This was because Japan believed that this was the position it was in and expected to fit in under the new world situation. Similar behavior can be seen in the case of Japanese soldiers who had resisted the U.S. military to the death, but once they were captured, they turned around and willingly provided information about friendly forces to the other side. This again is a choice made by the soldiers who realized their place in the changed situation, i.e., that they were now under the protection of the U.S. military. This is an idea that is incomprehensible to Westerners, who emphasize consistency of internal principles, both nationally and individually, but it is a very natural course of action for the Japanese, who have the principle of "taking one's proper station," or behaving according to the situation.

This principle seems to have emerged from the hierarchical system, in the broad sense of the word, that has supported traditional Japanese society. This is most evident in the class system that developed under the Tokugawa shogunate and feudal system, and more broadly, it is also linked to Japan's unique social structure, in which multiple forces coexist in various domains, such as the Emperor system and the shogunate system, or Shinto and other religions, with each "taking one's proper station," or protecting its own share.

When these characteristics of Japanese society are manifested as internal ethics, they form a unique moral system represented by *on* and *giri*. In Japan, there are no holistic and comprehensive virtues such as benevolence in Confucianism, or love in Christianity, but a combination of multiple types of debts (*on*) and corresponding obligations to repay them that constitute the moral code. In other words, it is a combination of debts (*on*) received from the Emperor, one's lord, parents, one's teachers, and various other people one meets throughout one's lifetime, as well as obligations such as *chū* (duty to the Emperor, the law, and Japan) and *kō* (duty to parents and ancestors, and, by implication, to descendants) in return for these debts. What is particularly unique is that there are two types of obligations to repay these debts. One is an obligation that lasts throughout one's life, and the other is an obligation to pay back only the indebted amount. For example, the filial duty to one's own parents belongs to the former, while the filial duty to one's spouse's parents belongs to the latter. The Japanese call this latter obligation *giri* and attach great importance to it. It is a kind of formal contractual relationship, similar to a financial loan, that has nothing to do with voluntary feelings and requires strict fulfillment as the basis of social order. As a result, it often conflicts with voluntary feelings (*ninjō* or human feelings) or is incompatible with the former obligations, putting the parties in a dilemma. A prime example can be found in the *Tale of the Forty-Seven Rōnin*, one of the most favorite stories of the Japanese.

Thus, the principle of Japanese behavior is to skillfully reconcile these various realms of obligation, as well as those of human feelings and desires, so that they can be compatible with one another. There is no internal, absolute moral standard based on a guilty conscience, as is the case with Westerners. There is only a relative social standard based on whether or not one has violated an individual duty and whether or not one has shamed oneself to the world by doing so. There lies the importance,

amongst the Japanese people, to train and discipline oneself to suppress oneself so as not to violate one's duty and humiliate oneself in the eyes of the world, rather than to actively strive for what one believes to be good behavior. This may cause psychological pain (stress) associated with self-repression at the initial stage, but with patience and practice, it becomes possible to control oneself without pain. This is the supreme spiritual state for the Japanese, which is called *muga* (selflessness), which "denotes those experiences, whether secular or religious, when 'there is no break, not even the thickness of a hair' between a man's will and his act." Zen Buddhism, which flourished in Japan, has developed an effective training method for this.

Finally, it can be said that the various characteristics of Japanese culture described above are naturally concentrated and reflected in the way children are raised. Japanese children who are pampered in their infancy are eventually trained to "take one's proper station" and to strictly restrain themselves according to gender, status, and other categories when they grow up. This is where the national character of the Japanese people in general is born.

As first mentioned, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* was conceived for the purpose of forming policy toward Japan. This was important in two respects in the history of cross-cultural studies in the United States.

One is that it has created a close relationship between humanities and social sciences research, and realpolitik, especially a relationship with international politics. MacArthur's occupation of Japan was successful in many respects by skillfully adapting and utilizing the Japanese social system, such as maintaining the Emperor system and preserving and utilizing the traditional administrative structure centered on the bureaucracy, which is exactly what Benedict advocated. The interaction between postwar American foreign policy and the study of international politics and regional culture within academia has been remarkable, and *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* laid an important foundation for this.

Another important point is that this work helped expand the field of cultural anthropology or cross-cultural studies, which until then had been mainly limited to the study of so-called primitive, uncivilized societies, to include highly developed and modern societies, paving the way for what would later become urban anthropology.

Thus, methodologically, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* is of great historical significance, and in terms of content, it is a landmark in the interpretation of Japanese culture. This is because it tackled head-on the thinking and behavior patterns of the Japanese people and clarified their basic social structure and principles through a comprehensive examination of those patterns. Both domestic and foreign studies of Japan prior to this book's appearance had attempted to understand them through various aspects of the country, be it history, natural features, arts, or thoughts, but the Japanese people's thinking and behavior patterns had remained vague and unclear. As a result, when this book was published, it caused a great sensation in the U.S. and Japan, and it has continued to have a profound influence as a basis for understanding Japan to this day. The book provides a clear conceptual framework for phenomena that have conventionally been viewed as inexplicable or emotional, such as *giri* and

ninjō. It skillfully analyzes their logical structures, and provides a contrasting view of the cultural pattern of Japan's shame culture as opposed to the West's guilt culture. While the book has been criticized for misunderstandings and biases in its details, the main thrust of its ideas is compelling, and it is fair to say that it has shaped the course of objective, structural, and social scientific studies of Japan in the postwar period. Both the original and translated versions of the book have gone through many editions to date. Its reputation is well established, and it has become a true classic of Japanese studies.

Leocadio de Asis *From Bataan to Tokyo, Diary of a Filipino Student in Wartime Japan 1943–1944* (1944)

Ken'ichi Kamigaito

Leocadio de Asis. (Source: Shōichi Saeki & Tōru Haga, Eds., *Gaikokujin ni yoru Nihonron no meicho - Goncharov kara Pinguet made*, Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1987, p. 189)

Leocadio de Asis was born in Manila in 1919, the fifth son of a dentist returning from Spain. He graduated with honors from San Beda High School in Manila, the University of San Beda, and the University of Santo Tomas College of Law, respectively, but was called up into military service at a time of tension between the U.S. and Japan and participated in the Battle of Bataan Peninsula, where he was captured as an officer of the Second Regular Division of USAFFE (United States Army Forces in the Far East). Recognized for his abilities, he entered the training course of the Philippine Constabulary and became an instructor after graduation. In July 1943, he came to Japan as a member of the Philippine Constabulary Academy for training in police administration, and received training in Japanese until October

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of the following year, during which time he recorded his observations in an English diary.

Upon his return to the Philippines, de Asis became second-in-command to Teófilo Sison, Minister of Justice in the pro-Japanese Laurel government, but in the face of the American reconquest, he managed to escape from Baguio, to which the Laurel regime had evacuated from Manila, and surrendered to the U.S. military.

After serving as an officer in the Philippine Army for a while after the war, de Asis moved to a law firm and taught law at East University and the University of San Beda. In 1960, he became general manager of the Delgado group, and later ran a real estate, insurance, land development, and import/export business in Manila. He was the Founding Chairman and First Executive Governor of the ASEAN Council of Japan Alumni (ASCOJA), an organization of people who once studied in Japan, from the ASEAN region. He was also Director of the Philippines-Japan Society, Inc. He was conferred the Order of the Sacred Treasure, Third Class, by the Japanese government on April 29, 1985.

In July 1943, as the war in the Pacific was turning against Japan and Japanese civilian life was becoming increasingly difficult, de Asis stepped on Tokyo's soil as a member of the student group "Nampō Tokubetsu Ryūgakusei" (Special Southern Foreign Students) from the Philippines. The group members were selected from the occupied areas of Southeast Asia by the Japanese Ministry of Greater East Asia with the intention of fostering local human resources, striving to build the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. The program was intended to deepen their understanding of Japan by providing them with training and Japanese language education.

It is unlikely that de Asis, who had received American-style education in the Philippines, would have actively tried to come to Japan, and it is assumed that there was a near coercive Japanese solicitation at work there. However, de Asis, who had been sent to study in Japan, an unknown neighbor and enemy country (they had fought each other in the Battle of Bataan Peninsula), almost by a quirk of fate, decided to keep a diary of his daily events from the day he left Manila, anticipating that his life and experiences in Japan would be of great significance to him throughout his life.

The goals of his training in Japan were preliminary education in Japanese and learning about police administration, but his diary does not mention much about that. The majority of the contents are about friends and observations outside of the school.

Being Catholic was one great source of pride for Filipino de Asis, and he frequently attended the Catholic Church in Tokyo. Most of his friendships with Japanese people were through this Catholic church, especially the women of the Catholic Women's Association who entertained the Asian students like him. These women belonged to the highest class of Japanese families of the time, and at their gatherings, English was spoken, pianos were played, Western songs were sung, and cakes were served. De Asis was familiar with and sympathetic to these more Westernized people in Japan.

It was ironic, in a sense, but also natural, that it was these very Western cultural things that brought Japanese people together with the Asian students invited under the "Greater East Asia" policy. The policy was anti-Western, yet the Japanese

military power that had forced De Asis to come to Japan in a semi-coercive manner was itself introduced from the West.

De Asis, who was warmly received as one of the future leaders, was allowed to tour military installations and factories that were off-limits to ordinary people, and he naturally viewed these modern facilities in a positive light. Many students from Asian countries who came to Japan after the Meiji era sought to learn, first of all, about modernity in Japan, or the West in Japan, and de Asis was no different. However, we can see the uniqueness of the Philippines, which has long been deeply influenced by Spain and the U.S., in the fact that not only modern science and technology, but also Christianity and Western-style lifestyles, which could be described as peculiarly Western, are sources of empathy.

This does not mean, however, that de Asis was indifferent to the Japanese way of life. His curiosity was aroused by tea ceremony demonstrations and kabuki, and he loved the lavish Japanese furnishings of Meguro Gajōen. He realized that "the Japanese unique concept of beauty" is "to hide as much as possible." However, his understanding of Japanese culture was limited by his short stay in Japan which was not much more than a year. De Asis, who could not claim to be completely fluent in Japanese, could not understand the kabuki plot even when it was explained to him in English, and the kabuki music remained outside the framework of his musical sensibilities.

Conversely, Japanese prejudice against Filipinos was another source of friction. One stereotype is that Filipinos are imprudent and frivolous due to American influence. The strict discipline of dormitory life may have been designed to correct such a Filipino disposition, but in the eyes of the foreign students it was a restraint on their freedom, and even led to a confrontation with the dormitory supervisor. In connection with the major event of Philippine independence, a play set in the Philippines is performed, but the heroine's father, dressed in a sarong, looks like an Indonesian, and de Asis criticizes the director's lack of understanding of Philippine customs.

However, such misunderstandings were a common occurrence in the life of foreign students, and his diary entries clearly show that the people who took care of foreign students generally worked hard with good intentions to make their lives comfortable, despite the scarcity of food and other supplies under government's control. It can be said that de Asis' experience in Japan was considerably brightened by the goodwill of these people, which led to the formation of the Japan Student Association and his work with the Philippines-Japan Society after the war.

His diary avoids outspoken political comments. Although de Asis must have been suspicious of Japan's victory and the idea of a Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, there is no explicit mention of these points. However, his diary records that he repeatedly expressed his, directly to the Japanese, of Japan's military rule in the Philippines. The Japanese to whom he speaks are upper-class people who are well-informed about international affairs, and they do not respond to his direct criticisms by refuting them or getting angry, but rather they are shocked. This shows that the upper-class Japanese of the time, as depicted by de Asis, were willing to listen to the direct opinions of others, not only with regard to material matters, but to political and

ideological issues as well. In his diary, there are numerous exchanges suggesting that the existence of people with such a broad view of the world may have had a significant impact towards the end of the war.

It is this passion for the fate of the Philippines that prompted de Asis to make such direct statements. In his relatively calm diary entries, the only place his heightened emotions are revealed is where he exposes his ethnic consciousness as a Filipino. Such consciousness among foreign students reached its peak on October 14, 1943, when the Philippines gained independence. On the eve of that day, his diary entry reads:

> Tonight our neighbors, the Yokois, presented us with a beautiful bouquet of chrysanthemums on the occasion of our country's coming freedom. We are all excited about tomorrow's event, especially the Flag Ceremony when we shall see the Filipino flag once again fly proudly beneath the sky as a symbol of our country's long-cherished freedom.

Furthermore, in November, President Laurel visited Tokyo to participate in the Greater East Asia Conference. De Asis was impressed by the president, who spoke proudly of his own views and preached the inviolability of the sovereignty of the Greater East Asian countries. At least, at this point, the Laurel administration was seen by the Filipino students as the establishment of a dignified independent government, rather than simply Japan's puppet regime. An interesting perspective on the complex issue of re-evaluating Japan's Southeast Asian policy during the war can be found here.

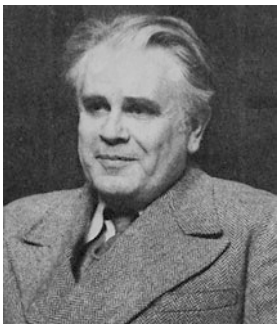
Another climactic incident during his stay in Japan was a meeting with Lieutenant-General Honma Masaharu, the supreme commander of the Philippine Islands invasion force. After de Asis answered various questions about the condition of the U.S.-Philippine forces (the Philippine Army formed by the U.S. with local recruits) in the Battle of Bataan, he told the General the following:

> When we were in Bataan, we never thought of losing the war and much less of being captured prisoners; when we were in the concentration camp, we never expected to be released; when we were released, we never thought we would become Constabulary officers; as Constabulary officers we never thought of going to Japan as government scholars of the Imperial Government; and, finally, while in Japan, we never even dreamed of meeting in an intimate interview the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Forces in the Philippines, our grand enemy in Bataan.

His interlocutor, Lieutenant-General Honma, was executed after the war for his mistreatment of prisoners of war in Bataan, while de Asis remained a central figure in Philippine society and in the Philippine-Japan Society. One might say that the sword's life is short and culture's life is long. In fact, "Nampō Tokubetsu Ryūgakusei" did not have much meaning from a short-term, short-sighted perspective, with regard to the completion of Japan's war aims and the establishment of a Japan-centered Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. However, from the long-term perspective of idealistic "co-prosperity of greater East Asia," this foreign student project achieved great results in terms of promoting friendship between Japan and Southeast Asian countries. This book deserves repeated reference as a document that tells a significant aspect of the history of Japan-Philippine relations.

Reginald H. Blyth *Haiku* (1949–52)

Koichi Sembokuya



Reginald Horace Blyth. (Source: Reginald Horace Blyth, *Haiku*, Volume 1: Eastern Culture, The Hokuseido Press, 1949, p. 3)

Reginald Horace Blyth was born in Ilford, Essex, England in 1898 to a father who worked for the Great Eastern Railway. Reginald grew up as the only son of a middle-class family. During World War I, he evaded military service and, as a result, spent two years in prison in the City of London, where he became a vegetarian. He was taught by the eminent scholar William Paton Ker at the University of London and graduated with distinction. In the autumn of 1924, he taught English and English literature at the then recently founded Keijō Imperial University in Seoul. Soon after his arrival, he became devoted to D. T. Suzuki and eventually became a Zen practitioner himself. During that time, he experienced marital trouble and divorced

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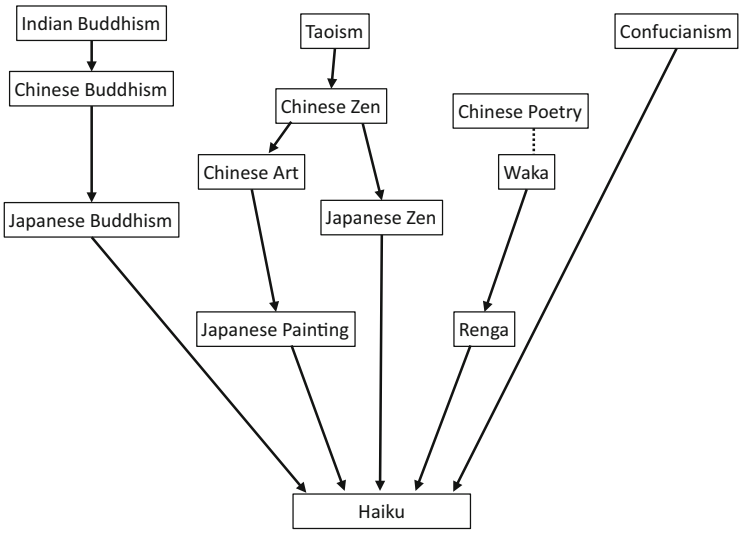
his first wife, Anna, and married Kijima Tomiko in 1937. In 1940, he moved to the mainland Japan and taught at a number of universities, including the Fourth Higher School (under the old education system), Gakushūhin University, the University of Tokyo, and Nihon University. During the Second World War, he was interned in Kanazawa and Kobe, and some of the manuscripts of *Haiku* were written during his internment. Blyth and fellow haiku scholar, Harold G. Henderson, played a key role in Emperor Hirohito's "Declaration of Humanity" issued at the beginning of 1946. Blyth served as private tutor, until his death in Tokyo in 1964, to His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince Akihito (now His Majesty the Emperor Emeritus). In addition to *Haiku* and *A History of Haiku*, Blyth's major works include *Senryu: Japanese Satirical Verses*; *Japanese Humour*; *Oriental Humour, Japanese Life and Character in Senryu*; *Zen in English Literature and Oriental Classics*; *Zen and Zen Classics*; *A Chronological Anthology of Nature in English Literature*; *A Short History of English Literature* and many other excellent and unique textbooks on wide-ranging subjects from English conversation to poetry and literature by the Wordsworth siblings, Thoreau, and many others.

It is said that when Asō Isoji, renowned for his research on Saikaku and Bashō, was the Dean of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Tokyo, Blyth suddenly appeared at the door, almost standing still, and said, "I don't like Japanese literary scholars. They make a fuss about details and think that's the only way to learn. With an attitude like that, you can't really understand the merits of Japanese literature." As soon as he finished, he walked away. I thought this was very Blyth-like. All of his writings show that what Blyth said at that time was not just big talk, and the four volumes of *Haiku* are the most remarkable proof of this.

The first feature of this book is the magnanimity of his approach to haiku. The following is a transcription of a diagram that Blyth himself provided on the third page of the first volume.



Source: Reginald H. Blyth, *Haiku, Volume 1: Eastern Culture*, The Hokuseido Press, 1949, p.3.

As is clear from the above, for Blyth, haiku is a cultural phenomenon of the Far East, if not the entirety of Asia. This vast macroscopic perspective seems to follow the tradition of the England-born giants of Japanese studies, such as Basil Hall Chamberlain, George B. Sansom, and Arthur Waley. In the diagram above, the bond with haiku is particularly emphasized in Zen. For Blyth, Zen and haiku were almost synonymous. This makes sense, considering that D. T. Suzuki's English-language writings, especially *Zen and Haiku* gave an inputs to Blyth's *Haiku* and his earlier work, *Zen in English Literature and Oriental Classics*. That Suzuki writes "His thoughts were closely connected with Zen, though not always in the orthodox tradition," but of course this is not a condemnation. Blyth, a man of self-reliance all his life, did not want Zen to become old-fashioned and rigid, either. The following statements seem to be so natural when they're from Blyth's mouth: "When we say that haiku is a form of Zen, we must not assert that haiku belongs to Zen. It is Zen that belongs to Haiku. In other words, our notions of Zen must be changed to fit haiku, not vice versa. [. . .] if there is ever imagined to be any conflict between Zen and haiku, the Zen should be abandoned; the poetry of haiku is the ultimate standard." (*Haiku,* vol. 1, preface, pp. 6–7).

Many people seek happiness in life, but Blyth sought what can only be described as "blessedness." With this in mind, Blyth read and pored over many books from both the East and West, until one day he came across Buddhism, and then Zen. His eyes were opened by a phrase from the Vajra Prajnaparamita Sutra (the Diamond Sutra), which is said to have inspired Huineng (Enō), the Sixth Patriarch, to attain complete enlightenment: "応無所住而生其心." Blyth translates it as "Awaken the mind without fixing it anywhere" and refers to this as the "most profound, the most religious utterance in the world" (*Zen in English Literature and Oriental Classics*, p. 27).

Zen shattered Blyth's tendency to escape reality, which was not absent in him, and brought him back into the midst of reality. Blyth never doubted that seeing blessedness in reality itself was both the spirit of Zen and of haiku. Blyth's writing has the effect of a magician who freely conjures up objects before the eyes of his audience. Laozi (Lao-tzu) (老子), Zhuangzi (Chuang-tzu) (荘子), Tao Yuanming (陶淵明), and Po Chü-i (Bai Letian or Bai Juyi) (白楽天) sit side by side with Shakespeare and Goethe. However strange it may seem, they are all part of Blyth's 'flesh and blood,' and he is far from being pedantic. Even if there are self-indulgent assumptions or complacent interpretations, there is no excessive sense of otherness. Therefore, the book certainly being Blyth's dissertation (directed by Asō Isoji, sub-reviewed by Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Nakajima Fumio), *Haiku* is not a typical academic book. It is also a religious book or a "book of seeking." This is the other remarkable feature of this book.

As long as we stand on a purely academic footing, there is no way to connect English literature with Zen. Blyth, however, finds Zen throughout the works of English literature, including Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Dickens, and Stevenson, as well as Arnold, Keats, Shelley, Lawrence, Thoreau, Emerson, Goethe, Dante, Cervantes, and other major Western literary figures. His aim is, of course, not so much contrast as analogy. It is easy to criticize his attempt to bridge these high peaks

of East and West as hasty and reckless. In fact, this book has received such criticism, and even today, some of it persists both in Japan and in the United States. However, what compelled Blyth to break out of the norm was his poetic intuition, or rather, his thirst for poetry; and the spark of poetic spirit hidden within such audacity ignited the young people of the Beat Generation, including Ginsberg and Kerouac, in the late 1950s, and this in turn, I believe, led to the current abundance of haiku in the North America. By situating haiku at the intersection of Eastern and Western thought and culture, Blyth's work has once again revived the unique spirituality in the haiku that influenced the Imagist poets, especially Ezra Pound and Amy Lowell, in the 1910s. Blyth's work has had a significant impact as a source of inspiration for the creative minds, so to speak, of the rapidly growing number of amateur haiku poets and many (but not all) poets, writers, and thinkers who studied Japanese literature in the United States in recent years—likely to a greater extent than Henderson's *The Bamboo Broom* or its revised and expanded edition, *An Introduction to Haiku*.

The haiku poets covered in this book include Bashō, Buson, Issa, and Shiki, "the four great haiku poets," as well as other haiku poets all from the Edo period (with the exception of Shiki). Of these four, Blyth focuses mostly on Bashō, followed surprisingly by Issa. His assessment that "Buson follows Bashō, Shiki follows Buson, but Bashō and Issa imitate no one; their life is their own." (*Haiku*, vol. 1I, p. 302) is very Blyth-like. Blyth called Bashō, who had deep ties to Zen, "the poet of life," and Issa "the poet of destiny." Blyth states that "Issa is like Heine, he has the power of saying lightly and humorously what others have only been able to say in the grand manner" (*Haiku*, vol. 1, p. 306). This seems to me to be a valid argument. (According to Blyth [Haiku, vol. 3, p. 232], Issa was also an embodiment of Zen.) For Blyth, the "artist" Buson seemed to lack the depth of Bashō, as his entry into nature remained in the realm of the senses and emotions. The clearer the image of the verse, the more the lack of depth stands out, making it less convincing. Even Blyth is not entirely closed-minded about the spring melancholy and malaise that is expressed in verses such as "As spring departs, How heavy This biwa feels! (ゆく春やおもたき琵琶の抱ごゝろ Yuku haru ya omotaki biwa no dakigokoro)," "Indifferent and languid, I burned some incense: An evening of spring. (等閑に香たく春の夕かなNaozari ni ko taku haru no yūbe kana)." However, in appreciating some verses about the passing of spring such as "Departing spring Hesitates In the late cherry-blossoms (ゆく春や逡巡として遅ざくら Yuku haru ya shunjun to shite osozakura)," "Today only Walking in the spring, And no more. (けふのみの春をあるいて仕舞けり Kyō nomi no haru wo aruite shimaikeri)," Blyth places more emphasis on the inevitability of the season moving into summer than on the regretful desire to hold on to the season, and in "Lighting one candle With another candle; An evening of spring (燭の火を燭に移すや春の夕 Shoku no hi wo shoku ni utsusu ya haru no yū)," Blyth delves into the mystery of life that is built into the season by alluding to "the light of life that is passed on from parent to child." There I feel that the Zen = haiku formula is strongly evidenced. The modernity of Buson's haiku, which is being unearthed in recent years, can be said to be the very opposite of Blyth's interpretation. It is obvious that modern haiku, with its diverse characteristics, cannot be fully explained by this formula. I am tempted by this thought when I

encounter interpretations of Buson's haiku, in which Zen sometimes seems to be a fetter.

When haiku was exported abroad, there was a tendency to neglect the seasonal themes and terms. This book, however, is arranged in the style of a *Saijiki* (an almanac of seasonal words for haiku), with each of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, except for the New Year, divided into seven categories: The Season; Sky and Elements; Fields and Mountains; Gods and Buddhas; Human Affairs; Birds and Beasts; and Trees and Flowers; with each category further subdivided into detailed sections. This is, of course, in keeping with the style of many haiku books, but it is also an insightful one. Neither Miyamori Asatarō's *One Thousand Haiku Ancient and Modern* nor Harold G. Henderson's *The Bamboo Broom* was written in the *Saijiki* style. This is because, although *Saijiki* is very popular today, at the time of this book's publication—around 1950—it was not.

Finally, I would like to present one haiku each from Bashō and Buson, each generally well-known verses in which Blyth's view of haiku works effectively, and his detailed appreciation matches the original. (Unfortunately, due to space limitations, I cannot cite the full text of Blyth's appreciation.)

"The silence; The voice of the cicadas Penetrate the rocks. (閑さや岩にしみ入る暉の声 Shizukasa ya iwa ni shimiiru semi no koe)" (*Haiku*, vol. 3, pp. 816–8). On the point of this verse, Blyth states, "The silence is not only intensified in retrospect, it is not different from the sound of the cicada." To explain this "silence in sound, sound in silence," Blyth draws on *Caigentan* (菜根譚: Vegetable Root Discourse), Thoreau's *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, and even a passage from Chuang-tzu (荘子) to point out the weakness of Thoreau's explanation. Blyth notes that Bashō's state of mind, "The beautiful scene was silent and still; my heart was at rest. I was conscious only of this. (佳景寂寞として心すみ行くのみおぼゆ)" is similar to Wordsworth's poem "we are laid asleep in body, and become a living soul" *(Tintern Abbey*). Blyth concludes his appreciation of Bashō with Shelley's verse, "How calm it was!—the silence there By such a chain was bound, That even the busy woodpecker Made stiller with her sound The inviolable quietness." (*The Recollection*) and Shōhaku's verse, "The quietness; A chestnut leaf sinks Through the clear water. (静かさは栗の葉沈む清水かな Shizukasa wa kuri no ha shizumu shimizu kana)." In the Penguin Classics edition of *Oku no Hosomichi*, this verse is translated as "In the utter silence Of a temple, A cicada's voice alone Penetrates the rocks." The presence or the absence of a preposition at the beginning would concern the life of this verse. It is not a Zen verse, but it does have a Zen opportunity, and Blyth has it right. However, I daresay that Shelley's verse is too "wordy" (Blyth disliked this word along with "sentimental"), and the dignity of the verse is so different from that of Shōhaku. The phrase "Penetrates the rocks" is outstanding. This was one of the reasons for Bashō's painstaking elaboration.

"The spring sea, Gently rising and falling, The whole day long. (春の海ひねもすのたりのたりかな Haru no umi hinemosu notari notari kana)" (I, pp. 322–3). Although the verse may have a visual effect due to the *kana* writing, Blyth's appreciation relies solely on the auditory sense. After commenting the "sound of the sea striking the ear with its seventeen notes is more true than the sound of waves

actually heard on the seashore," Blyth goes on to describe the effects of sound in great detail. "The sounds of *hinemosu* almost reverse the sounds of *haru no umi*. The repetition of *notari, notari,* the *kana* which echoes the *a* sounds of *haru* and *notari*—all this represents, for some unknown reason, not so much the sound of waves, but rather the meaning of the long spring day by the shore. What *is* the meaning of this?" asks Blyth, and then brings up the verse again. I feel as if I had been evaded, but this is the Blyth way of Zen. It is said that the name of Blyth's elder daughter, Harumi (春海) derives from this verse (*Haru* means spring and *umi* means sea), and it must have been his favorite. In addition to appreciating it as verse, I feel that it reflects Blyth as a person, who played the flute and many other instruments, built organs, and loved Bach's music. It is almost impossible to discuss *Haiku* and his other writings without taking Blyth's personality into account.

George B. Sansom *The Western World and Japan* (1950)

Mitsutani Margaret

Sir George Bailey Sansom. (Source: Shōichi Saeki & Tōru Haga, Eds., *Gaikokujin ni yoru Nihonron no meicho - Goncharov kara Pinguet made*, Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1987, p. 203)

Sir George Bailey Sansom was born in 1883 in London. After graduating from Palmer's School in England, he went abroad to study at Lycée Malherbe, a government-run high school in Normandy. He later attended both the Universities of Giessen and Marburg in Germany. Sansom took a job with the British Foreign Office in 1904 and was assigned to a post in Japan in 1906, where he was given plenty of time for sightseeing and research while carrying out his duties around the consulate. In 1911, Sansom presented his English translation of *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in Idleness). While stationed in Tokyo between 1925 and 1940, he published *An Historical Grammar of Japanese* (Rekishiteki Nihon Bunpō) (1928) and *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (Nihon Bunka Shōshi) (1931). He was knighted by the

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British Empire for his service as a foreign diplomat. Sansom was first invited to Columbia University in 1935, where he taught Japanese culture and history for a year. He served as the British representative on the Far Eastern Commission from 1946–1947 before becoming the first director of the East Asian Institute at Columbia University, where he worked to promote Japanese studies in the U.S. the following year. The publication of *The Western World and Japan* (Seiō Sekai to Nihon) in 1950 earned him an invitation to the University of Tokyo, where he carried out a series of public lectures that were published as *Japan in World History* (Sekaishi ni okeru Nihon). Sansom, along with Sir Charles Eliot, was recommended for honorary fellowship in the Japan Academy. Sansom retired from Columbia University in 1954. He then took a position as advisory professor at Stanford, where he completed *A History of Japan* in three volumes while serving on the editorial team for Stanford Studies in the Civilizations of Eastern Asia. Sansom passed away 2 years later in the U.S. in 1965.

Sansom was the last and greatest of the prewar British scholar-diplomats. He went to Japan the year after the Russo-Japanese War ended. These were the days before the advent of international phone calls and telex created a harried life for foreign service personnel, and Sansom was able to immerse himself in his passion for studying Japanese literature and history while carrying out his duties at the British Consulate in Tokyo. He also had the benefit of being surrounded by luminous predecessors such as Basil H. Chamberlain, which likely made these years the foundation for Sansom's later achievements as a Japanese scholar.

Sansom initially planned for *The Western World and Japan* to be a sequel to *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (Nihon Bunka Shōshi), a work that spans from ancient mythology to the Edo period, with the aim of providing a detailed look at the impact of Western culture on social and political life in modern Japan. However, Sansom also felt a need to address the wider context of Japan's modern history; namely "the process by which the intrusive civilizations of the West have ... affected the life of Asiatic peoples." In the process, it became far more of a stand-alone work than Sansom had first intended.

The contrasting image of an active, dynamic Europe meeting Eastern cultures which passively submitted to change was held for so long in the imagination of Westerners that it had hardened into a stereotype. In Part I of the book, "Europe and Asia," Sansom cites specific examples attributing the roots of this stereotype to European explorers' first visits to Asia in search of spices and other goods. He points out that within the history of diplomatic exchange between Europe and Asia, "the part played by pepper ... is truly astonishing." Yet despite the fact that numerous Asian products fundamentally changed the way Europeans lived, the only thing Asian countries wanted from foreign commerce was "a means of obtaining luxuries or curiosities to satisfy the whims of courtiers and high officials." This attitude towards foreign trade was even reflected in the names of Western monarchs. While Eastern royalty did take on proud titles like "*King of Kings*" or even "*Ruler of the Beautiful Impregnable Metropolis of the World*" there was nothing remotely like the "*Lord of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of India, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Persia,*" the title adopted by Manuel I of Portugal.

The products exchanged via trade (such as spices and silk in the case of Europe, or firearms and timepieces in the case of Asia) certainly did have the power to change people's lives. But when Sansom examines efforts to propagate the Christian religion in Asia in order to back his claim that "the influence of ideas is at any rate slow to operate and almost invariably evokes a resistance," he demonstrates that, with the exception of the Philippines, these efforts may be dismissed as failures.

The opposite is also true. While the Eastern concepts introduced by the Jesuits upon their return from China had a powerful impact on European philosophy for a time, it did not last forever. Still, Sansom does not overlook that fact that Eastern influences on European aesthetic sentiment persist to this day, asserting that the arts "may be dialects of some universal language."

As mentioned before, Sansom's intention was certainly not only to trace the impact that the West had on Japan. If anything, he was interested in how Japanese social and political life endured and did not undergo fundamental shifts despite being exposed to Western influences. In Part II of the book, "Japan and the Western World," he adopts an extremely cautionary approach towards overstating the impact of the West or explaining modern Japanese history in terms of Western historical concepts. This attitude is most clearly expressed in the section where he covers the politics of the early Meiji period.

According to Sansom, the Meiji Restoration was not by any means a "revolution" marked by the overthrow of feudalism for the purpose of replacing it with an introduction of Western-style democracy. Instead, he claims that it would have been impossible for the Japanese people, who had lived through a long Tokugawa past in which loyalty and obedience were considered the highest virtues and no freedom of thought was allowed, to establish a political system rooted in the rights of the people.

In short, nearly all of the early Meiji policies—in particular the Council of Provincial Governors in 1875—were no more than "an attempt to dress up traditional Japanese practices in Western garments." In other words, Sansom maintains, the leaders of the Meiji government were primarily members of the warrior class with no intention of allowing the people to participate in the new government.

Sansom offers similar commentary on the Meiji Constitution. Despite the fact that Itō Hirobumi traveled through the constitutional nations of Europe in search of the perfect model for Japan's document, what Japan ended up with was "surprisingly like the constitution that would have emerged in Japan if, without reference to foreign example, the government had logically pursued the line of development that it had already taken ..."

It is true that, as Sansom points out, the Meiji government was far off from the democratic ideals we hold today. But that doesn't mean he was critical of the Meiji government. The tendency to hold the Meiji administration to strict twentieth-century standards of democracy is particularly pronounced among Western historians, but Sansom avoids taking this position. Instead, he sets out to show that modern Japan was conditioned by the long traditions that preceded the Restoration, in such a way that "made the adoption of purely Western practices unnatural and indeed impossible."

There is a tendency to think that pressure from the West was the most important factor driving the process by which Japan developed from the feudal society of the Tokugawa era into a modern nation, but Sansom instead calls attention to the surprising continuity of Japan's social and political life. To him, Japan's three hundred years of seclusion were "the protracted birth pangs of a modern national state" with pressure from the West doing no more than accelerating a natural process. More specifically, the eventual flourishing of the new "townspeople culture" during the Genroku era, as Edo grew into a major city, can be looked upon as the peak of a feudal society which would thereafter begin to collapse.

Sansom's interests as a historian go beyond political and economic issues. In order to paint a comprehensive picture of the Edo period, he focuses on literature, painting, and other cultural aspects which went largely ignored by previous Western scholars. He did this because he believed that knowledge of the way people of all social classes lived—not just their political and economic systems—was essential to understanding a culture that would later come under such strong foreign influence.

He does the same when describing early Meiji society. For Sansom, a multidimensional portrait of Meiji life comes into sharp focus, complete with political novels, new forms of poetry and theater, journalism, education, religious questions—everything from the sentiments of the intellectual elite to the chaotic emotions of the common people.

The Western World and Japan was highly regarded in Sansom's native England. Professor W. G. Beasley at the University of London praised it as "a study of the cultural relationship between Japan and the West across the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, written in splendid and readable prose." Professor Geoffrey Hudson at Oxford counted it among the three most outstanding studies of Japan in postwar England.

But one of the most noteworthy responses was from Arnold Toynbee, who lauded the work as "a classic penned by a master of the subject." This was significant in that, although Toynbee and Sansom were personally on good terms with one another, as historians they were, if anything, diametrically opposed. As is widely known, Toynbee's massive body of historical research was concerned with sweeping patterns—the rise and fall of civilizations. But Sansom, who sought the true nature of enduring cultures beyond the vagaries of history, cast doubt on systems like the ones Toynbee had constructed.

Sansom's approach as a historian is clearly spelled out in his preface. He has taken great care to avoid writing a work "based upon assumptions which experience does not confirm," believing that when it comes to the action of civilizations upon one another or the intercourse between peoples, "we do not yet know enough about these matters to allow of laying down rules or making predictions." Sansom, with his unfailingly cautious approach, did not take up the study of Japan after the Sino-Japanese War. But the profound knowledge and penetrating insights he reveals in *The Western World and Japan: A Short Cultural History* will undoubtedly inspire even casual readers for generations to come.

Ronald P. Dore *City Life in Japan* (1958)

Yukiko Aoki

Ronald Philip Dore. (Source: Shōichi Saeki & Tōru Haga, Eds., *Gaikokujin ni yoru Nihonron no meicho - Goncharov kara Pinguet made*, Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1987, p. 209)

Ronald Philip Dore was born in Bournemouth, England in 1925. He graduated from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London in 1947. He arrived in Japan in 1950, and in the following year embarked on a sociological study of "Shitayama-chō where he lived while attending the University of Tokyo. The results of this work would later be published as *City Life in Japan* in 1958. Dore returned to England and began teaching at his alma mater SOAS until 1955, when he once again went to Japan for a year and a half to study land reform in the rural villages of Yamanashi and Yamagata prefectures. His work was published as *Land Reform in Japan* (Nihon no Nōchi Kaikaku) in 1959. Between 1956 and 1961, Dore served as associate professor of Asian Studies at the University of British

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Columbia in Canada, during which time he studied the Japanese-Canadian community. He became an associate professor at the London School of Economics (LSE) in 1961, teaching sociology at both the LSE and SOAS between 1965 and 1968. In 1969 he began teaching for the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University. In 1976, he released *The Diploma Disease* (Gakurikei Shakai: Atarashii Bunmeibyō), a study of seven countries, including Britain and Japan. The book discusses "diploma disease," a universal trend towards the bureaucratization of societies and a concept that Dore also touches upon in *City Life in Japan*. The following year, Dore was presented with the Japan Foundation Award for his pioneering research on Japan and his success in promoting a better understanding of Japan in the West. Dore's other publications include *Flexible Rigidities* (Bōeki Masatsu no Shakaigaku) (1986), a collection of essays that goes beyond Japan to address a wide range of modern challenges faced by societies around the world. Ronald Philip Dore passed away in 2018.

Let us first consider the circumstances under which *City Life in Japan* came about. Between March and September of 1950, up-and-coming sociologist Ronald Dore, who was 26 at the time, conducted a sociological study of about three hundred households in a Tokyo community he called Shitayama-chō. The name was of course fictitious, a portmanteau used to protect the identity of the neighborhood while indicating that it had characteristics of both Tokyo's working-class (*shitamachi*) and affluent (*yamanote*) areas. It is an academic work, meant for sociologists, which summarizes the results of Dore's study and his subsequent analysis. These characteristics clearly distinguish it from Japanese discourse that falls into the essay or travel writing genre.

Put simply, what makes *City Life in Japan* unique within Japanese discourse is Dore's consistent academic and scientific approach. For example, he applies a conceptual yardstick of development to Japanese society, always keeping in mind where Shitayama-cho is positioned in relation to this yardstick in 1951. In other words, he adopts a method in which he bases his discussion on comparison with a certain theoretical model. At one end of this yardstick is "a society based on peasant agriculture and domestic craft production, rigidly stratified and with only rudimentary means of central political control." At the other end is "a society which differs from none of the Western industrial societies more than they differ from each other." Dore's premise is that Japanese society continues to move forward along the line between these two poles. The result is an analysis which addresses not just Japanese society itself, but allows for comparison with other societies—and it is clear that Dore's position is that such comparative approaches are useful to some degree. Yet at the same time, he cautions that "an exclusive preoccupation" with applying a general yardstick like this one is that it "runs the danger of ignoring the particular differentia of Japanese society." So "this book does attempt," Dore says, "if not to give an analysis of Japanese 'national character,' at least to convey something of the flavour, the 'essential Japaneseness' of life in Tokyo."

When Dore mentions "essential Japaneseness," his words are backed up by an accumulation of his direct experiences that cannot be detected, say, in such concepts as Ruth Benedict's "patterns of Japanese culture" in *The Chrysanthemum and the*

Sword (Kiku to Katana), for example. Dore majored in Japanese studies at university and was able to speak Japanese before coming to Japan; he actually lived in Shitayama-chō, the subject of his studies, for six months, showing up at festivals and town meetings and forming personal relationships with town residents. He then used the knowledge he gained from these experiences to supplement the results of his questionnaire-based interviews. It was because he actually lived in a shoddily built house of the era that he was able to hear the couple fighting in the neighboring home; in his chapter on social advancement, he even cites these marital quarrels as an example of wives' unsatisfied material wants and their explosive expressiveness.

Dore thus conducted his studies literally in close contact with the daily experiences of the people, and criticizes Benedict for her view "that there is such an entity as a homogeneous 'Japanese culture' or 'Japanese culture pattern' which persists through time and pervades all regions and all social classes": Dore does not readily define "Japaneseness." Even the concept of *giri* ("obligations," widely popularized as a result of *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*), which Benedict insists is extremely Japanese, is not at all alien to the British, if analyzed well, counterargues Dore.

> The difference between Japan and England is that the structure of Japanese society is such that *giri*-relations arise with greater frequency and have greater importance for the individual's material well-being in Japan than in England, that the acts required in such relationships are more clearly formalized, and that the obligations to perform such actions are often given a higher place in the scale of values of a Japanese compared with such 'universalistic' obligations as 'loving one's neighbour', 'speaking one's mind', or 'pursuing truth' or 'justice', than in an Englishman's scale of values.

Dore believes that *giri*, far from being a unique perspective found in Japan but not in England nor in any other country, differs only in the frequency and formalization with which it appears, and is distinctive only relative to other values. As is clear from this example, Dore by no means finds "Japaneseness" to be anything mysterious. Put another way, for him, the uniqueness of Japanese society is the same kind of uniqueness to be found in any society, rather than something unexplainable.

Yet in taking this position, Dore presents readers of *City Life in Japan* with examples of behaviors and ways of thinking that have one nodding enthusiastically at their "Japaneseness," and the accuracy with which Dore selects and recounts these examples is testament to how deeply he understands Japan. In his discourse, Dore never resorts to phrasing such as "the Japanese are like this" or "this is what 'Japaneseness' means." Instead, the characteristics of "Japaneseness" arise naturally in the course of the specific examples he provides.

One such example is the way Dore describes and analyzes life in Shitayama-cho according to the following categories: Shitayama-chō, Daily Life, The Japanese Family System, Household Composition in Shitayama-chō, The 'House,' Husbands and Wives, Getting On, Political Attitudes, Neighbours and Friends, The Ward, The Local and National Community, Family Rites, The Individual and the *Kami*, Beliefs of the 'Uncommitted,' Society and the Individual. These categories were taken from the Japanese language version of the book, which only represents about two-thirds of the original book, as Dore himself cut out the ones that he thought would be

particularly unnecessary to Japanese readers. Of these, the descriptions of the material lives of the Shitayama-chō residents in the section titled "Some Sketches" under "Daily Life" naturally seem quite alien to readers thirty years later. Yet some of Dore's descriptions of the dispositions and feelings of the townspeople seem to apply almost exactly to us Japanese today. These examples also seem to reveal something essentially Japanese.

Here is just one example of the *giri*-relationships mentioned earlier.

> A nephew employed in his uncle's firm as under-manager is convinced of the justice of the workers' case in a strike conflict. Should be suppress his 'sympathies' and loyally support his uncle as the ethics of *giri* prescribe? Or should he work for what he believes to be just even though it does bring on him the accusation that he does not know *giri*?

Dore presents several similar cases, saying that they would represent a dilemma for the average Japanese person—a dilemma in the sense that the person would suffer from psychological conflict no matter which option they chose. In this way, it seems that Dore is pointing out situations that readily apply to us today.

Dore considers the dilemmas to be based on two behavioral principles or ethical conflicts. Should the person prioritize harmony with family members and those in *giri* relationships that were so pronounced among rural people during the Tokugawa era, subscribing to the moral principle that the individual must be subsumed by the in-group? Or should they align themselves with universal principles? In the above example, should a person always be true to themselves and follow what is essentially an individualistic moral code? The spread of the latter choice in post-Meiji Japan has been, of course, pretty much an influence of modern European thoughts. In modern Europe, individualism, along with the concept of free competition, has come out of the development of capitalist economies as their essential requirements and formed the basis of universal principles. But Japan does not have in its historical experience a period corresponding to this period in Europe, having instead been thrust into a new kind of collectivism brought by the later-stage of capitalism—what Dore calls "the collectivism of the giant industrial corporation, of State welfare services and nationalized industries, of shared fashions in clothes, enjoyments and values diffused by mass radio and television." As a result, Dore finds that the old behavioral principles—those that relied on groups and group leaders—have been preserved, though in slightly altered forms.

In the late 1980s, we still find ourselves trapped between these two moral codes, living in a world where the trend towards collectivism has grown even stronger—as evidenced by the fact that, by one account, ninety percent of Japanese people see themselves as middle class. This is why the stories of the Japanese portrayed in Dore's *City Life in Japan* overlap considerably with the way we are today.

Donald Keene *The Japanese Discovery of Europe—Honda Toshiaki and Other Discoverers* (1952)

Tōru Haga

Donald Keene. (Source: Shōichi Saeki & Tōru Haga, Eds., *Gaikokujin ni yoru Nihonron no meicho - Goncharov kara Pinguet made*, Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1987, p. 215)

Donald Keene was born in 1922 in New York and graduated from Columbia University. During World War II, he studied Japanese as a language officer. After the war, he returned to Columbia University to pursue his graduate studies. His master's thesis was published as *The Japanese Discovery of Europe—Honda Toshiaki and Other Discoverers* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952; second Ed. Stanford University Press, 1969), and received a PhD in Literature with a dissertation entitled *The Battles of Coxinga: Chikamatsu's Puppet Play, Its Background and Importance*. For five years, starting in 1948, he studied and taught at the University of Cambridge in England, during which time he published *Japanese*

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Literature (Nihon no Bungaku) (1953; translation by Yoshida Ken'ichi, 1963) and studied at Kyoto University. After that, he served as a professor at Columbia University, where he was to nurture many outstanding scholars, and play a leading role in Japanese studies in the United States. He edited and translated *Anthology of Japanese Literature* (Nihon Bungaku Senshū) (1955) and published countless translations of works ranging from Tsurezuregusa, yōkyoku (Noh lyrics) and the works of Chikamatsu to contemporary literature by Dazai Osamu, Mishima Yukio, and Abe Kōbō. Meanwhile, *Landscape and Portraits* (Kodansha International, 1971) is an outstanding collection of essays on the history of Japanese culture. He also published numerous works in Japanese including *Watashi no Nihon Bungaku Shōyō* (My Ramblings in Japanese Literature) (Shinchōsha, 1981), *Hakutai no Kakaku—Nikki ni Miru Nihonjin* (Travelers of a Hundred Ages—The Japanese as Revealed through 1000 Years of Diaries) Vols. 1 & 2 (Asahi Sensho, 1984), and *Futatsu no Sokoku ni Ikite* (Living in Two Fatherlands) (Asahi Sensho, 1987). His many accolades include the Kikuchi Kan Prize, the Yamagata Bantō Prize, the Japan Foundation Award, the Yomiuri Literary Award, and the Grand Prize for Japanese Literature. (Donald Lawrence Keene passed away in 2019.)

Donald Keene once told me in person that he first intended to write his master's thesis on Japan in the eighteenth century. Keene was born in New York in 1922, so this would have been when he was in his early to mid-twenties when studying in the Japanese Studies program at Columbia University. He had studied French literature as an undergraduate, but during the war he was mobilized as a language officer and underwent intensive training in Japanese. When the war ended, he returned to Columbia and became a student of Japanese studies, and attended lectures by Ryūsaku Tsunoda on topics like the history of Japanese thought. Keene was particularly interested in the stories of those Japanese scholars of Western learning whom he had heard about in those lectures (see the "Prologue to the Japanese edition" of this book).

He immediately consulted with Sir George Sansom, then a professor at Columbia's East Asia Institute. Sansom needs no introduction. During his many years as a British diplomat in Japan, he wrote the famous book *Japan: A Short History* (Nihon Bunka Shōshi) (1931), and not long before this, he also published another major work *The Western World and Japan* (Seiō Sekai to Nihon) (see the chapter on G.B. Sansom. Along with Arthur Waley, he was a major figure in Japanese studies in prewar Great Britain and Europe as well as one of the most influential scholars in the development of postwar Japanese studies in the United States. Dr. Sansom met with Mr. Keene, then a young graduate student, and after listening carefully to his brilliant and ambitious dissertation plan, he said:

"Donald, 18th-century Japan is an interesting choice. That's a good topic. You should definitely write about it. But you had better narrow down the scope a bit, as it is far too broad a topic for a master's thesis."

As a result, Keene chose to focus on the eighteenth century Japanese economic thinker Honda Toshiaki (1744–1821).

He completed and submitted his master's thesis, which included chapters on the movement to study Western civilization centered on Honda along with excerpts from

Honda's *Seiiki Monogatari* (Tales of the West) and *Keisei Hisaku* (A Secret Plan of Government). It was published in London several years later, in 1952, in a revised edition and was Keene's first publication. He was thirty.

Although this book was meant to be limited to the single aspect of Western studies; Keene, the young scholar, did not feel any need whatsoever to scale back on his initial ambitions. He allowed himself to focus his attention on the people and their ideas which was what he was most interested in to begin with, and by examining them closely, he was able to more effectively and vividly depict one of the dynamics of Japanese spiritual history in the eighteenth century. His book would become a classic study of Tokugawa era Japan, a topic which is still of great interest to the Japanese people today.

The uniqueness of the intent of this book and its approach to the problem is conveyed in the following passage in the "Preface."

> A page from any one of his writings suffices to show that with him one has entered a new age, that of modern Japan. One finds in his books a new spirit, restless, curious, and receptive. There is in him the wonder at new discoveries, the delight in widening horizons.

Was there anyone before Keene, either in Japan or in the United States, who approached the thinker Honda Toshiaki and the issues of cultural history and Western studies in eighteenth century Japan with this kind of enthusiasm? I would say there was almost no one.

The only book on Honda Toshiaki in the prewar period was the book *Honda Toshiaki Shū* (Collected Works of Honda Toshiaki), edited by Honjō Eijirō, which appeared in 1915 as part of the *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Gakusetsu Taikei* (Compendium of Early Modern Socioeconomic Theories). For Keene, who was writing around 1950, there would have been no other books to refer to. As for the history of Western studies, the only Japanese-language references available were prewar papers by scholars such as Itazawa Takeo, Inobe Shigeo, Shinmura Izuru, Tsuji Zennosuke, and Muraoka Tsunetsugu. As we can see from the passage quoted above—"A page from any of his writings...,"—Keene approached his subject in a completely different style from these scholars. All the more different was his approach from the scholarship on Western studies by prewar and postwar Japanese Marxist historians, whose work Keene apparently never encountered. In other words, one could say that his attitude of reading the writings of Western thinkers as literary "works" rather than mere historical "documents" or "references" and then commenting on them with the intellectual sympathy of a researcher was not the style of his generation, at least not in Japan. At the time, Keene had no choice but to read and discuss the writings of other Western studies scholars, such as Hiraga Gennai, Sugita Genpaku, Shiba Kōkan, Ōtsuki Gentaku, and Hayashi Shihei, with almost no preconceived notions, so he must have felt a sense of refreshing surprise and delight when he discovered Honda Toshiaki and the "other discoverers" he covers in this book.

When it comes to research on Japanese history or Japanese literature, Keene was from the start free—and had to be free—from the slow and drawn-out ceremony of Japanese scholars, who first review the history of research to date, pay homage to

each of the previous achievements, "set" their own "problems" and "perspectives" in their remaining niche, and then begin their "analysis" at a leisurely pace. Honda Toshiaki, in *Seiiki Monogatari* (Tales of the West) and *Keisei Hisaku* (A Secret Plan of Government), draws on the little information he was able to obtain to deeply and vividly discuss the psychology of the Western world as a single utopia, but the very same Honda Toshiaki, who "looked at Japan as he thought a Westerner might, and ... saw things that had to be changed," is directly and painstakingly portrayed in Keene's account. With this book, Keene had already completed the research that would trace the origins of modern Japan to Tokugawa era Japan about a decade before the so-called Reischauer Line.

I wonder if Keene, as a former student of French literature, ever had the opportunity to read Taine's *The Origins of Contemporary France* (1875–88) and Paul Hazard's *The European Mind, the Critical Years, 1680–1715* (1935). I am led to believe he did because his vivid definition of the problem is akin to the French approach of reading documents on the so-called history of thought first as works of literary history without setting any particular boundary between the two fields. As a result, he was able to vividly bring to life the significance of Honda Toshiaki, Shiba Kōkan, and Hayashi Shihei as archetypes in the history of the consciousness and psychology of modern Japanese people with references to their statements.

In Chap. 1, "The Dutch in Japan," Keene intersperses quotations from the memoirs of Kaempfer, Thunberg, Krusenstern, and others on their experiences in Japan with passages from the seventeenth century Dutch poet Vondel and from Dutch plays, in order to clearly illustrate the glory and decadence of the Dutch merchants in Asia. Chapter 2, "The Rise of Barbarian Learning," describes how the study of the Dutch language, which began during the reign of the eighth Shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune, eventually became *rangaku* (Dutch studies), which, together with the national studies of the same period, boldly criticized the Confucian world-view. In Chap. 3, "Strange Tales from Muscovy," Keene traces the commotion that the Hungarian-born adventurer Count Benyowsky, writing under the name Baron Bengoro, caused in Japan in the late eighteenth century. He reveals the unexpected depth of the fateful relationship between Japan and Europe at that time, as well as the intellectual gulf between the two countries. Next, in Chap. 4, "Honda Toshiaki and the Discovery of Europe," Keene clearly explains how Honda and his fellow Western-oriented Enlightenment thinkers studied and dreamed of Western civilization with a deep yearning, and how, based on their idealized image of the West, they bitterly criticized the closed nature of the Japanese system of that time and the danger of Japan's ignorance of the outside world.

Honda and his fellow thinkers' worship of the West was sometimes polemical. However, when the young Keene argued that Japan was the only country in Asia that was able to rise to the challenge of the Western world and move forward with its own modernization because of its remarkable ability to accept different cultures, he seemed to be, whether he was aware of it or not, sending his full sympathy and encouragement to his Japanese contemporaries who were trying to recover from the tragedy of defeat in the war.

Earl Miner *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature* (1958)

Takaki Okubo

Earl Miner. (Source: Shōichi Saeki & Tōru Haga, Eds., *Gaikokujin ni yoru Nihonron no meicho - Goncharov kara Pinguet made*, Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1987, p. 221)

Earl Miner was born in 1927 in Wisconsin in the United States. After studying engineering at the University of Wisconsin, Miner completed a basic course in Japanese and Japanese affairs at the University of Minnesota before being sent to Japan in 1946 by order of the Army. He worked as an interpreter for the occupation forces in Shikoku, Kyushu, Nagoya, and other locales until 1947. He returned to the University of Minnesota to study British literature. At the same time, he conducted comparative literary research on the influence of Japan on British and American literature for his doctoral dissertation, and the results were published in 1958 as his first book, *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature* (Seiyō

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Bungaku no Nihon Hakken). This book was praised highly both in the United States and Japan, and in 1960, he went back to Japan, this time as a Fulbright scholar, and lectured throughout the country. Later, he taught at Kyoto University where he remained until 1962. After that, he remained active in the fields of British, Japanese, and comparative literature (teaching at the University of California, Los Angeles from 1955 to 1972 and Princeton University after that), and published numerous books on Dryden, Milton, classical Japanese court poetry, and other topics. His major works include *Dryden's Poetry*, *The Restoration Mode: From Milton to Dryden*, *Japanese Poetic Diaries*, and *Japanese Court Poetry*. A Japanese translation of his essays entitled "Nihon wo Utsusu Chiisana Kagami" (A Small Mirror Reflecting Japan) (Chikuma Shobō, 1962) was also published. Earl Roy Miner passed away in 2004.

The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature (Seiyō Bungaku no Nihon Hakken) (1958) (whose Japanese title translates to "The Discovery of Japan in Western Literature") was one of the first major works representing the dramatic advancement of Japanese studies in the West after World War II, especially in the United States. This book's premise was, first and foremost, an original, almost unheard-of point of view. While traditional Japanese studies had focused on Japan itself and how Japan received the West in its relations with the West, Miner's research, on the contrary, sought to explore how the West received Japan and how the West itself changed as a result of contact with Japan. This reveals a new image of Japan that has not been demonstrated in previous studies of Japan, a view which cannot be seen with eyes only on Japan.

According to Miner, the history of the Western world's interest in Japanese culture can be divided into three major stages. The first stage refers to the sporadic interest in the idyllic and the mythological, dating from St. Francis Xavier's arrival to Japan in the sixteenth century until near the end of the Edo period in the mid-nineteenth century. Starting with the opening of Japan with the Perry Expedition in 1853 and lasting until nearly the end of the nineteenth century, the next stage was one of rapidly increasing interest spurred on by a passion for exoticism and exploring other cultures. Finally, the last stage, which began at the onset of the twentieth century, was one of absorbing Japanese culture and art as an impetus for universal and authentic cultural and artistic creation. These stages developed in succession, and in that process, the importance of cultural exchange and creation increased, especially in the third stage, where a decisive leap forward was achieved.

In the first stage, Japan, in the eyes of Westerners, was part of a vague Asian world that was lumped together with China, and rather than being a target worthy of objective understanding, it was understood as an illusory representation of a utopian image similar to that of a primitive society.

Then, in the second stage, interest in Japan as a unique civilized country rapidly increased, thanks to the insights of Westerners who actually visited the country and the products exported from Japan, such as woodblock prints. Some Westerners who came to Japan, such as Pierre Loti, who wrote *Madame Chrysanthème* (Okiku-san), only viewed Japan with contempt as an object of temporary diversion and comfort, while others, such as Lafcadio Hearn, praised Japan as a wise civilization that could save humanity from the inhumanity of Western civilization. Although there were

mixed opinions, what these writers shared in common was the view that Japan possessed cultural principles very different from those of the West that could be used to relativize Western society. This interest in Japan as a foreign culture spread rapidly among the general public, especially through stage productions, and a number of archetypal images of the Japanese took root—contradictory images of the Japanese as polite, modest, and graceful on the one hand and brutal, aggressive, and barbaric on the other. This exaggerated image of the Japanese as an almost alien species became an archetype of the Western public's image of the Japanese that remains to the present day.

However, the most important cultural and artistic phenomenon of this second stage was the influx of uniquely Japanese aesthetics and styles into the West through woodblock prints, which had a fundamental impact on the art of the time. Needless to say, this begins with French Impressionist paintings. In these works, Japanese culture is no longer considered merely exotic or special, but is accepted as a universal culture that has anticipated and realized the new artistic ideal of the expression of impression itself. This involved a break away from the framework of old academicism and realism, and the introduction of a pure style of art, independent of reality. In France, this influence further extended to novelists such as Goncourt and Zola, while in England it was introduced through Whistler. Whistler's unique blend of Japonisme and impressionism with art and literature had a powerful effect on late Victorian artists, especially poets. Most notable among this group was Oscar Wilde, who created colorful and sensuous poetry that could be described as truly impressionistic and who served as a bridge to the "new poetry" of twentieth-century England.

After this, the third stage began. The new poets of the early part of the new century, led by T. E. Hulme, rejected the Victorian sentimentality of the past and advocated poetry with fresh and clear images at its core. Wilde and Whistler were direct inspirations for these poets, and through them, they were exposed to French and Japanese art. Among these influences, major focus was placed on French symbolic poetry, which emerged as an extension of Impressionism, and Japanese haiku, from which the poets learned brevity, attitudes toward nature, and non-didacticism. These are all important qualities of modern twentieth-century poetry, which eventually culminated with Ezra Pound and the Imagist movement.

Pound's admiration for Whistler led him to Japanese art, where he encountered haiku. From haiku, he drew one of the most important techniques of his poetry, superposition, in which two disparate concepts or images collide to create a fresh, imaginative vision. Pound developed this technique of superposition in various ways, and it came to form the basic style of his masterpiece, the long poem *The Cantos*. It then spread throughout the Imagist movement in general, influencing the works of T. S. Eliot, William Carlos Williams, Wallace Stevens, and others.

Through his study of Ernest Fenollosa, Pound also paid attention to the pictographic nature of Chinese characters, and he used Chinese characters in his English poems to strengthen their ability to evoke ideas. He also took an interest in Noh and appreciated its highly concentrated imagery and symbolism, aspects it shares with haiku. This is what led Pound to attempt to overlap his ideas in various parts of *The*

Cantos with Noh works, resulting in an expansion of the work's space. Through Pound's efforts and genius, Japanese art forms became essential elements of modern Anglo-American literature—a living tradition.

Meanwhile, there were two encounters with traditional Japanese art and contemporary Western art that did not have as wide an impact as Pound, but were equally essential and important. One was the Russian filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein, who created his own theory of modern cinema by drawing on the essence of kabuki—its character as a total artwork, and its ideas of montage and slow-motion techniques. The other was the Irish poet William Butler Yeats, who encountered Noh through Pound and drew inspiration from it in the creation of his symbolist dramas. The three examples in this third stage all show that Japanese traditional art played a decisive role in the process of twentieth century Western art overcoming the romantic or realist tendencies of the nineteenth century, to create modern artistic ideals. Japan did not produce original philosophies and religions as India and China did, but it developed rich and universal possibilities in terms of artistic forms, and can be considered to have made an essential contribution to the Western art of the twentieth century.

Thus concludes my brief introduction to Miner's theories. I mentioned at the beginning that the originality of Miner's viewpoint makes this book exceptional, and in tracing history consistently with this point of view, this book also offers his original insights on individual topics. For example, with regard to Hearn's body of work, which is highly acclaimed in Japan, Miner acknowledges Hearn's empathy with and deep understanding of Japan, but he has reservations about the overall positioning of Hearn's works. This is because Hearn's works do not go beyond the personal and are not necessarily significant in terms of new contributions to Western culture. While fully appreciating the significance of the introduction of Japanese aesthetics into nineteenth century Western society and the wild enthusiasm that Japanese woodblock prints aroused in Western society, Miner also holds in high regard the less conspicuous but more serious connection between haiku and the works of Pound and his contemporaries in the twentieth century. All in all, Miner's attitude is consistent with his awareness of what was essential from the standpoint of the development of Western art. To substantiate his judgment, he carefully analyzes the original works of Pound and others, and at the same time, he carefully and persuasively explains their place in the history of Anglo-American literature and the inevitability of their development from the previous generation.

Thus, *The Japanese Tradition in British and American Literature* vividly illuminates the essential and universal elements inherent in Japanese culture by measuring what Japanese culture has brought to the world. It does so in an objective and impartial manner, from the outside, even though the work itself is rooted in his personal affinity with Japanese culture. As mentioned in the introduction, this work is a remarkable achievement in the new postwar study of Japan, and it is still of significance today because it has set the standard for subsequent research.

Marius B. Jansen *Sakamoto Ryōma and the Meiji Restoration* (1961)

Tōru Haga

Marius B. Jansen. (Source: Shōichi Saeki & Tōru Haga, Eds., *Gaikokujin ni yoru Nihonron no meicho - Goncharov kara Pinguet made*, Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1987, p. 227)

Marius B. Jansen was born on April 11, 1922, in the Netherlands. His family emigrated to the U.S. and Jansen studied at Princeton University. Although initially intending to study the history of medieval European thought, he received special training in Japanese as a language specialist during World War II, and was stationed in Japan after its conclusion. In 1950, he received a PhD in history from Harvard University which was published as *The Japanese and Sun-Yat-sen*, (Harvard UP, 1954). After serving as professor of history at the University of Washington (Seattle), he became professor of history at Princeton University in 1959. In 1961, he wrote *Sakamoto Ryōma and the Meiji Restoration* (Princeton UP), which established

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his position as a leader in the field of modern Japanese history in the United States. In the 1960s, he was active in organizing the Conference on Modern Japan and editing its series of essay collections. Among his other publications and translations are *Japan and China: from War to Peace 1894–1972* (Nihon to Chūgoku, Rand McNally, 1975), and *Japan and Its World, Two Centuries of Change* (Nihon, Nihyakunen no Henbō, Japanese Translation: Katō Mikio, Iwanami, 1982). He remained in Princeton until his death in 2000, reading "The Complete Works of Huizinga" in Dutch, and playing Chopin and Mozart beautifully on the piano. Marius Berthus Jansen passed away in 2000.

Why is it that one of the great works of Japanology is such a specialized book on the history of the Meiji Restoration? If what we call "Japanology" is a comprehensive discussion of the characteristics of Japanese society and culture from several angles, the topic of "Sakamoto Ryōma and the Meiji Restoration" may be a little too specific.

As far as this book is concerned, however, such concerns are completely unwarranted. This book, by one of the leading American scholars of Japanese history, is, above all, truly readable. Anyone with even a passing interest in Ryōma or the history of the Meiji Restoration will immediately be captivated by this lively and incisive account of a fascinating man and era. Truly unputdownable, it keeps the reader breathless till the end. I myself have a vivid recollection of reading all 423 pages of the English text over three or four nights in the summer of 1961, immediately after its publication. When I open the book now, I find that there are markings on almost every page, underlines and exclamation points in red pencil, and notes in tiny letters here and there.

The book closely traces the development of the thoughts and actions of Sakamoto Ryōma (1838–67), a patriot or a man of high purpose during the Bakumatsu period (1853–68), within a broad comparative historical framework of "Japan's response to the challenge of the Western world" (also the title of this volume's second chapter) in the nineteenth century. In doing so, the book naturally becomes a nuanced and yet substantive portrait of the Japanese, or at least of the modern Japanese, through the investigation of the real Ryōma, one of the country's most popular heroes. In general, when discourses on Japan that lump together Bashō, advanced technology, Zen, and corporate management methods are thrown about, we may consider the arguments "clever," but seldom feel truly satisfied with them. This book, however, is an empirical and concrete study of the behavior and psychology of Ryōma, a key individual in a turbulent period of Japan's history; through its detailed analysis, it presents a vivid and assured exemplar of the modern Japanese.

In Chapter 1, "Ryōma's Japan," and Chapter 2, "Response to the West," Professor Jansen skillfully uses historical documents from Japan and abroad, including the memoirs of Germain Felix Meijlan, chief of the Dutch trading post in Nagasaki, to gradually narrowing his focus from Tokugawa Japan, then the Tosa domain, and onto Sakamoto Ryōma, thereby detailing the social and psychological situation of Japan from the early nineteenth century up to the great shock of Commodore Perry's arrival in Japan in 1853. The reform of domain governments in response to this shock, which had also begun in Tosa, was undertaken through the responsible

planning of the realist Yoshida Tōyō. However, it is Sakamoto Ryōma, a local samurai, who appears on the scene in opposition to the Yoshida faction's intellectual line, and begins his career in Chapter 3, "The Loyalist Years."

At the time, Ryōma had no objective knowledge of the capabilities of the "barbarians," and was merely a swordsman practicing his martial arts at Chiba Shūsaku's dōjō (swordsmanship school) in Edo, excited over the thought of "taking some foreign heads and returning home (to Tosa)." This is what the author calls the first stage of Ryōma's spiritual development. His swordsman-like zeal for expelling the barbarians eventually developed into a kind of religious ideology as Ryōma went back to Edo for further training (1856) and met other young men of the same age and disposition, including some from the Mito domain. There, he came to know Takechi Zuizan, an "emperor-loving" senior samurai from Tosa, and eventually joined Takechi's "Tosa Kinnō-tō (Tosa Emperor Loyalty Party)" finding there his raison d'être—respect for the emperor and protection of the nation.

This simple and unambiguous radical exclusionism appealed strongly to the younger samurai of the time, not only in Tosa, but in Chōshū and Satsuma as well. By emphasizing the "national crisis," they justified their deviation from the old feudal order. With slogans like "justice is with us," and "we will carry out the divine will," these men held an almost euphoric confidence in their own moral superiority, their intellectual innocence demanding simple solutions to complex problems. As such, they accused Yoshida Tōyō and other senior bureaucrats who did not listen to them of being "incompetent philistines," subjecting them to the same kind of "divine punishment" as was meted out to Ii Naosuke, the assassinated chief minister of the shogunate. Then, one by one, they broke away from their domains and broadened the scope of their contacts and exchanges, including those with the court nobility. In doing so, their evolved their individual activist work into an anti-shogunate exclusionist movement with a national perspective.

Professor Jansen describes the "Loyalist Years" following 1860 as the second stage of the "response to the West" on the part of Sakamoto Ryōma and Japanese of that generation who modeled themselves on him, but this chapter is also a fascinating study of a particular Japanese archetype: the "man of high purpose." According to the preface and the notes at the end of the book, Sun Yat-sen, the subject of Jansen's Ph.D. thesis (*The Japanese and Sun-Yat-sen*, published in 1954), and his "China rōnin" (Japanese activists in China) friends often likened themselves to the heroes of Bakumatsu Japan, and this was one of the factors that led him to this research on Sakamoto.

Based on this long-held conception of the subject matter, and using such works as the memoirs of Sasaki Takayuki (Sasaki Rōkō Sekijitsudan), he skillfully depicts and analyzes the rebellious and adventurous spirit of a Takeichi, Sakamoto, Nakaoka Shintarō, and other "children of the storm," who had no direct responsibility to their families, domains, or the national government. The sharpness and vivacity of his writing stands out not only in the literature on Ryōma and the Restoration but is something rarely seen in Japanese scholars' studies of the history of modern Japanese thought. Rather, it has a strong persuasive appeal that could only come from a foreign historian of Japan who, in all likelihood, had a strong grasp of

methodology of historical studies including Erik Erikson's historical psychology. "Eyes fixed the sunbeam of the extreme, hearts as pure as their shining blades..." This was the romantic image that these brave and brutal fanatics had created for themselves. Jansen calls them "revolutionaries without a blueprint or successors," and "experts in disrupting the status quo without possessing any alternative plan." In describing the Bakumatsu imperial loyalists' way of life, the professor, who once worked on the section on Shōwa ultranationalists in *Source of the Japanese Tradition* (Genten ni Yoru Nihon no Dentō, Columbia. U. P., 1958), must have had in mind not only Sun Yat-sen and the "continental rōnin," but also the assassins in military uniform in 1930s Japan. Rather, it was the allusions and implied analogies to these groups that gave an unusually earnest tone to this study, broadening the perspective of the research.

The author emphasizes, however, that the Bakumatsu imperial loyalists did not remain in their initial stage of "paroxysmic" reaction to the West. This is where they differed from the fanatics of the Shōwa period. Both Sakamoto and Nakaoka, as rōnin who had broken away from their domains and were preoccupied with national affairs, eventually came to realize the "complexity of the problem" and discovered an intelligent way to respond to the "barbarians," the way which they were able to adopt decisively. This shift from the emotionalism and anti-intellectualism of resentment to a rational and concrete attitude toward the outside world, and from direct action with swords held aloft to an indirect strategy of "using the barbarians to defeat the barbarians"—this is what Jansen considers the third stage of their "response to the West" (Chapter 4, "Service with Katsu").

In Ryōma's case, he was persuaded by Katsu Rintarō, the former captain of the shogunate's Western steamship, the Kanrin-maru, whom he had originally intended to kill, to free himself overnight from the single-minded obsession of the Takechi school. This represented a dramatic and remarkable transformation in his consciousness and methods. Jansen interprets this change of course to be due to the fact that Ryōma's mind had been almost completely blank in terms of rational and intellectual thinking, and that he had the unlikely good fortune to find himself one-on-one with the "second-to-none military scholar" (from Ryōma's Letters) in the form of Katsu. The charm of this book lies in the fact that this kind of responsible and humanistic insights into historical figures can be found throughout, which, as I have said over and over again, are not to be found in the prim and austere works of Japanese historians.

His efforts to build the Hyōgo Naval Training Center, missions to the Fukui domain and other open-minded domains, the *taisei hōkan* (the abdication of the last shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu), and his embrace of a council of lords, were crisis measures counted among Ryōma's eight-point plan for national reform. The new experiences that Ryōma gained under Katsu's guidance gave him a new zest for life and sense of pride. A vivid illustration of these is given in Ryōma's letters to his sister Otome (when we read the letters, translated into English by Jansen, in the context of this book, the image of Ryōma formed by a heroic storyteller that has been stuck in our minds gradually peels away and is replaced by the dashing manner of the activist Sakamoto, as if he were speaking loudly on the campus of Berkeley or the

streets of New York City. It is a truly interesting experience). Likewise, his comrade Nakaoka Shintarō broadened his perspective through the various dangers, travel experiences, and contact with Chōshū figures such as Kusaka Genzui, and deepened his historical understanding of the current situation through acquiring information about the Opium War and reading Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Things Western* (Seiyō Jijō).

This led to a shift to a very clear and proactive policy, the process of which is also traced in detail through Nakaoka's diaries and letters. Although obviously either of them remained "quite somebody," experience had curbed their arrogance and impulsiveness. With sober composure and a stronger sense of responsibility, they faced a new phase of domestic and international politics. Professor Jansen observes that, as such, these "men of high purpose" grew "sophisticated," becoming "statesmen" who valued tolerance and farsightedness (Chapter 5, "The Satsuma-Chōshū Alliance").

It is here that what is interesting about this historian's reading of history can be found. I won't go into detail as to whether the English word "sophistication" is often used in this sense in historical accounts. However, the use of this term here has the effect of, at a stroke, universalizing the Japanese archetype of the Bakumatsu "man of high purpose" to the level of world history. Simultaneously, it also works to satirize the (dangerous) purity of desire that is still latent in the Japanese people today. This is one of the reasons why this book is not just a plain account of the history of the Meiji Restoration at the end of the Edo period, or a chapter in the annoying discourse on Japan's modernization, nor an old ideological debate about whether the Meiji Restoration was a bourgeois revolution or an absolutist revolution, but a history of the humanities that recognizes the role of human values in history, and also a superb discourse on Japanese cultural history.

Indeed, the sense of crisis among Ryōma and his contemporaries was no longer just psychological. Rather, it was backed by an awareness that they were living through a great transformation, and a love for their country in a global perspective. They realized that individual acts of heroism would only add to the complications that Japan was currently facing, and would not contribute in any way to their resolution. There is no need here to go into the remarkable developments in the years leading up to Ryōma's assassination in 1867, such as his activities as commander of the Tosa Kaientai in Nagasaki (Chapter 6) or the eight-point "*senchū hassaku*," a national policy reform proposal along the lines of the *kōbu gattai* (the union of imperial and shogunate rule) that he formulated with his subordinates Nagaoka Kenkichi and Mutsu Munemitsu (Chapter 7). Ryōma's idea of building a bridge between the shogunate and the Satsuma-Chōshū alliance was defeated, and the Restoration proceeded rapidly in the direction of Satsuma-Chōshū oligarchic rule. It is also pointed out at the end of the book that "Hanron" (On Domains), which is considered to be Ryōma's last expression of political thought, already had content that foretold the Tosa Freedom and People's Rights Movement of later years (Chapters 8 and 9).

The book is centered on the complicated psyche, growth of awareness, and development of thoughts of one "man of high purpose," Sakamoto Ryōma. It beautifully captures and describes the dynamics of the old Tokugawa regime's collapse and those of modernization under the pressure of the pressing Western

powers. The book is also interspersed with incisive portraits of the thoughts, character, and temperament of a succession of characters, including Yamauchi Yōdō, Yoshida Tōyō, Takeichi Zuizan, Gotō Shōjirō, Iwasaki Yatarō, and Iwakura Tomomi. This book will be widely read for many years to come, not only as a work of history that discusses the Meiji Restoration with a density of life and astute insight that borders on a work of art, but also as a thesis on the Japanese people as understood in the context of history.

Roland Barthes *L'empire des signes* (1970)

Yasuo Kobayashi

Roland Barthes

Roland Barthes was born in Cherbourg, France in 1915. Having lost his father at the age of one, he remained extremely close to his mother throughout the rest of his life. After attending high school in Paris, he undertook his university studies at the Sorbonne. However, due to falling ill with tuberculosis at the age of 19, he spent most of his twenties fighting the disease, requiring repeated stays in sanatoria. However, he took advantage of his time in the sanatoria to read copiously. From 1948 to 1952, he was a lecturer at the universities of Bucharest and Alexandria, and worked in the Education and Culture Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1952, he became a researcher at the National Centre for Scientific Research, where he studied, with some interruptions, a new discipline at the boundary between literature, linguistics, and sociology, which later became known as semiology. In

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1953, with the publication of *Writing Degree Zero* (Reido no Ekurichūru) he became a representative of the so-called "New Criticism" and engaged in a wide variety of brilliant critical activities. He went on to author many more works, including *Mythologies* (Shinwa Sayō, 1957) and *The Fashion System* (Mōdo no Taikei, 1967), (the fruits of his research in semiology), as well as *On Racine* (Rashiinuron, 1963), S/Z (1970), and *The Pleasure of the Text* (Tekusuto no Kairaku, 1973), which charted new directions for literary research. He was a professor at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales from 1960, and at the Collège de France from 1976. In 1977, he lost his beloved mother, with whom he had lived, and in 1980, he was killed in a car accident in Paris. After his death, his moving masterpiece, *Camera Lucida* (Akarui Heya) was published, which is both an outstanding work of theory on photography and a tribute to the memory of his mother.

Barthes' oddly titled *Empire of Signs* (L'Empire des Signes; Hyōchō no Teikoku) is a singular and unparalleled treatise on Japan, in that it is written from a perspective that completely eschews any active attempt to discuss or understand its subject. What we find in this book is neither an accurate picture nor a cohesive analysis of Japanese culture. Japan is seen there not as an object of commentary, but only as a center of endless fascination.

In fact, Barthes was not an expert on Japanese culture, did not understand Japanese, and had never spent an extended period of time in Japan. It is likely that the inspiration for the book came only from two very brief stays between 1966 and 1968. Stated bluntly, the author knew almost nothing about Japan. However, this ignorance is an essential condition for being endlessly enchanted by this unknown country called Japan. Is that not the case? About tempura, he writes "Like the Salzburg Bough, the eel (or a piece of vegetable or shrimp) crystallized as tempura becomes a small lump of emptiness, a collection of crevices." To be able to write a sentence like, "the dish here becomes the embodiment of a paradoxical dream, a paradoxical dream of a thing made purely of crevices," one should not know anything about tempura unless one encounters tempura without knowing about it, otherwise that power of enchantment is lost.

The Japan that Barthes encounters in this book is by no means a special Japan. Rather, it is a commonplace, yet superficial Japan designed for foreign intellectuals to encounter, superficial so long as they remain detached from the daily lives of we Japanese. Namely, it is Japanese cuisine like tempura and sukiyaki, street scenes like pachinko and train stations, traditional arts like bunraku, haiku, and tearooms, the Zengakuren radical student union, which symbolized the social situation of the time, and, not to forget, the faces of the Japanese people. The author, like many other foreigners, is surprised, bewildered, and fascinated by these various fragments that make up the reality of Japan. Simultaneously, however, the author tries to read each of those fragments, drawn by the power of their enchantment. It was reading that was Barthes' real field of expertise, and starting from his semiology research, he had pioneered and established a method of reading not only literary texts but also a variety of social phenomena, ranging from fashion and advertising to sports. In *Mythologies* (Shinwa Sayō), published in 1957, Barthes had already discussed a variety of French cultural phenomena such as cinema, photography, cuisine,

advertising, sports, and political speech in order to critically analyze the myth function of bourgeois ideology which is hidden behind superficial or primary semantic effects. The same method is applied here to the various signs of Japanese culture.

However, it must be reiterated again and again that while the methods are the same, there are also significant differences here. That is, in *The Empire of Signs*, that same reading technique is not used to analyze and critique Japanese culture. To be sure, Barthes reads a wide variety of signs and symbols from Japanese society and culture. However, in doing so, he neither prescribes the meaning of Japanese culture nor judges its value. Rather, the situation is the opposite: he reads Japan precisely because the general principles of such rational description (what he himself perceives as "Western" principles) are reduced to nothing. In other words, he tries to read Japan as something that cannot be read.

Let us consider this paradox a little further. In general, any thesis on Japan written by a foreign author, insofar as it is a thesis on Japan, presents a picture of a Japan that the author knows and understands, and which has, therefore, ceased to some extent, to be an unknown foreign country. Behind the rational work of commentary, the mysterious and wondrous Japan of the initial stages fades away. Barthes, however, writes about Japan while at the same time trying to maintain that first relationship of enchantment.

For example, referring to the gestures of a Japanese person drawing a simple map to indicate a meeting place, he writes, "Whenever I am told the address of a place in this way, I will always remember the way they reverse the tip of the pencil and use the eraser attached to the end to softly erase and correct the curves of the streets and the way they lead to the overpasses." He adds, "I was so mesmerized that I wished it would take hours and hours for them to draw me the map."

What we find here is the figure of a foreigner who is in a state of wordlessness, in the sense of a "rift" in meaning in which the efficacy of his native language has been reduced to nothing, and who is still infinitely fascinated by the unknown semantic action that is united with a body, which unfolds before his eyes.

For someone from a city like Paris, where a street address is all that is needed to accurately identify any point in the city, it is an almost incomprehensible experience to see the careful creation of a series of improvised symbols —what he calls "écriture" (the cauldron itself)—each time to communicate a single location to the other. There, the space appears as an opaque thickness that lacks a cohesive structure of expression, an irrational fluidity that continually changes form in response to each individual body. These encounters with something so foreign to oneself, which can be a source of irritation and bewilderment to some, fascinate Barthes, and he leisurely surrenders himself to that fascination.

So there is a kind of physical pleasure here, if I may put it this way. Encounters with the incomprehensible and the unreadable do not interrupt the reading, but rather ensure that we continue to read and write endlessly, and at the same time turn reading and writing into a kind of pleasure. It is precisely this that makes Japan a privileged experience for Roland Barthes.

In this sense, the closest thing to the author's attitude in this book is that of a collector. In fact, the book is a collage of quotations from Japanese photographs, maps, haiku, and other writings collected according to certain standards of personal taste, as well as of his own fragmentary experiences. Anyone can sense the author's attachment to each of them, just like the attachment of a stamp collector would feel to each item of their collection. Japan is, for him, more than anything else, "something to love."

As such, the Japan that emerges in this book is entirely "something to love" for one particular foreigner—Roland Barthes. This is "Japan" as one world formed imaginatively by Barthes or, in the author's own words, a world that "I have named Japan of my own accord." This world is not, as the Western world is for him, a system dominated by a unified principle of meaning (one might say a Christian "God" or a Greek "Logos"). Rather, it is an opposite world where its center is empty, and exactly because of that emptiness, it manifests a variety of symbols and signs, which are light-heartedly playing with one another. It is almost a "dream" land "beyond" the Western world to which he belongs.

If this is the case, it would be foolish to try to argue against this book by, for example, pointing out other realities of Japan that it does not mention. If the "Empire of Signs" that this book describes is, above all, a world centered around emptiness, that is the very premise of the world's boundless fascination and the innocent love he holds for it. Enchantment is something induced precisely by the absence of a center that guarantees self-identity, and love is possible only because the object of such love does not lose its appeal as something forever alien to the observer. Needless to say, it is a privileged relationship only possible for a foreigner. We Japanese, who have been deprived from the outset of the possibility of having a similar relationship with Japan, must simply rejoice, with some envy, that such a happy encounter of enchantment and love has occurred between our country and a foreigner.

Carmen Blacker *The Catalpa Bow* (1975)

Yukiko Aoki

Carmen Elizabeth Blacker. (Source: Keio University)

Carmen Elizabeth Blacker was born in London in 1924 to Carlos Paton 'Pip' Blacker, a psychoanalyst, and his wife Helen. She had been interested in the Japanese language since her childhood and studied Japanese at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London with top honors, under Dr. Arthur Waley. After graduating from the University of London in 1947, she studied at Harvard University, and from 1951 began research on Fukuzawa Yukichi at Keiō University. During this period, she visited Engakuji Temple in Kamakura to practice Zen and met the late D. T. Suzuki. From then on, she turned her attention to Japanese religion, and through ten subsequent visits to Japan, she addressed herself to the fully-fledged study of the subject. She studied at Keiō University until 1953, and then at Oxford University, where she received her

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doctorate in 1957. She became a lecturer at Cambridge University in 1955, where she taught Japanese and later served as a professor of Japanese history. In addition to this book, she is the author of *The Japanese Enlightenment* (1964), a study of Fukuzawa Yukichi, and co-editor of *Ancient Cosmology*. She was a Buddhist and died in 2009.

As the subtitle suggests, this book, *The Catalpa Bow*, is "a study of shamanic practices in Japan." The terms shaman and shamanism have traditionally been used in a very ambiguous way, but according to Mircea Eliade, "Shamanism in the strict sense is preeminently a religious phenomenon of Siberia and Central Asia" (cited in Chapter 1), and shamanism is defined as "[Archaic] Techniques of Ecstasy" that are clearly distinguished by a number of unique characteristics from general magic or magical healing. The shaman in this strict sense, of course, does not remain in Japan today. Thus, Blacker's research, which consisted of both fieldwork and literary studies of practices and beliefs, began by painstakingly picking up the remnants of their various forms.

According to the preface, Blacker was first intrigued by the places in Japan that seem to have continued to receive projections of the "other world," that is, a world beyond, a world that is sacred and different from this world. Her interest in these places then led to an interest in the special people who interacted with this "other world," and this was the beginning of Blacker's study of shamanism in Japan. She offered *The Catalpa Bow* "not only as a contribution to the study of Japan's religion, but also as a memorial to an ancient cult fast vanishing as machines, organized tourism and aggressively secular thinking destroy the intuition of the other world and its spiritual inhabitants. The fact that it focuses on detailed descriptions of various clues for reconstructing extant shamanic practices or ancient Japanese shamanism rather than on scholarly analysis reflects, in part, Blacker's desire to preserve for posterity pictures of religious phenomena that are on the verge of extinction.

Let me introduce the contents by describing all chapters. Chapter 1 plays a preparatory role, relying on Eliade and other specialists to briefly describe the characteristics of the shaman in the strict sense, and divides the Japanese shaman who seems to fall into this category into two main types: the medium and the ascetic. When a spiritual being comes to the human world, the medium is possessed by this in a trance and becomes the vessel for the transmission of their will, while the ascetic, on the contrary, makes a journey into the spirit world to gain spiritual power. Also in this chapter, the origins of shamanism in Japan and the diversity of the research material for this book are mentioned.

Chapters 2 and 3 deal with the spiritual beings with whom the shaman negotiates (*kami*, spirits of the dead [known in general as *tama*], ghosts, and witch animals). Chapter 4 addresses cosmology in Japan: where to look for the other world. Blacker, in an overview of the ambiguous and multilayered Japanese view of other worlds, identifies one other world in the underwater realm and one in the mountains, and argues that the latter is particularly associated with shamanism. The mountains are the place where the medium invokes the *kami* and the benevolent dead, and where the ascetic gains magical power.

Chapter 5 details the means by which the shaman obtains special power, which is generally known as *gyō*. Suigyō, standing under a waterfall or being drenched with

cold water, is considered a form of "mastery of fire" and is distinctively shamanic in character, because it is seen as rousing enough heat within the body to withstand such an experience. Chapter 6 focuses on the reconstruction of an image of the ancient Japanese shaman or *miko*, based on archaeological sources, myths, legends, and other literature. Chapter 7 finds existing forms of *miko*, especially in "the *kyōso* or Founders of the new religious sects." Blacker speculates that "the original, true natural shaman in Japan was a person in whom the powers of both the medium and the ascetic were combined," but that the natural shaman was divided by Buddhist influence into the active ascetic who banishes malignant spiritual beings and the passive medium who automatically utters the messages of her tutelary deity.

Chapter 8 deals with the *itako*, an independent shamanic medium that is not tied to the ascetic and whose vestiges are still discerned, and Chapter 9, along with subsequent chapters, examines the ascetic as the focal point of the study. In this chapter, ascetics are divided into four categories: the Buddhist priest, the *yamabushi*, the female exorcist (either static or travelling), and their guardian numina, Myōō and Gongen. These share common elements, such as their ferocious raging visage, the halo of flames, and the supernatural snake, all of which are related to the above-mentioned internal and magical heat characteristic of the shaman.

Chapters 10 and 11 deal with the other world journey, an interior initiation for the ascetic to gain the special power. Chapter 10 offers a description of a vision journey in a state of trance rarely seen today. Chapter 11 describes a symbolic way of traveling that projects the other world onto the real terrain and mimics it there; Blacker discusses the *mineiri* or mountain-entry into Mt. Ōmine in Yoshino and the *akimine* or autumn peak on Mt. Haguro; Blacker herself participated in the above rituals.

From Chapter 12, the special power of the ascetic is described in detail over four chapters. In Chapter 12, the power is divided into two broad categories: the practical power that is useful to the individual and the community (exorcism, opening of sacred places, interaction with animals) and the power that serves the function of demonstrating the shaman's magical power, such as *hi-watari* (fire-walking), *yudate* (sousing oneself in scalding water), and *katana-watari* (climbing up a ladder of swords). Chapters 13 and 14 depict oracles by *yorigitō*, the task of making contact with the world of spirits by the combined efforts of the *miko* and the ascetic, in the villages and mountains, respectively, while Chapter 15 presents specific examples of exorcism. Chapter 16, a sort of short epilogue, concludes with a quotation from the Noh play "Shakkyo (Stone Bridge)," a fitting end to the journey through the shamans who are the "bridge" between us and the other world.

As mentioned above, *The Catalpa Bow* is not a theoretical study of shamanism in Japan, but rather an exhaustive description of shamanistic practices and related matters based on field research and a wide variety of literature. Therefore, one of the characteristics of this book is that by reading it, one can grasp not only shamanism but also a considerable part of the ancient strata of Japanese religion.

Of course, Blacker does not concentrate exclusively on the specifics, but also makes bold and imaginative deductions here and there. For example, in reconstructing the image of the ancient *miko*, Blacker introduces the theories of Origuchi Shinobu and Matsumura Takeo, who suggest that tales of divine marriage

to a supernatural snake and *hitomi-gokū* or human sacrifice to the snake are derived from the possession of the serpent deity by the *miko*. Since Torii Ryūzō associates the heat released by the transformed female serpent in the Noh and kabuki play *Dōjōji* (when she wraps herself around the great bell in the temple of Dōjōji and burns the priest she loved to death) with a heat unique to the shaman, Blacker states that the Noh serpent mask (which is similar to the mask of the *hannya* or female demon) may represent "the face of a woman possessed by a supernatural snake and in the throes of a divine furor."

Another distinctive feature of *The Catalpa Bow* is the author's unique sensitivity to this sacred other world. This sensitivity, which Blacker demonstrates in her own participation in the ascents of a mountain by *yamabushi* and in religious mountain climbing, gives the book a richness that cannot be found in a mere literary study. Let me give two examples. In Chapter 9, Blacker mentions the *tengu* and sees this uncanny "bird" that sometimes harms humans as not only "a mere subtle enemy of the Buddha's law" but as the embodiment of "the perilous, ambivalent, non-moral forces of nature." She also surmises from the fact that the *tengu* appears in the guise of a *yamabushi* that "after weeks spent in the forests and caves of high mountains, the *yamabushi* returned to the world of men with some of the ferocity, the wild strangeness, the perilous otherness of a wild animal or bird. It was as though, through his ritual garb, there could be discerned a beak and feathers. Nor is this impression entirely a thing of the medieval past." While in Japan in 1963, Blacker met a female ascetic in the mountains of Kurama in Kyoto. Surrounded by giant cedar trees, she was chanting with prayer beads in her hands. Blacker heard the words "big *tengu*" and "little *tengu*" repeated in her incantation.

> Venturing to approach her, I asked if there were still a good many *tengu* to be found on the mountain. She turned to face me, a brown face peculiarly like an old bird, with an expression fierce yet remote and a pair of extraordinarily glittering eyes, brightly sparkling like steel.
>
> 'If you do *gyō* like me you can see them,' she replied abruptly.
>
> [. . .. . .]
>
> Only after she had gone did I remember that the *tengu* were traditionally believed to have brightly glittering eyes, and hence realise that the woman was extraordinarily like a *tengu* herself.

Needless to say, Blacker did not see a *tengu*. Rather, she sensed that the female ascetic was imbued with "a sort of ferocity," "abnormality," and "perilous otherness" befitting one who is able to communicate with the other world. Perhaps, since ancient times, people have encountered these ascetics and have been struck by the mark of interaction with the other world that is clearly etched on them, creating an image of a supranatural being of the *tengu* in the ascetics' background. It is likely that Blacker absorbed similar qualities from her experiences in the Kurama Mountains.

In order to enter the realm of the sacred, which is difficult to grasp with scientistic objectivity alone, a sense of sensitivity and sympathy such as Blacker's is indispensable. Furthermore, she describes the scene at the top of the mountain when she surveyed the *yorigitō* of the Ontake *kō* (a religious ceremony held on Mt. Ontake) as follows.

> The sky was already growing light, with a band of red to the east. All round the mountain lay a sea of dove-grey clouds tossed up into billows and waves, out of which rose, like magic islands, the darker grey forms of other mountain peaks. As the sun rose above the bank of clouds the crowd gathered on the summit began to chant and clap their hands, and in a moment the scene was transformed. The grey air became brilliant and golden, and the mountain islands below turned blue, layer on layer, dark blue turning paler the higher they rose from the clouds, as though a brush dipped in ink on one side had painted them in a single sweep.
>
> I turned from this enchanted view to see inside the shrine a scene of unexampled strangeness. In the dawning light the stone enclosure was thronged with people, and on every rock, in every space between the images, sat a man in a trance.

If we are going to describe the *yorigitō* of the Ontake *kō* in a "scientific" way, we do not need a literary, even romantic, description of the sunrise on Mt. Ontake. However, it is clear that Blacker felt an otherworldly atmosphere on the summit of Mt. Ontake, different from the ordinary human world, and felt compelled to convey it with many words. In her review of the woodblock print of Mt. Ontake in *Nihon Meizan Zue* (*Illustrations of Famous Mountains in Japan*), she pointed out that a holy mountain has something that cannot be captured by scientific accuracy alone. "Here we can see that painting is superior to photography. It is not the objective appearance of things that the painting presents to us, but the impression of how the painter sees them," she writes, adding, "He must have painted this mountain with the beautiful and dangerous other world, the dwelling place of deity, in his mind."

The Catalpa Bow is steeped in fresh, honest wonder and sympathy for Japanese religious phenomena. The freshness of this wonder is unique to a foreigner, but it is backed by Blacker's knowledge of the Japanese language and culture, so it never falls into the realm of misguided exoticism. The book is also an elegy to an ancient Japanese mystical worldview that is being lost at an ever-accelerating rate, and it tells us today of the value and meaning of a religious phenomenon that can no longer be recovered.

Edwin Reischauer *The Japanese* (1977)

Shōichi Saeki

Edwin Oldfather Reischauer

Edwin Oldfather Reischauer was born in Tokyo in 1910. After spending his childhood in Japan, he attended Oberlin College in Ohio, and later Harvard University Graduate School, where he majored in East Asian studies. He continued to pursue his studies abroad in Paris and then in Leiden, after which he returned to Japan to further his studies at institutions including the University of Tokyo and Kyoto University. His doctorate thesis at Harvard was about Ennin, the Japanese monk who studied in T'ang China in the ninth century. He began teaching in the Department of Far Eastern Languages at his graduate alma mater, but after the breakout of the Pacific War, he began working actively as a Japanese specialist at the U.S. State Department and Department of the Army. He was said to have considerably

Shōichi Saeki passed away before the publication of this English language edition.

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influenced the U.S. postwar policy towards Japan. After the war, Dr. Reischauer returned to Harvard University and became a professor there in 1950, teaching in the departments of East Asian languages and Japanese history. Concurrently, he served as the Director of both the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the East Asian Research Center, among other positions, playing a formidable role in promoting research on Japan and Asia in the U.S. In 1961, he assumed the post of Ambassador to Japan at the earnest request of President Kennedy, and served as a capable coordinator during the difficult period that directly followed the conclusion of the Japan-U.S. security treaty. This role of his is widely known in Japan as well. After losing his wife Adrienne to illness, he remarried Haru, the granddaughter of former Japanese Prime Minister Matsukata Masayoshi, in Tokyo. He is also the author of numerous other works include *Japan: Past and Present* (Nihon: Kako to Genzai) (1949), *The United States and Japan* (Gasshūkoku to Nihon) (1950), *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Dharma* (Nittō Guhō Junreiki) (1955), *East Asia: The Modern Transformation* (Higashiajia: Kindai e no Henkaku) (1965) and *Beyond Vietnam* (Betonamu wo Koete) (1967). Dr. Reischauer passed away in 1991.

Among the theses on Japan and its people by the intellectuals represented in this book, Reischauer's stands out in comprehensiveness, balanced thoroughness, and 'updatedness'. The book consists of five sections, at first setting the "stage" in the form of geography and topography, continuing on to the "historical background," providing a general historical view from "ancient Japan" to the post-war period. What follows is an analysis of the current situation that delves into the specific areas of "society" and "politics," ending with efficient coverage of various issues facing Japan under the title "Japan as part of the world." This book was originally written for the purpose of introducing Japan to non-Japanese readers. While there is no shortage of areas that Japanese readers are well aware of, it is highly well-written and readable, and its smooth-flowing descriptions and comments unconsciously draw in the reader and are sure to engross them. While Reischauer's somewhat lecture-like tone and pedantic air prevails throughout this work, the reader will undoubtedly find it to be anything but dull or uninteresting. Even facts and occurrences that we are already well aware of are invariably presented with a slightly different take in one way or another.

While Dr. Reischauer's strengths in the form of the quality and effectiveness of his assuming manner of speaking can be found in this work as well, at its core is his deep connection to Japan, the very subject of this book, and the considerable degree of knowledge through his experience of having been born in Tokyo and subsequently serving as American ambassador to Japan. In addition, he has a lot of experience in research and teaching, as a scholar of history, and his hands-on experience serving on the frontlines of diplomacy.

The connection between Reischauer's family and Japan was a broad and deep-rooted one. Dr. Reischauer's father, August Karl Reischauer (1879–1971), came to Japan as a Presbyterian missionary. While he taught at Meiji Gakuin's Department of Theology, he simultaneously wrote a full-fledged book on Japanese Buddhism, and even had a hand in the founding of the Tokyo Woman's Christian University.

Dr. Reischauer's mother, Helen, also had accomplishments of her own, having opened Japan's first school for the deaf and mute. Inspired by the fact that her own daughter was hearing-impaired. Another point worth noting is that Dr. Reischauer's older brother, Robert, got caught up in the outbreak of the so-called Shanghai Incident of 1937, losing his life in an unintentional bombing by a Chinese aircraft. Dr. Reischauer goes into these circumstances in detail in his autobiographical account *An Autobiography Dedicated to Japan* (Nihon e no Jijoden) which was published in 1982. The incremental historical process from the modernization of Japan to World War II and further on to postwar Japan was forged in the midst of the chronicles of the Reischauer Family, making it nearly impossible to separate the two.

At the same time, Dr. Reischauer, in this work, was first and foremost an objective historian who endeavored to thoroughly fulfill the role of an unbiased guide. Passages herein reflecting personal emotions are rare, almost to a fault. It goes without saying that he is a greatly experienced narrator with a gift for explanation, and does not succumb to dull recitations of facts. For example, in a geographical explanation at the beginning of the work, he states as follows: "It is less revealing to say that Japan is smaller than California or could be lost in a Siberian province than to point out that it is considerably larger than Italy and half again the size of the United Kingdom." He illustrates such points by making unique world maps that factor in population and GNP. Additionally, when pointing out how Japan tends to have the least confidence in foreign relations as a result of having been conditioned to be used to prolonged isolation as an island country, he introduces an brilliant metaphor: "They are like a sportsman who has had an extraordinary record of successes but suddenly finds himself in a new game for which his equipment and skills are ill adapted."

Actual examples of how the exquisite balance maintained in the observations and statements can be found all over this work. One such unforgettable example is how Dr. Reischauer subtly and tellingly responds to the "love of nature" that Japanese people themselves are prone to, then smugly observes: "The earliest Japanese literature shows a keen appreciation of the beauties of seascapes, mountains, and wooded dells, and today Japanese are avid visitors to renowned beauty spots, sometimes all but destroying them in their enthusiasm." Few Japanese individuals would be unable to resist blushing in embarrassment at the following precise observation: "Ironically, the Japanese, for all their love of nature, have done as much as any people to defile it. This may have been inevitable in a country with the highest levels of population and production per habitable square mile. Beautiful green hills have been hacked down for factory or living sites and to provide fill for land recovered from the sea. More distant mountains have disappeared behind industrial smog.... Mountains have been defaced by so-called 'skyline drives' to accommodate the city tourist. Renowned beauty spots are half buried in hotels, restaurants, and trinket shops." Yet, right after this sharp blow, Dr. Reischauer, in his signature sense of balance, finds himself compelled to add: "Still, in large parts of Japan, if one chooses an area that continues to be sparsely populated and

unfrequented by people today, one will find the wonderful allure of natural beauty still intact from long ago."

Even regarding Japan at the beginning of the 1960s, in which he himself was deeply involved, he states calmly: "The biggest political crisis of the postwar period came in 1960 over a revision of the security treaty with the United States, necessitated by Japan's growing self-confidence and status in the world. This produced a violent political explosion and mass demonstrations in the streets, but once the revision had been ratified, excitement subsided, and the next few years proved to be the calmest politically in the entire postwar period." Additionally, with respect to the high degree of Japan's oft-cited "group orientation," Dr. Reischauer is oddly reserved in his criticism, saying, "The group skills and virtues that the Japanese have developed contribute to a personality type that is at least superficially smooth, affable, and mild. Westerners seem to them by contrast a little rough, unpredictable, and immature in their ready display of emotions." Also unforgettable is the corrective opinion he gives on the common perception of Japan's "hierarchical society," saying, "Hierarchy is taken for granted. Status is vastly important. But a sense of class and actual class difference are both extremely weak. In most essential ways, Japan today has a very egalitarian society—as egalitarian in many respects as that of the United States and considerably more so than the societies of most Western European countries." Reading these passages even makes one want to claim Dr. Reischauer as the most competent and observant defender of Japan.

Yet, this defender was simultaneously the most fearsome critic of Japan with full knowledge of the weaknesses and shortcomings of the Japanese people from the inside, so to speak. As a careful read of the passages quoted above shows, what seem like affirmative judgements and evaluations at a glance invariably reveal slight reservations and irony in some form or another. Such reservations and misgivings are likely the most clearly pronounced in Section 5 of this work, "Japan in the World."

Dr. Reischauer himself wrote of the "areas believed to be of the deepest interest" in his foreword addressed to Japanese readers in the Japanese-language edition of this work. In one passage he accurately discusses the geographical and cultural "isolation" of Japan, from which the weakness and inferiority complex of the Japanese people in foreign relations arise (see the above quotation). This could be called a key motif that continues throughout the entirety of the work. Dr. Reischauer observes, "During this whole great sweep of history from the sixth to the nineteenth century, the only foreign wars or invasions the Japanese experienced were the two attempted invasions of Japan by the Mongol rulers of China in the thirteenth century and Hideyoshi's attempted conquest of Korea between 1592 and 1598. No other major nation has a record remotely this free of invasions and foreign military adventures." Simultaneously, he also feels compelled to also touch upon the almost unreasonable insensitivity of the Japanese people towards post-war international affairs. In the mid-1950s, the "intense demonstrations" regarding American military bases took place in Japan; nevertheless, the Japanese seemed almost indifferent to the matters such as "Soviet military actions or political pressures in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, or Berlin" by which "the rest of the world might be distressed."

Alongside the startling growth of the Japanese economy today, there has been a remarkable increase in "interdependence." Despite that, the "language barrier" continues to be high, and there has been no change in Japan's entirely passive stance and strategy of "being a spectator to a world history drama, but not a participant." Dr. Reischauer draws his own conclusions on this issue: "The Japanese sense of unease in their past relations with foreign nations and their insensitivity and obtuseness in dealings with others may seem to be poor preparation for Japan to play a leading role in developing international fellow feeling, but because of accidents of geography and history they may be forced into a leading role in this effort."

Kim So-oon *Ten no hate ni ikuru tomo (Even Though I Live at the End of the Sky)* (1968)

Ken'ichi Kamigaito

Kim So-oon. (Source: Shōichi Saeki & Tōru Haga, Eds., *Gaikokujin ni yoru Nihonron no meicho - Goncharov kara Pinguet made*, Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1987, p. 255)

Kim So-oon was born in Jeoryeondo, Busan in 1908. The following year, his father, an official of the Ministry of Finance, was assassinated because he was considered pro-Japanese. In 1920, at 12 years of age, he moved to Osaka. The following year, he moved to Tokyo and studied hard while working at various jobs such as a newspaper stand salesman. In 1927, he wrote a series of "Farmers' Songs of Korea" for the Terrestrial Paradise magazine, and began collecting oral folk tales. In 1928, he visited Kitahara Hakushū with his manuscript of translations of Korean folk songs. The following year, 1929, he published a Japanese translation of *Collection of Korean Folk Songs* from Taibunkan Publishing, and his *Selection of Korean Nursery Rhymes* and *Selection of Korean Folk Songs* were published by Iwanami Bunko

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in 1933. In the same year, he returned to Korea to establish the Korean Association for Children's Education, and to publish children's magazines, such as "Mokuba" (Wooden Horse). In 1940, he published *Milky Clouds*, a collection of translations of modern Korean poetry. In 1942, he published a historical tale, *Old Stories of Three Han States* and the collections of children's stories, *Stone Bells* and *Blue Leaves*. In 1945 Kim So-oon returned to Korea. In 1952 he made a gaffe in a newspaper interview in Tokyo that forced him to stay in Japan for the next thirteen years. In 1953, he published the children's story *The King with Donkey Ears* and a collection of folktales, *The Man Who Planted Green Onions*. In 1965 he returned to Korea to pursue his writing career, mainly in the field of essay writing. In 1976, he completed the five-volume *Selected Modern Korean Literature*. He was awarded the Order of Cultural Merit of the Republic of Korea in 1980. He died at his home in Seoul the following year at 73 years of age.

In September 1952, Kim So-oon's interview in Tokyo, where he had stopped by on his way to attend an international artists' conference in Venice, caused a slip of the tongue incident. On his way back from Venice in December, his passport was confiscated in Tokyo by the Korean Mission to Japan, and for the following thirteen years he was unable to set foot on the soil of his native country.

In the summer of 1965, after receiving his long-awaited passport, he swore to himself that he would never say a thing about Japan again and planned to land at Gimpo Airport in secret, but from that night on, he was pursued by the media. He wrote his memoir *Gekiryo-ki* ("gekiryo" means guesthouse or inn) as a serial in the Seoul Newspaper. *Even Though I Live at the End of the Sky*, which could be called an autobiographical essay, was a modified version of *Gekiryo-ki*.

Kim So-oon who was recognized in the Japanese literary world for his excellent translations of *Selection of Korean Folk Songs*, *Selection of Korean Nursery Rhymes*, and *Collection of Korean Poems*, also developed deep friendships with Korean writers and artists during his years as a newspaper reporter and as manager of a children's magazine in Seoul. His dramatic encounter with Kitahara Hakushū, who helped push him into the Japanese literary world, is one of the most moving scenes in the book, which also captures the appearance and personality of Iwanami Shigeo, the president of Iwanami Shoten publishers, who continued to provide him with warm support and encouragement. We cannot help but be amazed at the impressive list of Japanese artists and scholars who met, befriended, assisted, and worked with him in Japan.

In August 1928 (Shōwa 3), an "Evening to Introduce Kim So-oon" was held under the auspices of Kitahara Hakushū, and among those in attendance were Hagiwara Sakutarō, Murō Saisei, Yamada Kōsaku, and Orikuchi Shinobu. In 1940 (Shōwa 15), *Milky Clouds*, a collection of translations of contemporary Korean poetry, was published, with a foreword by Satō Haruo and illustrations by Kishida Ryūsei.

Rather than a mere observer of the Japanese culture of the Taishō and Shōwa periods represented by such a gorgeous line-up, Kim So-oon literally jumped into the vortex of that huge cultural movement and lived out his own life as one of its members. Meanwhile, during the 1920s and 1930s, Korea entered the golden age of modern poetry, and his autobiography gives us a vivid sketch of each one of its

poets. This book provides an intriguing look at the backstage history of the literary world, describing the clean-cut personality of O Sang-Sun (Ku Sang), who refused to get involved in worldly affairs; the dignified behavior of Cho Myung-hee (Poseok); the uncommon parsimony and decadent lifestyle of Yi Sang, a genius in painting and poetry; the boisterous drinking of Byeon Yeong-ro (Suju); the growing creativity in the arts and letters amid political oppression; and the way of life of the literati during the academic and artistic flourishing.

The personal life of Kim So-oon, a literary figure, was also full of ups and downs. His first fiancée, Yoni, married a Japanese man who had helped her father with a land dispute, and his first partner, Ogawa Shizuko, was nine years his senior. Not only did his life and literary achievements cross the borders of Japan and Korea, but his own itinerant love life also bounced back and forth between the two countries: the betrayal of a fellow Korean, H, to whom he was engaged; his loveless marriage to her sister, J; and his relationship with a woman from Gunma named T, whom he met when he was in huge debt from his failed children's literature magazine business.

During a period of his youth, he had wandered all over Japan without money. Just like Maxim Gorky's *The Lower Depth*, this autobiography describes the dubious and shabby way of life of the people who live in rented lodges and includes the pathetically funny story of a man obsessed with gold mining in a teahouse deep in the Ashio Mountains, who mistakenly believes he is the son of a wealthy man. His companionship extends from the best intellectuals of Japan, with their elegant city life, to the poor in the countryside and the lowest of the low, the fallen of the world.

Kim So-oon writes that this wandering gave him some understanding of the unique customs and dialects of various regions in Japan, which greatly aided his later use of dialects when translating *Selection of Korean Folk Songs* into Japanese. His command of the Japanese language, which impressed even Hakushū, was nurtured by intrepid walking tours of Japan, in which he ventured into every part of the country to see everything he could.

The vivid images of people from all walks of life in Japan, projected onto the passionate mind of a young man from the colonies with an extraordinary gift for languages, and living in his mind like flesh and blood, form the basis of Kim So-oon's view of Japan and the Japanese people.

As a bridge between Japan and Korea, Kim So-oon's portrait of his own life reveals how the two countries and ethnic cultures that nurtured his life touched and influenced each other, despite the unfortunate circumstances of colonial rule of one side by the other. Son Chin-t'ae, who worked with him to collect Korean oral folk songs, is the Korean heir to Yanagita's folklore studies. So-oon's management of children's magazines is inconceivable without the existence of Japanese children's magazines from the preceding period, such as *Akai Tori* (*Red Bird*). The cultural exchange represented by his translations, which would have occurred even if the two countries had been independent of each other, can still serve as a good example of the good past and be a subject for positive retrospection.

At the same time, his autobiography also conveys the distortion of various cultural phenomena caused by the relationship between two countries where one is dominant and the other dominated. A Korean child singing "Saijō-san wa kiri

fukashi" (Mt. Saijō is veiled in mist) in Japanese, assumes that the "Saijō-san" (Mt. Saijō) in the lyrics must be a person named Saijō. This misconception, he says, was the direct motivation that inspired Kim So-oon to publish a children's magazine. Kim So-oon was a poet in the essential sense of the word, a man with a special sense of 'smell,' who could perceive the whole from such a trivial detail.

What amplified the intensity of his passion as a poet was the self-righteousness of Japanese colonial rule, which he witnessed, the arrogance of the Japanese, and the misery of his own life.

> In this rootless, floating weed-like life, only my love for oral folk songs, which were bound up with my hometown and my country's feelings, ignited like a will-o'-the-wisp.

The more one's country is oppressed by a foreign country, and the more miserable the people's lives are, the more intensely pride and attachment to one's native culture and traditions grows. This was the driving force behind Kim So-oon's brilliant translation work.

He does not attempt a mere ideological denunciation of Japanese brutality under colonial rule, but rather—by vividly depicting small incidents—he emphasizes how colonial rule distorts human nature at its very core.

There was discrimination between the Japanese staff of the Keijo Nippo (Japanese edition) and the Korean staff of the Mae-il Sinbo (Korean edition), although both were official newspapers of the Japanese Governor-General's Office. Medals for readers were available in the former while missing in the latter. In Kim So-oon's autobiography, he vividly recounts how such a trivial incident offended the Korean staff and how the Japanese responded in a haughty manner when dealing with the issue. This passage from his autobiography, more than any major thesis, lets us understand the original of the Korean people's hard feelings against Japan.

His autobiography paints us a picture of two kinds of Japanese people. One is the crude, arrogant, and insensitive people who hurt the hearts of the Korean people but do not realize the seriousness of their actions and do not reflect on them at all; the other is people like Kitahara Hakushū, who know and love the existence of excellent art and poetry that expresses the soul of the nation in Korea, and who are willing to help and cooperate with Kim So-oon when he is struggling to get his translations published. There are also the unknown people who, as human beings, extend their warm humanity across ethnic boundaries, to So-oon a wandering boy from another country.

Kim So-oon spent almost half of his 73-year life in Japan and the other half in Korea, achieving much in both countries. This may suggest that he was at once repulsed by and drawn towards Japan. Here lies a vivid image of Japan and the Japanese depicted by a Korean who knew Japan only too well and risked his own life to acquire it.

Lee O-young *Smaller Is Better: Japan's Mastery of the Miniature* (1982)

Tōru Haga

Lee O-young. (Source: Shōichi Saeki & Tōru Haga, Eds., *Gaikokujin ni yoru Nihonron no meicho - Goncharov kara Pinguet made*, Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1987, p. 261)

Lee O-young was born in Chungcheongnam-do, Korea in 1934, when it was under Japanese rule. In 1958, he graduated from Seoul National University with a bachelor's degree in literature, and in 1960, he received a master's degree from the same university. From 1960 to 1973, he served as an editorial writer for The Korea Daily and The Chosun Ilbo. During this time he became a well-known literary and arts critic and founded the monthly publication, Munhak Sasang (Literary Thought), which he presided over for many years, exerting a profound influence on the literary and poetic circles of the time. He was a professor at the prestigious Ewha Womans University in Seoul and, from 1981–1982, he was a visiting scholar at the University

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of Tokyo's Graduate School of Comparative Literature and Culture, at the invitation of the Japan Foundation. During that time, he completed the book *Chijimi Shikō no Nihonjin* (*Smaller Is Better: Japan's Mastery of the Miniature*), which was published by Gakuseisha, and made him a best-selling comparative cultural theorist. He gave many lectures and talks throughout Japan and it could be said that he single-handedly accomplished the equivalent of three years' worth of work for one embassy's cultural department in six months. In addition to this book, he has written several other books, including *The Cultural Theory of Resentment* (Gakuseisha) and *Reading Japan in Haiku* (PHP) both in Japanese, and *Lee O-young's Collected Works* (22 volumes) in Korean. Although not a specialist in Japanese studies, his knowledge and experience of Japanese culture and society are broad and intimate, and his strength lies in his ability to quickly objectify them from a Korean perspective. He says that when he first learned Japanese as a "national language" at a National Elementary School (*Kokumin gakkō*), he was most amazed by the miracle of "iroha," the Japanese alphabet poem, which "packed" all the kana characters of Japan into a single poem without repeating a single character twice. He died of cancer on February 26th, 2022 at 88 years of age.

Every page of Lee O-young's *Chijimi Shikō no Nihonjin* (*Smaller Is Better: Japan's Mastery of the Miniature*) sparkles with erudition, wit, and sarcasm and displays the rapid-fire, elegant eloquence of this brilliant professor, who is considered the best in modern Korea. With a single focus on "*chijimi shikō*" (a miniaturizing orientation), this book consistently analyzes Japanese culture, from *Man'yōshū* and Matsuo Bashō to Matsushita Electric and pachinko (the Japanese pinball machine). The sarcasm from someone from a neighboring country is much more poignant and sometimes painful than that from a Westerner, but it is an intellectual pleasure to feel that "I see," and once you start reading the book, you can't put it down.

For example, regarding Japanese food, the Frenchman Roland Barthes, in his *Empire of Signs* (1970, see Barthes' article in this book), took sukiyaki, tempura, and sashimi and called them "Food Decentered" and discussed it in his unique semiotic style. However, to be honest, I cannot deny that for me, Barthes' argument suggests that of a cultural ambassador to Japan or a high-class tourist returning to his salon in Paris and sharing a lot of his souvenir stories.

On the other hand, this Japan expert from Korea cites a phenomenon of Japanese food culture which is as diverse and abundant as French cheese: there are 1800 varieties in *ekiben* (boxed meals sold at train stations) alone. The fact that he cites *bentō* rather than tofu as a counterpoint against cheese is a clear demonstration of Lee O-young's comparative cultural freedom of thought and association.

Korean food, he said, is usually a combination of broth and solid food. In Japan, pickled daikon radish is served only as yellowish lumps of *takuan*. In contrast, Korean *kkakdugi* is always served with broth—the same can be said about kimchi—and in both cases, the broth is also eaten with a spoon. Japanese miso soup and *osumashi* are soups with few ingredients, while Korean *guk* contains a lot of ingredients such as *wakame* seaweed and bean sprouts. In other words, in Korea, broth with solid ingredients and solid dishes with broth are the basis of meals, and

"He has no broth" is the harshest insult one can make about someone, whereas in Japan, the two are clearly separated. Thus, Koreans have been unable to produce *bentō* as a portable meal, while the Japanese have been able to do so ever since the invention of the *bentō* as the military rations of Oda Nobunaga's troops, or perhaps as the interlude meal at kabuki theaters during the Edo period. Moreover, he adds, there is still a sense among Koreans that the humble, functionalist *bentō* culture is vulgar and embarrassing.

This new knowledge of the Korean dietary habits (which we cannot immediately confirm) is already very stimulating. It reveals a blind spot for us as a "sunflower culture people," as Lee calls us: we who have always looked toward the "sun" of Euro-American culture. Furthermore, Professor Lee goes on to read in the Japanese *bentō* culture a typical example of the constant "miniaturizing orientation" of the Japanese people. In other words, *bentō* is nothing but "shrinking a large and spacious meal into a small enclosure, such as a *hokai* container or a *warigo* box. This is something that is completely natural, but it is something we Japanese take for granted. If the *bentō* is an example of the Lee-style phenomenology of Japanese culture, we can recognize the same mindset becomes visible in a shrine being reduced to a portable one (*omikoshi*) carried around by many people on their shoulders, or a roofed Buddhist altar inside the temple, in which a smaller container for a statue of Buddha is enshrined. "After all, *bentō* is food of the Japanese, by the Japanese, and for the Japanese."

However, what makes Lee's analysis more convincing than a whimsical conjuring up of baseless comparisons is when he analyzes the dynamics inherent in the Japanese language, especially the verbs, which lie at the basis of such phenomena. This is a feat that we do not expect from correspondents, business scholars or ordinary diplomats from the West, even if they are all writing about Japan. This is an insight that could only come from Professor Lee, who was born in 1934 in Korea (under Japanese rule), was taught Japanese at a "National Elementary School," grew up with Japanese picture books, and later became a specialist in poetics and rhetoric, and who even reads and digests books by Gaston Bachelard and Roland Barthes.

In the example of *bentō*, the very basis of the word is the verb to "pack "(*tsumeru*). This, he says, is a verb that forms the basis of Japanese culture, for example: "stuff" (*komeru*) things into *ireko-zaiku* baskets; "fold "(*ori-tatamu*) and "grip" (*nigiru*) a folding fan, and "pull" (*yoseru*) it toward one's mouth; and "take" (*toru*) and "shave" (*kezuru*) down a doll to its essential elements. Similarly, when a lot of people are gathered in a small place, it can be expressed as a "packing together" (*tsume-ai*). "Packed in" (*tsumeru*) can also mean to be stuck in a place and the place itself can be called a "packed-in place" (*tsume-sho*), a word generally used to mean guardhouse, station, or office. Whether it is a novel, a play, or a conference, the climax near the end of it is referred to in Japanese as a "great packing in" (*ōzume*). In short, the essence of "packing in" is the action of converting quantity into quality by coagulating more things in a small space in a dense and compact manner. This idea of "miniaturization (or shrinkage)" has been applied to everything from lunchboxes to transistors.

This effect is directly at work in the psychological life of the Japanese. It is not enough for them just to see, think, or breathe. When the moment comes, you have to "pack yourself into watching" (*mitsumeru*, to stare hard at something), "pack yourself into thinking" (*omoitsumeru*, to take something to heart, to brood), "pack in your breathing" (*iki o tsumeru*, to remain breathless and still), or "pack yourself too hard "(*kon-o-tsumeru*, to work hard), or else you will not be regarded as "firmly pulled together" (*shikkari shite iru*), which means that your attention, your spirit, is packed in tightly in readiness, but rather you will be a "worthless" (*tsumaranai*) guy, which literally means "not packed in" and you will be ostracized by the village. What we see here is the characteristic of the Japanese as "tension people" (as a spoof of the *tenson* people, or descendants of heaven) and their collectivist tendencies. Indeed, when Japanese people abandon the task of calmly distinguishing and placing things in an order based on logic and principles, and continue to "pack themselves into thinking" (*omoitsumeru*) something and "pack themselves into watching" (*mitsumeru*) television, it will eventually give rise to phrases such as "100 million shattered jades" (*ichioku gyokusai,* which means that all Japanese must fight to death), "100 million repentance" (*ichioku sōzange*, means that all Japanese must repent for Japan's war of aggression), and "100 million moronization" (*ichioku sōhakuchika*, means that all Japanese watch too much television and become idiots). Although Japan is often referred to as the only liberal democracy in East Asia, such a phraseology of forcing its entire population into a small framework, just like a packed lunchbox, seems to carry some totalitarian flavor. Such a way of thinking, he saw, would have been utterly unthinkable in Korea, which at the time was criticized by Japanese intellectuals as a dictatorship. This biting sarcasm, including some bitterness from a Korean intellectual who knows Japan well, hits the Japanese much harder than if the same thing were said by an American. According to him, not only is there no *bentō* culture in Korea, but also there is no vocabulary to describe this sense of density and tension, such as a verb that corresponds to the Japanese word *tsumeru* or *tsumekomu.* Thus, canned goods, which in Japanese are called *kanzume* (literally, "packed in a can") are called in Korean *t'ongjorim* (literally, "can cooked").

When we are told this by a Japan expert from South Korea, the country closest to Japan in terms of geography and culture, we feel as if we were being swept off our feet from an unexpected direction. This is perhaps the most thrilling part of the book for Japanese readers. As we read through this painfully clever "Lee's theory of the Japanese," we sometimes wonder if we have been taken in by the rhetorical professor's rapid-fire rhetoric. But on the other hand, his argument seems to be well thought out, well organized, and supported by a diverse literature. Needless to say, the Iwanami Bunko (Iwanami Pocket Library) was very successful with its "method of shrinking any large book into a tiny volume" modeled after the German Reclam's Library, and has surpassed it and continues to this day, and the first big advertisement for its first sale appeared on the front page of the *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* on July 10, 1927. On the same day, the second page of the same newspaper carried an article on the ongoing Japan-U.S.-U.K. Conference on Naval Disarmament in Geneva. As one would expect, Lee had done his research. Lee O-young's brilliant research is

evident in the fact that he then goes on to say that the "arms reduction" project ended in failure, while Iwanami's "book reduction" project turned out a great success, even though they are both "*chijimi shikō*" (a miniaturizing orientation).

His analysis of the miniaturization-oriented "lunch box style" is just one typical example, as the other chapters are equally interesting. After introducing Sei Shōnagon's *waka* poem, "All things small, no matter what they are, all things small are beautiful," he first makes a point of mentioning Doi Takeo's *Amae no Kōzō* (*Anatomy of Dependence*) and *Nihonjin no Kokoro* (*The Spirit of the Japanese*) by Umesao Tadao et al. He then criticizes the "sunflower tribe" of Japanese intellectuals (himawari-zoku, which is probably a twist on the term "sun tribe" i.e., taiyō-zoku, a Japanese youth custom of the 1950s derived from a novel by Ishihara Shintarō) for their habit of immediately defining a phenomenon as being uniquely Japanese if it is not found in the West. In turn he points out Roland Barthes' "depressingly" poor knowledge of Asia in *Empire of Signs*. "It is the Korean eye, rather than the Western eye, that can now discover Japan's unique characteristics with a little more precision," he says, with a keen sense of polemic that only Koreans can possess. He then analyzes Ishikawa Takuboku's thirty-one syllable poem "*Tōkai no kojima no iso no shirasuna ni ware nakinurete kani to tawamuru* (On the white sand beach Of a tiny island In the Eastern Sea, Bathed in tears, I toy with a crab)" as another typical example of a miniaturization-orientated poem with a matryoshka-like structure that reduces the large Eastern Sea down to a tiny crab through multiple possessives "*no*," which can never be translated into Korean. With this analysis right up to the conclusion that if Japan truly aspires to be a superpower, it should not become the "demon" of the chant shouted in Japan on the eve of the first day of spring "Demons out! Fortune in!" but become an *issun-bōshi* (the one-inch boy), smaller, loftier, and more beautiful, this book will retain a remarkably stimulating appeal for the inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago for some time to come.

Edward Seidensticker *Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake: How the Shogun's Ancient Capital Became a Great Modern City, 1867–1923* (Tokyo Shitamachi Yamanote 1867–1923)

Shōichi Saeki

Edward Seidensticker

Edward Seidensticker was born in 1921 in the U.S. state of Colorado in the western part of the United States, and studied English literature at the University of Colorado. When the Pacific War broke out and the United States Navy, where he began his journey with the language. He came to Japan as an information officer after the war, and was stationed in Sasebo. Subsequently, he studied at Columbia and Harvard University, and after serving as a foreign service officer for several years, he began his life as a researcher of Japanese literature, and a translator. Majoring in Heian era literature at the graduate school of the University of Tokyo, he translated *The Gossamer Years* (Kagerō Nikki). From there, he became an educator, serving in successive positions at Sophia University, Stanford University, the University of

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Michigan and Columbia University. Having gained an established reputation for his subtle and sharp translations, he proceeded to tackle successive works deemed to be impossible to translate. These included *Some Prefer Nettles* (Tade Kuu Mushi) and *The Makioka Sisters* (Sasameyuki) by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and *Snow Country* (Yukiguni) and *The Sound of the Mountain* (Yama no Oto) by Kawabata Yasunari. A famous anecdote is how Kawabata, upon receiving the Nobel Prize, credited the translator with half of that achievement. Seidensticker's work as a translator also covers works by Inoue Yasushi, Mishima Yukio and Yasuoka Shōtarō. He also established himself as a critic and essayist, releasing the likes of "Kafū the Scribbler," a biography of Nagai Kafū, as well as "Gendai Nihon Sakkaron," "Igyō no Shōsetsu" and "Watashi no Nippon Nikki." In 1975, he completed the full translation of *The Tale of Genji* (Genji Monogatari), an endeavor that took him over a decade and earned him the Third Rank of the Order of the Rising Sun in July of that year. With life in Tokyo and an affection for its downtown area having become part of him, he took up residence in Yushima, spending half of every year in Hawaii. Edward Seidensticker passed away in 2007.

Tokyo is a city that sports a mysterious vitality and has recovered remarkably from multiple calamities and destruction. Living there brings its flaws to the forefront, but it is a charming place that is difficult to leave. The comment by American historian Charles Beard, who said, "Rather than being a city, Tokyo is nothing more than a massive aggregation of villages," is often extolled. However, Seidensticker states in this work that this viewpoint had in fact already been documented in 1879 by the man known as J.R. Young, who accompanied General and Mrs. Ulysses Grant to Japan. Seidensticker's position is that such a witticism cannot explain the city fully. In this book, he illustrates the face of Tokyo and its realities from various aspects. Seidensticker opens this work with the following: "There was foreboding in Japan on September 1, 1923. The morning was warm, heavy, as most days of later summer are, with the shrilling of locusts. The mugginess was somewhat relieved by brisk winds ... The city was awaiting the *don*, the 'bang' of the cannon which since 1871 has been fired at noon every day in the public plaza." He continues, "At one minute and fifteen and four-tenths seconds before noon, the great earthquake struck." He is of course referring to the Great Kantō Earthquake. As illustrated by the work's subtitle of "Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake," the city from the year of the eve of the Meiji Restoration to 1923, the year of the great earthquake, is the theme of this work. Edo, which had become Tokyo following the Meiji Restoration, had undergone dramatic change. At the same time, the vestiges of old Tokyo firmly remained here and there across the city. To illustrate how that was entirely wiped out, Seidensticker begins his work with a depiction of "the end." As he puts with conviction, "The great loss was the Low City," and "The vigor of Edo was in its Low City." "Low City" and "High City" are juxtaposed in the title of the work, and it is the former that is naturally emphasized throughout. One feels compelled to acknowledge the exceptional uniqueness of theses on the culture of the Low City, or downtown area of Tokyo, by an American author.

The fires given such names as "the flowers of Edo," is also given detailed treatment here. Seidensticker writes, "But Kanda has in modern times been the

best place for fires. Of five great Meiji fires after a central fire department was organized in 1880, four began in Kanda, two of them within a few weeks of each other in 1881." He continues with this quote by Edward S. Morse, who taught zoology at the University of Tokyo and discovered the Ōmori Shell Mounds (see the chapter on Morse in this volume): "The more one studies the subject the more one realizes that the first impressions of the fireman's work are wrong, and a respect for his skill rapidly increases." Seidensticker follows this with: "Fire losses declined as Meiji gave way to Taishō. An accompaniment, or so the children of Edo often saw it, was a loss of harmony in traditional architecture. Kafū lamented it, and so did the novelist, playwright and haiku master Kubota Mantarō, who may be numbered among Kafū's disciples." Seidensticker does not forget this quote by Kubota, of his recollections: "*Hinomi* (rooftop fire-watching stage) was not only a memento of Edo, so ready with its fires. In the days when the godown style was the ideal in Japanese architecture, the *hinomi* was, along with the board fence, the spikes to turn back robbers, and the eaves drains, an indispensable element giving form to a Japanese house. And such fonds dreams as the thought of it does bring, of Tokyo under willows in full leaf."

Seidensticker adds his own thorough observations to those recollections: domestic and commercial architecture in Edo "was almost always of wooden frame construction ... In Edo, there were several kinds of roofing. The more affluent merchant houses were heavily roofed with dark tiles, while humbler dwellings had thatched or shingled roofs, the best kind of fuel for the fires that were always getting started. The wooden fronts of the unpainted houses and the shops of Edo, often with delicate lattices over the windows, turned to rich shades of brown as they aged, and the roofs were of neutral tones to begin with. Only an eye accustomed to austere subtleties could detect the reposeful variations upon brown and gray which a Low City street must have presented." Surely this illustrates his keen Japanese eye and meticulous descriptive powers.

It would be overly hasty to dismiss this work as a simple recollection, or a piece of nostalgia fondly remembering things that have been destroyed. To be sure, the point of emphasis of the work is the Low City culture of yesteryear, and the author leans heavily toward understanding and reproducing what things actually were like there. This does not mean, however, that he neglected to point out changes in the times, and the issues that Tokyo faced as a city. This book is comprised of the following chapters: (1) The End and the Beginning, (2) Civilization and Enlightenment, (3) The Double Life, (4) The Decay of the Decadent, (5) Low City, High City and (6) The Taisho Look. Seidensticker traces historical progression almost chronologically from around the Meiji Restoration up to the Great Kantō Earthquake. As a whole, he does not aimlessly slide into praise of the past, or nostalgia, but instead provides highly balanced theses on Tokyo that fully leverage his objectivity and perspective as a non-Japanese individual and outsider.

As shown above, in addition to a wealth of information and quotations woven into each chapter, the way the details are presented is highly witty and refreshing. For example, when explaining the year 1889, the year in which the first city council was elected and the very year in which the Meiji constitution was promulgated, the

author points out that among those elected as councilmen were Fukuzawa Yukichi as well as Yasuda Zenjirō, founder of the Yasuda conglomerate. Moreover, the voters were made up of "three classes ... divided according to income," and it was the poorest class of voters that elected Yasuda. Seidensticker writes, "The Meiji system, local and national, could hardly be called democratic ... rather large numbers of people, without reference to pedigree, had something to say about how they would be governed. Meiji was a vital period, and gestures toward recognizing plebian talents and energies may help to account for the vitality. The city suffered from 'happy insomnia,' said Hasegawa Shigure, on the night the Meiji constitution went into effect. Her father made a speech. The audience was befuddled, shouting, 'No, no!' when prearranged signals called for 'Hear, hear!' and vice versa, but it was happy, so much that one man literally drank himself to death." Seidensticker follows this with the subtle comment: "It is an aspect of Meiji overlooked by those who view it as a time of dark repression containing the seeds of 1945." His way of casually pointing this out makes the reader want to shout out, "Hear, hear!"

Seidensticker opens one particular explanation with: "Nihombashi occupies the choice portion of the land earliest reclaimed from tidal marshes, the first Low City." After tracing the development of the Low City and High City since the Meiji Restoration, based on various areas, he states, "Today there is an illuminating confusion in defining the boundaries of the Low City. The affluent of the southern and western wards tend to think that all of the poorer northern and eastern wards are Low City. In fact, however, they straddle the ridge line that originally divided the two, and the Hongō and Yanaka districts were significant artistic and intellectual centers in Meiji, most definitely a part of the High City." Seidensticker continues with a reference to the deep-rooted change that came about in literature and drama. "Of the difference between the traditional and the modern in literature, many things can be said. The popular literature of Edo had not been very intellectual. The literature known as modern, with its beginnings in the Rokumeikan decade, the 1880s, is obsessively, gnawingly intellectual. If a single theme runs through it, that theme is the quest for identity, an insistence upon what it is that establishes the individual as an individual."

Yet, when Seidensticker comments that in fact, these intellectual matters "were concerns of the High City ... The growth of the High City in size and influence has made Tokyo more of an abstraction and less of a community," there is no questioning where the empathy of the author lies. Unsurprisingly, this is nothing less than a lamentation for downtown Tokyo—an elegy for an eradicated culture—despite the objective style of his writing. There lies the root of his personal touch in this work. One may consider it a tribute to Nagai Kafū, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Kawabata Yasunari whom this unique and renowned translator had treated with considerable care. In the preface to this work, Seidensticker casually writes, "...if this book carried a dedication, it would be to the memory of Nagai Kafū." This book was indeed a presentation of theories on Tokyo and modern culture written under the guidance of Kafū, the author of *Fairweather Clogs* (Hiyori Geta).

Maurice Pinguet *La mort volontaire au Japon (Voluntary Death in Japan)* (1984)

Yasuo Kobayashi

Maurice Pinguet. (Source: Shōichi Saeki & Tōru Haga, Eds., *Gaikokujin ni yoru Nihonron no meicho - Goncharov kara Pinguet made*, Chuokoron-Shinsha Inc., 1987, p. 273)

Maurice Pinguet was born in Allier, France in 1929. In 1949, he entered the Grande École for training secondary school teachers (École normale supérieure, ENS) in Paris. At the same time, he studied Greek and Latin classical literature and French literature at the Sorbonne. In 1952, he received his college teaching credential in French literature and later taught at a local high school. From 1956 to 1958, he was a researcher at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, CNRS). It was around this time that he began his friendships with people like Michel Foucault and Roland Barthes. In 1958, he came to Japan as a foreign lecturer at the University of Tokyo's College of Liberal Arts, where he taught a wide range of courses, including French literature and French

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thought. From 1963, he served as the Director of the Franco-Japanese Institute in Tokyo. He returned to France in 1968 to teach French literature at the University of Paris III (Université Paris-III). For three years, from 1976, he taught a seminar on Japanese culture at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) at the invitation of Roland Barthes. In the first year, he explored "the main features of the discourse on Japan in Western writings," and eventually hit upon the problematic area of "voluntary death." Over the next two years, he explored this issue in collaboration with Professor Jacqueline Pigeot of the University of Paris VII (Université Paris-VII), who translated and provided a wide variety of textual material on " voluntary death" in Japanese literature. In 1979, he again came to Japan to teach students at the University of Tokyo's College of Liberal Arts. During this period, he wrote this book over 40 months spanning the years from 1981 to 1984. Maurice Pinguet passed away in 1991.

Perhaps the most sought after discourse on Japan is a theory that not only discusses Japan, but is also grounded in a deep, universal understanding of humanity. In other words, while dealing with the particularity of Japan, it would present, develop, and provide insight into universal human issues within that particularity (a task easier said than done).

But we now have an inspiring masterpiece that has tackled that difficult task head-on. This is Maurice Pinguet's magnum opus, *La mort volontaire au Japon* (Jishi no Nihonshi), the Japanese translation of which runs to more than 450 pages. The term *jishi* (自死) may be unfamiliar to some, but it is the Japanese translation of "la mort volontaire (voluntary death)," (which is part of the original French title of this book), and means a death chosen by one's own will, a death by suicide. In his choice of title, we can already sense the author's firm determination to understand "suicide" by positively linking it to human free will. In fact, for the author, "suicide" is an extremely human activity, in which death, something that perhaps inherently transcends human will, is still connected to it, like a momentary spark in which the extreme freedom of the human being is illuminated. On the basis of the universality of this unique "philosophy of death," the author discusses the "suicide problem" in Japanese society and analyzes the history of "voluntary death" in Japan.

Pinguet's work, therefore, is, above all, an attempt to bring the particularity of "voluntary death" in Japan into a universal context. The difficulty of this work lies in the fact that it must contend with a double exclusionist attitude.

In fact, Japanese "suicide" in the eyes of foreigners in general still retains a violent and insane image of *seppuku* or *kamikaze*. Even recently, the impact of the "self-determined death" or *jiketsu* (自決) of the internationally known writer Mishima Yukio has revived this image of Japan in the eyes of the rest of the world. This image of "Japan as a land of suicide" has reduced Japan's uniqueness to a realm of madness beyond rational comprehension. Corresponding to this exclusionism on the part of the West, there can also be found a narrow-minded exclusionism on the part of Japanese people, who believe that Japanese culture is incommunicable to foreigners. The one side banishes Japan as a singularity, while the other side confines itself within its own uniqueness. Refuting these double exclusionism and locating Japanese particularity within a realm of universal understanding and sympathy is the ambitious hope that runs through this magnum opus.

To this end, the author makes use of rigorous social statistics to argue that Japan is by no means the world's leading "suicide nation" as commonly believed. Surprisingly, he opens his book on Japan with the death of Cato, an ancient Roman statesman who committed *seppuku* to obtain his own freedom after losing a battle against Caesar. Cato's *jishi* (voluntary death) was not *aliqua furoris rabie constrictus* (some kind of madness-obsessed) suicide, as later Western societies would condemn it to be. Instead, here it is viewed as an act of completely rational free will, and nothing less than an act that testifies to human dignity.

For the author, Pinguet, and also for us, the readers, Cato's "voluntary death" is a powerful light that illuminates Japanese culture and history from the outside. That is to say, only in the light of the "voluntary death" of an ancient Roman statesman, one can see in the Japanese tradition of "suicide," which until now has been regarded as a madness or a mysterious activity that defies universal understanding, an endeavor to "combine this ultimate act of death with reason and deliberate, if painful, decision-making," wherein "the reason for life and the reason for death are dispassionately measured." With this view of "voluntary death" as the ultimate form of free will, the author then provides an in-depth view of the Japanese "voluntary death" tradition from the ancient times of the *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* to the "self-determined death" of Mishima Yukio. There is the Buddhist dialectical ethic of life and death, as well as the Bushidō ethic of *seppuku* represented by *Hagakure* (In the Shadow of Leaves, a practical and spiritual guide for samurai). There is also a discussion of the suicides of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Dazai Osamu and others who have colored the history of modern Japanese literature, as well as a study of the "martyrdom or *jun-shi* (殉死)" of General Nogi Maresuke, and the deaths of young officers in the February 26 Incident (in this coup attempt, two committed suicide and most of them were executed).

In each case, the author's gaze is focused on the moment when an individual, faced with a given fate, chooses the inevitability of death by force of his rational will. The emphasis is not on what historical or social context defines a death, nor on reducing a death to a variety of particular causes.

Rather, the issue is how we may read into it the supreme power of the human will, which, in the moment of one's decision to give oneself over to death, turns one's fate into an inevitability based on one's own freedom.

After quoting the notes of Sasaki Hachirō, a young pilot of the Special Units (the so-called Kamikaze Squadron), Pinguet writes, "Destiny must not only be endured, it must be loved and conquered, for that is the price of serenity—*amor fati*."

Therefore, make no mistake, what the author is trying to say through this "idea of voluntary death" is by no means a mischievous glorification of death. Nor is he giving an aesthetic value to suicide. On the contrary, the author sees "voluntary death" as an extreme paradox, a proof of the supremacy of human freedom and human will that transcends even death, and thus amounts to a full and fundamental affirmation of human life. The "*amor fati*" is nothing less than an unlimited affirmation of this life for each and every individual.

Thus, in the author's eyes, Japan appears as a privileged place for continuing to preserve and confront the ultimate brilliance of human freedom, which is lost on

Western societies that have fallen into what the author calls “pharisaic hypocrisy” by demeaning and banning suicides and depriving people of “the freedom to die.” In this way Japan may become a ray of hope for the Western world, which has become buried in the deep shadow of nihilism.

> To break free from a metaphysics that is hostile to remaining within the limits of human conditions, to sweep away that unhappy consciousness that denigrates the human search for the “better” in the name of the supreme Good, to wither the lingering roots of nihilism that dismisses not death itself but all things destined to die as void. It is Japan, and Japan alone, who comes from the deepest depths of its history to encourage and strengthen us on this steep but hopeful path.

Has there ever been such a sincere and vehement call for Japan and its culture from the side of the West, which has often boasted of itself as a formidable and powerful modern civilization? Here, Japan is charged with the role of presenting another kind of humanism that transcends the limits of modern Western humanism—a role that is relevant to the entire history of humankind.

Can our country, Japan, really respond well to such an austere demand? Can Japan open up the particularity of its own existence to universality at large, without falling into the self-righteous exclusivism that rests on the superficial particularity of Japanese culture?

“It must be possible,” Maurice Pinguet would probably assert. For in his magnum opus, *La mort volontaire au Japon*, he demonstrated that death—a particularity that cannot be replaced by any other for an individual—can be linked to the universal free will of man without compromising that particularity in the slightest, and that is where the best traditional morality of the Japanese exists.

Therefore, for those Japanese who aspire to actively open Japanese culture and rise to the challenge, there is no other book that comes from the deepest recesses of the soul to encourage and strengthen them as much as *La mort volontaire au Japon*.

Epilogue

Here we have selected 42 works that are considered classics of discourse or masterpieces of Japanese studies by foreign authors. It covers the time span of 130 years from *A Voyage to Japan* (1858) by Ivan A. Goncharov, the great nineteenth century Russian writer who came to Nagasaki in 1853 as secretary to Admiral Putyatin of the Russian fleet, up to *Voluntary Death in Japan* (1984) by Maurice Pinguet, a full-time French lecturer in the Faculty of Liberal Arts at the University of Tokyo, who currently (at the time of writing in 1987)[1] lectures to Japanese students on Marcel Proust and Michel Foucault.

Goncharov had his breath taken away by the beauty of the port city of Nagasaki, and observed and wrote about the way the Japanese officials, interpreters, and townspeople responded with irony and humor, calling Japan at the end of the Edo period "the locked casket whose key was lost" and frequently wondering what would happen to the country if the lid of the casket was opened. 130 years later, Mr. Pinguet, a professor at the University of Paris, reread the Japanese classics during his long stay in Japan, exploring particularly the Japanese phenomenon of "voluntary death"—a noble act of full of human significance; an extreme measure to protect one's dignity and freedom. Pinguet uses a range of examples, from Oto Tachibana Hime's devotion and Taira no Koremori's entry into the Dan-no-Ura strait, to the seppuku (a form of ritual suicide) of samurai, to the double suicides of lovers in Edo, to the Kamikaze attacks and the suicides of Army Minister Anami Korechika and Mishima Yukio. By placing voluntary death at the basis of its culture, Japan may well offer a powerful and clear critique of Western Christianity, which has traditionally rejected suicide as a barbaric act that defies God.

What is called "discourse on Japan" or a "discourse on Japanese culture theory" has changed in various ways, gradually becoming deeper and broader, especially during the period from the opening of Japan to the outside world between the mid-nineteenth century and the end of the twentieth century. This is not surprising,

[1] Maurice Pinguet (1929–1991).

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since Japanese society and culture had undergone profound changes during the period from the Meiji Restoration to the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, and had endured the Great Taisho Earthquake, World War II, and postwar reconstruction. Needless to say, the global situation surrounding Japan and the world's view of Japan changed significantly and is still changing. As you read through this book, I hope that the history of Japan's changing image, depicted here at the cultural interface between Japan and the rest of the world, (both of which continue to change), will become clearer.

In the end, out of the 42 selected works, not a single one can be said to be the most balanced or comprehensive or to be a definitive discourse on Japan and the Japanese. Each work is merely an image of Japan that was written based on the author's own work and interests, and formulated through their experiences, observations, and research, against the background of their own country and culture, at that moment and in that era. This is why each is so lively and interesting to read again today. They are the valuable testimonies of those who entered into some aspect of Japanese life, culture and history, and viewed, enjoyed and criticized it from a perspective more or less different from that of their contemporary Japanese.

From Goncharov and Sir Rutherford Alcock in the late Edo period, through to Isabella Lucy Bird and Lafcadio Hearn in the Meiji period, to Wenceslau de Moraes and Paul Claudel in the Taishō period, most of the works consist of the authors' firsthand accounts of their experiences in Japan, except, for example, Fenollosa's *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* as well as *Al-Shams al-Mushriqa (Rising Sun)* (1904) by Muṣṭafā Kāmil Pasha, an Egyptian man of letters. The latter was included with the specific intention of representing works on Japan from the perspective of the Arab world.

In any case, whether from a distance or not, the authors examined Japan, a developing country undergoing rapid change, and they expressed their concerns about the future of its modernization, showed sympathy and encouragement for its efforts to modernize, and gave a warm farewell to "good old" Japan's humanity and natural beauty, which were being lost under modernization. What makes the records of Emile Etienne Guimet and Félix Régamey, as well as those of Edward Sylvester Morse and Erwin von Bälz (Baelz), particularly valuable is that they depict, as if they were showing picture scrolls, vivid details that could be captured only by foreigners present at that very moment—of the lives of the Japanese people, from high-level leaders and intellectuals struggling to stabilize the course of change, to the nameless people on the margins of those changes, who continued to work hard and live optimistically. The casual words and gestures of Japanese people often seemed to have deeper meaning in the eyes of foreigners; thus their records may better and more richly convey to us today aspects of the history of modernization, than a so-called authentic history of modern Japan.

The middle of the book offers discourses on Japanese culture in the prewar Shōwa period by authors such as Dai Jitao, Eugen Herrigel, and Bruno Taut, all of whom have a keen intellectual interest. Also included are accounts of experiences during the crisis period by authors such as Katharine Sansom, Joseph Clark Grew, and Leocadio de Asis of the Philippines. The latter half of the book is full of the results of

fascinating academic studies of Japan, ranging from Ruth Benedict (another exception, i.e., written without having visited Japan) to Reginald Horace Blyth, and from Sir George Bailey Sansom to Edwin Oldfather Reischauer, Edward Seidensticker and Maurice Pinguet. This testifies to the rapid development of Japanese studies as a legitimate discipline, both institutionally and in the intellectual environment—especially in the Western world after World War II—following in the footsteps of Arthur David Waley in literature and Sir George Sansom in history in prewar Britain.

After World War II, of course, countless books have been written on Japan in genres such as records of personal experiences, travel diaries, and commentaries, far surpassing the numbers of those written before the war. This momentum seems to be continuing even now. These include *Cherry Kazue: A Japanese Something* by Vsevolod Vladimirovich Ovchinnikov of the Soviet Union, *The Fragile Blossom: Crisis in Japan* by Zbigniew Brzezinski of the United States, *Japon troisième grand* (Daisan no Taikoku: Nippon) by Robert Guillain of France, *Misunderstanding: Europe versus Japan* by Endymion Wilkinson of the U.K., and the well-known book Japan *as Number One: Lessons for America* by Ezra Vogel of the U.S. (1979). All of these became very popular as soon as they were translated into Japanese and many became bestsellers, selling many times more than the original books did in their original countries.

In this book, we did not disregard the above titles as mere one-time bestsellers and thus drop them from our selection. We acknowledge how each of these many journalistic discourses on Japan has stimulated and contributed to the transformation of the image of Japan at home and abroad. However, the works were deemed to fit more into the field of international relations or what might be called international sociology, and could not easily fit into the limited space of this book, which seeks to rather emphasize the perspective of comparative culture and comparative cultural history.

Thus, apart from Kim So-oon's autobiography *Ten no hate ni ikurutomo* (Even Though I Live at the End of the Sky) and Roland Barthes' *L'empire des signes* (The Empire of Signs), the latter half of the book contains the works of experts on Japan from the prewar period such as Sansom, Blyth, and Reischauer, as well as their direct successors, the first generation of postwar Anglo-American Japanologists. For, ultimately, it was their brilliant achievements and influence in the fields of history and literature that, in our view, have stimulated and guided the subsequent development of Japanese studies in the West, and in the long run, have had a profound effect on fundamental aspects of views of Japan and Japanese studies (in the West as well as in East and Southeast Asian countries).

Many of these authors, including Lee O-young of Korea and Maurice Pinguet of France, are (as of the time of writing) still actively engaged in intellectual production.[2] Therefore, we had considerable hesitation to select just one work from their prolific achievements. For example, Donald Keene, one of the authors for whom I have written commentaries, has written many books in Japanese alone, from essays

[2] Lee O-young (1934–2022).

to research books, from which I probably should have chosen his recent magnum opus *History of Japanese Literature* (Nihon bungakushi) (Chūōkōron Shinsha) or his masterpiece *Travelers of a Hundred Ages: The Japanese as Revealed through 1,000 Years of Diaries* (Hakutai no kakaku: nikki ni miru Nihonjin) (Asahi Sensho). However, I chose Keene's first book, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe: 1720–1830* (1952), which he wrote when he was thirty years of age, a brilliant work that vividly and in a single blow destroyed the old, dark view that Japanese people had of their immediate past. Of his work, it is the book for which I personally have the greatest affection. We had similar reasons for choosing the works of Marius B. Jansen, Ronald Philip Dore, Edward Seidensticker, and other authors. Arthur David Waley, the excellent translator of *The Tale of Genji* and other works, is, needless to say, one of the most important figures in this line of Japanese studies, along with George Sansom, but he has not written a comprehensive discourse on Japanese culture in a single volume, so unfortunately, he is not included in this book. (In this book, the chapters are listed in chronological order, which is indicated by the year of publication immediately after each title, but please note that in some cases the year of writing or release is also used.)

After all, this volume by Chūkō shinsho is nothing more than an attempt to introduce in a simple way some 42 masterpieces on Japan and Japanese studies written by foreign authors from the end of the Edo period to the 1980s, which have been selected with a somewhat flexible point of view. Readers are encouraged to go back to the works listed here and read them again, either in their original editions or in translations. Unfortunately, some of them have not yet been translated into Japanese, such as Lady Fraser's *A Diplomatist's Wife in Japan—Letters from Home to Home* (1899), Ludwig Riess' *Allerlei aus* Japan (1905), Muṣṭafā Kāmil Pasha's *Al-Shams al-Mushriqa* (Rising Sun), and, surprisingly, Paul Claudel's *L'Oiseau noir dans le Soleil levant* (1927). However, these writings are likely to be translated in the future as a result of this book. Almost all other works have been translated into Japanese in a relatively accessible form (with the exception of Reginald H. Blyth's work).

There are two excellent collections of Japanese discourses and studies by foreigners, or more specifically, Westerners: "Ikoku sōsho" and "Shin Ikoku sōsho" collections (both published by Yūshōdō Shoten), which appeared before World War II and were reprinted and supplemented after the war in slightly different formats. *Cartas do Japão* (Jesuit Nihon Tsūshin), Engelbert Kämpfer's and Carl Peter Thunberg's travels in Japan, Adam Johann von Krusenstern's *Departure from Japan and Navigation of the Japanese* (A voyage to Japan) were all included in the prewar editions. Postwar editions include Pompe van Meerdervoort's *Vijf jaren in Japan (1857–1863)*, Aimé Humbert's *Le Japon illustré, The Japan expedition, 1852–1854: the personal The Japan expedition, 1852–1854: the personal journal of Commodore Matthew C. Perry*, Heinrich Schliemann's *Reise durch China und Japan im Jahre 1865*, and other important or unusual Japan reports from the feudal Christianity (Kirishitan) era to the end of the Edo period, in a total of 25 large volumes. It is also well known that the Iwanami bunko and Tōyō bunko (Heibonsha) also include many famous discourses and observations of Japan. In addition, a very

fine anthology of this lineage, from François Caron and Luís Fróis to Ilya Ehrenburg and Georges Duhamel, was once published by Chikuma Shobō in five volumes as *Gaikokujin no mita Nihon*, and was edited by five veteran editors, Iwao Seiichi, Okada Akio, Ōkubo Toshiaki, Karaki Junzō, and Katō Shūichi. I used to enjoy reading and using these five volume, but now they are only available second-hand.

It was a very enjoyable and stimulating experience to engage in lively discussions on the editing of this book with Professor Shōichi Saeki, who knows a great deal in particular about Anglo-Saxon discourses on Japan, and Japanese culture, and has a keen eye for detail. It was Mr. Saeki who finished his assigned chapter before anyone else. As the editors, Mr. Saeki and myself would like to thank my colleagues and juniors, mainly at the Department of Comparative Literature and Culture, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the University of Tokyo, for their enjoyment and ingenuity in writing their chapters.

January 1987
Tōru Haga

Afterword by the Principal Advisor

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When the original Japanese-language edition of *Masterpieces on Japan by Foreign Authors: From Goncharov to Pinguet* was published in 1987, I was in Japan working on my doctoral dissertation. I was fortunate to come of age as a scholar when I did. American interest in Japan reached new heights in the late 1980s and early 1990s, thanks no doubt to the unprecedented strength of the Japanese economy and the concomitant confidence that Japanese business leaders and policymakers displayed in their dealings with the outside world. At the time, however, I attributed the newfound attraction of Japan to *Shōgun*, the James Clavell novel published in 1975 and, especially, the television miniseries of the same title, which aired in the United States in 1980. (Japanese viewers are more familiar with the movie version, which also came out in 1980.) No doubt both had their effect. Policymakers' anxieties over trade wars did not prevent Americans from flocking to newly opened sushi restaurants.

Within Japan, the prosperity from the mid-1970s to early 1990s drove a fascination with so-called theories of the Japanese, *Nihonjinron*. Major bookstores had entire sections devoted to the subject, filled with books ranging from serious meditations on the hierarchical structure of Japanese society by renowned scholars like Nakane Chie, to Tsunoda Tadanobu's earnest but frankly kooky speculations that something about the Japanese brain makes the language and hence culture fundamentally unknowable to outsiders. Many non-Japanese writers contributed to the *Nihonjinron* literature as well, some deliberately and others merely by virtue of their having written studies of Japanese culture and society. *Nihonjinron* works often had a triumphant tone, which is not surprising since their aim was to explain why Japan, unique (at the time) among non-Western nations, had successfully developed as a major economic power.

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Although the editors never mention the *Nihonjinron* literature themselves, I read this volume as a gentle corrective to its most self-congratulatory strains. The book's 41 short chapters introduce mostly (but not universally) admiring accounts of the Japanese people and their culture but, as Haga Tōru notes in the epilogue, we cannot read any of them as a "definitive theory of Japan and the Japanese," for each is a product of its author's background, experiences, and interests, and must be read "in the context of his or her own country and culture, at that moment and in that era." In other words, rather than trace a timeless, essential Japanese culture, the chapters place a series of outsiders' writings into dialogue with a rapidly changing Japan.

We can read the chapters as a history of foreign intellectual engagement with modern Japan. The Europeans and Americans who wrote of their experiences during the first decades after Japan's full opening to the West in the 1850s arrived with Orientalist fantasies about this unknown and seeming unknowable, utterly exotic place. Although some returned home with their fantasies largely intact, most refined their impressions as time passed. Many of those writing in the twentieth century had deep experience as diplomats and scholars and a superb command of the Japanese language. Only a few authors seemed uninterested in looking beyond their own prefabricated images of Japan: Pierre Loti's racist and misogynist attitudes did not shift over repeated visits to the country; and the Japan of Roland Barthes's *Empire of Signs* is an apt foil for the author's brilliant exercise in semiotics but hardly recognizable as a real country.

Readers will be drawn to the eight Asian and African writers included in this volume, for their voices are less familiar to Anglophone audiences. Many of these authors had fraught relationships with Japan. Huang Zunxian, for instance, was impressed with the Meiji regime's successes in fending off Western imperialism even as he was concerned by its apparent rejection of the riches of Chinese civilization. Colonialism and war naturally shaped the other Asian writers' perspectives on Japan, and we readily sense the conflict they felt between their affection for kind and supportive individuals, such as Kitahara Hakushū, who nurtured Kim So-oon, and the menace they too often encountered otherwise. These people saw a Japan largely invisible to the privileged European and American writers collected here. The deterioration of the Japanese public's attitude toward Rabindranath Tagore over the course of his sojourn in 1916 suggests a lost opportunity for early twentieth-century Japan, as does the exuberant naïveté of the Egyptian nationalist Muṣṭafā Kāmil Pasha, who, like many others in the Muslim world after the Russo-Japanese War, hoped that Japan might emerge as the leader of a fully modern yet non-Western, non-Christian world.

The volume's editors, Saeki Shōichi (1922–2016) and Haga Tōru (1931–2020) were eminent scholars whose background in the study of the West informed their later focus on Japanese culture in comparative perspective. (Saeki was a prominent scholar of American literature and Haga began his career as a student of French literature.) The works they chose are worth engaging with on their own merits, and for their insights into Japan's shifting place in the world since the 1850s. The postwar academic works discussed in these pages offer a window into a formative

period of Japanese studies in the West. Their framing by Japanese specialists adds an extra layer of interest: we see Japanese interpretations of foreign interpretations of Japanese society and culture.

Publisher's Notes

The original Japanese edition was published by Chūkōshinsho (Chūōkōron-Shinsha, Inc.) in 1987 and is currently in its 18th printing.

Takiro Terashita translated the Japanese text into English. The copyediting was done by Mary-Rose Hendrikse, who significantly improved the readability of the English text. The principal advisor, Daisuke Matsunaga (Professor of International Communication, Osaka Gakuin University), checked the accuracy of the translation, and provided insightful comments deriving from his familiarity with languages, cultures and Japanese history. The other principal advisor, David L. Howell (Robert K. and Dale J. Weary Professor of Japanese History and Professor of History at Harvard University), advised on the readability of English for a global readership and also wrote the Afterword for this English edition.

The chapters are comprised of analyses of foreign observers' discourses on Japan between the 1850s and the 1980s. The views expressed are those of the foreign observers as well as the chapter authors who analyzed the discourses and do not necessarily reflect the publishers' views.

The translator has attempted to translate as accurately as possible, but in order to improve the flow of language and enhance readability for a global readership, the advisors have, in certain places, suggested slightly moderated language for some words and phrases.

Except for the editors' and chapter authors' own names as book editors or chapter authors, the names of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean individuals are in traditional order, with family name followed by given name, unless the chapter author has instructed otherwise.

Hepburn-style romanization (Hebon-shiki rōmaji) has been used throughout the book, unless a word is part of a book or article title with Kunrei-shiki rōmaji.

Japanese words and names have macrons to indicate long vowels; common place names, such as Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, and the names of contributing authors who requested not to use macrons, do not.

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Chinese names and places are expressed in pinyin, except for a few widely known to English readers and original book and article titles, which may be written in Wade-Giles style or alternate romanization styles.

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