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FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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SOME CONTACT LANGUAGES INVOLVING JAPANESE: AN OVERVIEW

*Andrei A. AVRAM**

Abstract: *The literature on the outcomes of the contacts between Japanese and other languages has mostly, if not exclusively, been concerned with lexical borrowings – particularly from English – and their adaptation. However, within various socio-historical contexts, Japanese has also been involved in the emergence of several contact languages. These varieties are under researched and, not surprisingly, they have figured only very marginally in the literature on pidgins and creoles or on mixed languages. The present paper focuses on the following contact languages: Yokohama Pidgin Japanese – spoken in the second half of the 19th century in Yokohama and, most probably, in Kobe and Nagasaki (Avram 2014); Yilan Creole – a Japanese-lexifier creole spoken in Taiwan (Chien & Sanada 2010); Japanese Pidgin English, also known as Bamboo English – formerly used by US army personnel and local Japanese after the Second World War and also transplanted to South Korea (Goodman 1967); the so-called "Ogasawara Mixed Language" – spoken in the Osagawara/Bonin Islands (Long 2007); Angaur Japanese – spoken in Palau (Long & al. 2013). Particular attention is paid to the controversial status of two of these varieties: the Ogasawara Mixed Language – a bilingual mixed language vs. an illustration of code-switching; Angaur Japanese – a "pidginoid" vs. an instance of imperfect L2 acquisition. Also discussed is the Japanese contribution to three other contact languages in the Pacific (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996): Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin, Thursday Island Aboriginal Pidgin English – both formerly used in Australia; Hawaiian Pidgin English – currently spoken in Hawaii.*

1. Introduction

The present contribution is an overview of the contribution of Japanese to the formation of seven contact languages: Yokohama Pidgin Japanese, Thursday Island Aboriginal Pidgin Japanese, Yilan Creole, the Ogasawara Mixed Language, Japanese Pidgin English, Hawaiian Pidgin English, and Broome Pidgin English.[1]

The examples (including variants) appear in the orthography or system of transcription used in the sources. The number of examples has been kept at a reasonable minimum. Unless otherwise specified, the translations are from the original sources. The following abbreviations

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[1] For previous works covering some of these varieties the reader is referred to Mühlhäsler & Trew (1996), Loveday (1996), and Maher (2004).

are used: 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; A = Atayal; abl = ablative; acc = accusative; BPE = Broome Pidgin English; caus = causative; com = comitative; cond = conditional; cop = copula; D = Dutch; dat = dative; dem = demonstrative; E = English; emph = emphatic; gen = genitive; HPE = Hawaiian Pidgin English; imp = imperative; indef = indefinite; ins = instrumental; J = Japanese; JPE = Japanese Pidgin English; lnk = linker; loc = locative; M = Malay; neg = negator; OML = Ogasawara Mixed Language; P = Portuguese; pl = plural; prog = progressive; pst = past; ptc = particle; sg = singular; TIAPJ = Thursday Island Aboriginal Pidgin Japanese; top = topic; YC = Yilan Creole; YPJ = Yokohama Pidgin Japanese.

The paper is organized as follows. Sections 2 to 4 focus on three Japanese-lexifier varieties: Yokohama Pidgin Japanese, Thursday Island Aboriginal Pidgin Japanese, and Yilan Creole. Section 5 deals the Ogasawara Mixed Language. Sections 6 to 8 are concerned with three English-lexifier varieties to which Japanese has also contributed: Japanese Pidgin English, Hawaiian Pidgin English and Broome Pidgin English. Section 9 briefly discusses the findings and some of their implications.

2. Yokohama Pidgin Japanese

YPJ was spoken in the second half of the 19th century not only in the multilingual settings of Yokohama, but also, in all likelihood, in two other ports, Kobe and Nagasaki (Lange 1903: XXVIII; Chamberlain 1904: 369; Daniels 1948: 805–806; Loveday 1996: 69; Stanlaw 2004: 56–59; Inoue 2003; Inoue 2006: 55–56). As shown in Avram (2014: 44), YPJ exhibits features diagnostic of pre-pidgins.[2]

YPJ is mentioned by a number of contemporary authors. Diósy (1879: 500) and Griffis (1883: 493) refer to it as “Yokohama dialect”. Gills (1886: 185) writes that YPJ is “a species of hybrid, ungrammatical Japanese, spoken by foreigners who do not learn the language [= Japanese] accurately”. Some authors explicitly call it a “pidgin”. Lange (1903: XXVIII), for instance, states that “in the ports there is a good deal of pidgin-Japanese [...] which is to be avoided”. Chamberlain (1904: 369) comments that “in Japan [...] we have “Pidgin Japanese” as the *patois* in which new-comers soon learn to make known their wants to coolies and tea-house girl, and which serves as the vehicle for grave commercial transactions at the open ports”.

YPJ is poorly documented. Most descriptions of YPJ (Daniels 1948; Fujita 1982; Kodama 1999; Long 1999; Inoue 2003, 2004; Kaiser 2005; Inoue 2006; Sugimoto 2010; Okawa 2017) are based on data from

[2] In terms of the typology suggested by Mühlhäusler (1997: 5–6, 128–138; see also Siegel 2008: 2–4).

Atkinson (1879) exclusively; Avram (2012, 2013, 2014a) also include data from a glossary (Gills 1886), travel accounts (Griffis 1883; Knollys 1887), and two magazine articles (Anonymous 1879, Diósy 1879).

2.1. Phonology

As shown in Avram (2014a: 32), the phonological interpretation of the system of transcription used in the few written records of YPJ can only be tentative in nature. The remarks that follow (based on Avram 2014: 32–34) are therefore restricted to just a few features which can reasonably be inferred from the available evidence.[3]

Consider first the deletion of the high vowels /i/ and / ɯ /, which reflects their devoicing in Japanese, i.e. their phonetic realization as [・] and [ɯ̥], a characteristic of the Tokyo dialectal area. In the sources, deletion is indicated by the use of the apostrophe, as in (1a), or the absence of the vowel letter <i> or <u>, as in (1b):

(1) a. *h'to* 'person' (Diósy, 1879: 500) < J *hito*
 b. *moots* 'six' (Atkinson 1879: 18) < J *mutsu*

Consider next consonants. YPJ [ʃ] corresponds to the Standard Japanese palatal voiceless fricative [ç]. This is illustrated by the examples below:

(2) a. *shto* 'man' (Atkinson 1879: 20) < J *hito* 'person'
 b. *sheebatchey* 'stove' (Atkinson 1879: 24, f.n.) < J *hibachi* 'stove'

YPJ has word-internal [ŋ], which is a characteristic of earlier Tokyo Japanese (Shibatani 1990: 171–173, Avram 2005: 48–56). The nasal velar [ŋ] is rendered by the digraph <ng>, as in the following examples:

(3) a. *nang eye* 'long' (Atkinson 1879: 18) / *nangeye* 'tall' (Atkinson 1879: 28) < J *nagai*
 b. *tomango* 'egg' (Atkinson 1879: 24) < J *tamago*

The syllable structure is, generally, that of Japanese (Avram 2014: 33): words have simple syllable margins and the only admissible word-final coda is /N/. Consequently, lexical items of foreign origin undergo adjustment. The repair strategies employed for the resolution of illicit onsets and codas are epenthesis and paragoge, illustrated in the examples under (4) and respectively (5):

(4) a. *bidoro* 'glass' (Diósy 1879: 500) < P *vidro*
 b. *sitésh'n* 'railway station' (Diósy 1879) < E *station*

(5) a. *bricky* 'canned' (Atkinson 1879: 23), 'sheet tin' (Diósy 1879: 501) < D *blik* 'can'
 b. *dontaku* 'Sunday' (Diósy 1879: 500) < D *Zondag*

[3] For a recent attempt at reconstructing the vowel system of YPJ see Okawa (2017).

Like all pre-pidgins, YPJ exhibits inter-speaker variation. This is sometimes explicitly mentioned. Atkinson (1879: 24, f.n.), for instance, notes that the word for ‘stove’, etymologically derived from J *hibachi* [çibaʧi], is either “Sheebatchey”, with word-initial [ʃ], or “Heebatchey”, with word-initial [h]. Atkinson (1879: 29) also comments on the differences between the pronunciation of Westerners and that of the Chinese: “Foreigners as a rule rattle their “Rs” roughly, readily […] or else ignore them altogether”; a Chinese speaker “lubricates the “R””. One such relevant example is reproduced below:

(6) Westerner *worry* / Chinese *wolly* ‘not well’ (Atkinson 1879: 28) < J *warui*

Other cases illustrative of variation include different forms listed by the same author:

(7) *maro-maro* / *maru-maru* ‘to be somewhere’ (Diósy 1879: 501)

The different forms recorded in different sources are further evidence of variation. Consider the examples below, attesting to the occurrence of variation both in the vowels and in the consonants:

(8) a. *piggy* (Atkinson 1879: 21) / *peke* (Diósy 1879: 501) / *peggy* (Knollys 1887: 312) ‘go’ < M *pergi* ‘to go’
b. *pumgutz* ‘punishment’ (Atkinson 1879: 28) / *bonkotz* ‘thrashing’ (Diósy 1879: 501)

2.2. Morphology and syntax

YPJ has virtually no inflectional morphology. There are two rare exceptions. The negator *nigh* < J *nai* is said to be a “termination” (Atkinson 1879: 17), but it also occurs as a free morpheme *nigh* ‘no’. The negator *-en* < J *-en* only occurs with two verbs.

Derivational morphology is better represented. One means of word-formation is compounding:

(9) a. *mar gin ricky-pshaw* ‘two-wheeled pony carriage’ (Atkinson 1879: 23)
b. *yama-inu* ‘wolf’ (Diósy 1879: 501)

A number of compounds are constructed with *mono* < J *mono*, as in (10), or with reflexes of J *hito*, as in (11):

(10) a. *ato mono* ‘crupper’ (Atkinson 1879: 25)
b. *caberra mono* ‘hat’ (Atkinson 1879: 15)

(11) a. *ah kye kimmono sto* ‘soldier’ (Atkinson 1879: 25)
b. *selly shto* ‘auctioneer’ (Atkinson 1879: 25)

The only suffix attested is *-san* < J *-san*. As can be seen in (12a), this is also attached to loanwords:

(12) a. *doctorsan* ‘doctor’ (Atkinson 1879: 24)
b. *Nankinsan* ‘Chinaman’ (Atkinson 1879: 25)

Reduplication is neither productive nor frequent. The only two instances are reproduced below:

(13) a. *drunky drunky* 'drunk', cf. *drunky* 'drunk' (Atkinson 1879: 28)
 b. *mate-mate* 'wait a little' (Gills 1883: 147), cf. *matty* 'wait' (Atkinson 1879)

Other examples are, *contra* Inoue (2006: 60), quasi-reduplicated forms, i.e. without a corresponding simplex form as their base:[4]

(14) a. *minner minner* 'all' (Atkinson 1879: 22)
 b. *sick-sick* 'crank' (Atkinson 1879: 20)

Like other pre-pidgins, YPJ is characterized by categorial multifunctionality. This is a direct consequence of the lack of inflections as well as of the small size of the vocabulary. Words can be assigned to more than one lexical category (Mühlhäusler 1997: 137), as illustrated below:

(15) a. *jiggy jig* 'to hasten' (Atkinson 1879: 17), 'quickly' (Atkinson 1879: 17) and 'fast' (Atkinson 1879: 17), 'the nearest' (Atkinson 1879: 19)
 b. *pumgutz* 'punish' (Atkinson 1879: 22) and 'punishment' (Atkinson 1879: 28)

YPJ has no plural markers on nouns or pronouns. Plurality is inferred from the context or expressed by quantifiers.

(16) *Tempo meats high kin arimas*. (Atkinson 1879: 18)
 penny three see be
 'I see three pence.'

Case markers (either particles or postpositions) do not occur.[5] Given the absence of the genitive case marker *no*, possession is expressed by juxtaposition of the possessor and the possessed:

(17) *oh my tempo* (Atkinson 1879: 15)
 2SG penny
 'your penny'

The system of pronouns is extremely poorly developed. Personal pronouns distinguish three persons, but there is no distinction in number:

(18) 1 *watarkshee*
 2 *anatta* / *anatter* and *oh my*
 3 *acheera sto*

Moreover, the only pronouns which are consistently used are *watarkshee* and *oh my*. As for demonstratives, the only form attested (just once) is *kono*:

(19) *kono house* (Atkinson 1879: 26)
 DEM house

[4] See also Avram (2014a: 36).
[5] For the only apparent exception see Avram (2014a: 37).

‘this house’

Only cardinal numerals are attested.

The only degree of comparison attested is the superlative, formed with *num wun* preceding the adjective:

(20) a. relative
num wun shto (Atkinson 1879: 20)
best person
‘the best of men’

b. absolute
num wun your a shee (Atkinson 1879: 25)
exceptional good
‘exceptionally nice’

YPJ uses *arimas* < J *arimasu* as both a predicative (21a) and an equative copula (21b):

(21) a. *Tempo arimasu*. (Atkinson 1879: 16)
penny be
‘This is a penny.’

b. *Kooroy arimasu*. (Atkinson 1879: 19)
black be
‘It is black.’

Contextual clues or the use of time adverbials compensate for the absence of tense and aspect markers:

(22) *meonitchi [...] tacksan so so arimasu*. (Atkinson 1879: 21)
tomorrow a lot sew be
‘I will have plenty of work for him.’

The invariant negator *nigh* < J *nai* is placed in post-verbal position:

(23) *Atsie sammy eel oh piggy nigh?* (Atkinson 1879: 19)
hot cold colour change NEG
‘Does his color change in the various seasons?’

The following are two of the very few adverbs recorded:

(24) a. *coachy* ‘here’ (Atkinson 1879: 23)
b. *skoshe* ‘little’ (Atkinson 1879: 18)

As shown below, most questions words are monomorphemic:

(25) a. *dalley* / *nanny sto* [lit. what person] ‘who’ (Atkinson 1879: 19)
b. *doko* ‘where’ (Atkinson 1879: 19)
c. *ikoorah* ‘how much’ (Atkinson 1879: 18)
d. *nanny* ‘what’ (Atkinson 1879: 19)

In *wh*-questions question words remain *in situ*:

(26) a. *Aboorah doko?* (Atkinson 1879: 20)
butter where
‘Where is the butter’

b. *Mar ikoorah?* (Atkinson 1879: 18)

horse how much
‘How much is the horse?’ [translation mine]

Word order is, generally, (S)OV:[6]

(27) *Your a shee cheese eye curio high kin.* (Atkinson 1879: 25)
good small curios see
‘I wish to see some nice small curios.’

Parataxis is the only means employed for sentence coordination:

(28) *watarkshe oki akindo, tacksan cow* (Atkinson 1879: 26)
1SG big merchant a lot buy
‘I am an important merchant and I buy a lot’ [translation mine]

Similarly, sentence subordination is achieved via parataxis. As can be seen in example (29a), the syntax of complex sentences occasionally differs from that of Japanese, with the embedded clause following the main clause:

(29) a. *Nanny sto arimasu, watarkshee arimasen?* (Atkinson 1879: 19)
what person be 1SG be-NEG
‘Who called when I was out?’

b. *Watarkshee am buy worry oh char parra parra.* (Atkinson 1879: 17)
1SG ill tea boil
‘Boil me some tea because I feel ill.’ [translation mine]

c. *Nanny sto hanash, watarkshee boto piggy.* (Atkinson 1879: 21)
what person speak 1SG boat go
‘Should anyone inquire say I’ve gone out in the boat.’

2.3. Lexicon

The vocabulary of YPJ attested in the sources amounts to some 250 words, of which approximately 85% are etymologically derived from Japanese.[7]

The extremely small size of the vocabulary accounts for the extensive polysemy exhibited by many lexical items. Consider the following examples:

(30) a. *arimasu* ‘to have, obtain, be, arrive, want’ (Atkinson 1879: 16)

b. *piggy* ‘to remove, take away, carry off, clear [the table], get out, remove’ (Atkinson 1879: 17), ‘to change’ (Atkinson 1879: 19), ‘to push off’ (Atkinson 1879: 20), ‘gone out’ (Atkinson 1879: 21)

[6] There are, however, a few exceptions (Avram 2014a: 40).
[7] See Daniels (1948).

Running counter to the tendency towards polysemy is the occurrence of a few synonyms, either from different source languages (31a) or from a single one (31b):

(31) a. *am buy worry* (Atkinson 1879: 17) < J *ambai* 'condition', *warui* 'bad', and *sick-sick* (Atkinson 1879: 17) 'ill' < E *sick*

b. *die job* (Atkinson 1879: 19) < J *daijobu* 'fine', and *your a shee* 'alright' (Atkinson 1879: 18) < J *yoroshii* 'good'

Circumlocutions are another consequence of the extremely limited lexicon:

(32) a. *coots pom pom otoko* (Atkinson 1979: 20)
shoe hammer man
'bootmaker'

b. *okee abooneye pon pon* (Atkinson 1879: 23)
big dangerous hammer
'earthquake'

The YPJ vocabulary also includes two other types of words, typically occurring in pre-pidgins. Consider first lexical hybrids, i.e. lexical items identifiable across languages, given their accidental phonetic similarity (Mühlhäusler 1997: 135):

(33) a. *kireen* 'clean' (Atkinson 1879: 25), cf. E *clean* and J *kirei*

b. *shiroy* 'shirt (Atkinson 1879: 24), cf. E *shirt* and J *shiroi* 'white'

Also recorded are instances of reinterpretation of morphemic boundaries:

(34) a. *come here* (Atkinson 1879: 19) / *komiya* (Diósy 1879: 500) / *kumheer* (Knollys 1887: 311) 'dog' < E *come here!*

b. *dam your eye sto* (Atkinson 1879: 25) / *damyuri sto* (Atkinson 1879: 28) / *damuraïsu h'to* (Diósy 1879: 500) / *dammuraisu hito* (Griffis 1883: 493) 'sailor' < E *damn your eye(s)*, J *hito* 'man'

3. Thursday Island Aboriginal Pidgin Japanese

TIAPJ is an extinct Japanese-lexifier variety, formerly spoken in Thursday Island, part of the Torres Strait archipelago, by various ethnic groups working in the pearling industry, including Torres Strait Islanders, Japanese, Malays.

TIAPJ is extremely poorly documented (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 392-393). There are very few traces left of what TIAPJ once was. These include what Mühlhäusler & Trew (1996: 392) call "holophrastic expressions":

(35) *ma ami nandu ukinu* 'big rain comes' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 392) < J *ma ame nanto ōki no*

A number of TIAPJ lexical items still survived by 1970 (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 392):

(36) a. *atama* 'head' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 393) < J *atama*
 b. *churumpu* 'black man' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 392) < J *kurombō*
 c. *kami* 'turtle' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 392) < J *kame*
 d. *namaku* 'trepang' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 393) < J *namako* 'trepang'
 e. *sagi* 'any drink' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 392) < J *sake*

Some of these "relics" had obtained via reinterpretation of morphemic boundaries:

(37) *kuyima* 'come back' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 392) < J *koi ima* 'come.IMP now'

4. Yilan Creole

YC is spoken in four villages in Taiwan: Aohua, Chinyang, Hahsi, and Tungyueh (Chien & Sanada 2010: 350). YC is locally known as: *Zibun no hanasi* / *Jihpentuhua*, in Aohua; *Kinus no hanasi* / *Poailutehua*, in Chinyang; *Kangke no ke*/*Hahsi Ataya*, in Hahsi; *Tangow no ke* / *Tifangyuyen*, in Tungyueh (Chien & Sanada 2010: 350).

YC is the outcome of collective emigration policies in the 1910s, during Japan's occupation of Taiwan. At the time, Atayal- and Sediq-speaking people from different villages were forced to relocate and constitute new communities. Japanese, the language of the dominant group, was adopted for inter-group communication and underwent restructuring. This restructured variety of Japanese was subsequently acquired as a first language and developed into a creole (Chien & Sanada 2010: 353, 356).

YC is a Japanese-lexifier variety. Its substrate languages are mainly Atayal and to a lesser extent Sediq,[8] both Austronesian, North-Formosan. Southern Min and Mandarin are the adstrate languages of YC.

Descriptions of YC can be found in Sanada & Chien (2007, 2008a, 2008b), Chien & Sanada (2010), Sanada & Chien (2011, 2012), Sanada (2013a, 2013b), Chien (2015), Qiu (2015), Sanada (2015a, 2015b), and Chien (2016).

4.1. Phonology

Substratal influence from Atayal accounts for two characteristics of YC vowels. The reflex of Japanese /ɯ/ is the high, back rounded vowel

[8] Also spelled Seediq.

[u]. Also, in Japanese-derived lexical items long vowels are occasionally shortened:

(38) a. *byoki* 'illness' (Sanada 2015a: 78) < J *byōki*
 b. *cisai* 'small' (Sanada 2015a: 78) < J *chiisai*

As far as consonants are concerned, the following occur in words of Atayal origin: the voiceless glottal stop /ʔ/, the lateral liquid /l/, the voiceless velar fricative /x/:

(39) a. *'ba* 'hand' (Qiu 2015: 34)
 b. *kalux* 'black' (Chien & Sanada 2010: 354)
 c. *walax* 'rain' (Qiu 2015: 35)

The fate of several Japanese consonants also testifies to Atayal influence. For instance, the uvular nasal /ɴ/ is replaced with its velar counterpart /ŋ/:

(40) *takusang* [takusaŋ] 'a lot' (Sanada 2015a: 79) < J *takusan* [takɯsaɴ]

The lateral /l/ occasionally replaces an etymological /d/, as in (41a) or /ɾ/, as in (41b):

(41) a. *lakara* 'so' (Qiu 2015: 37) < J *da kara*
 b. *suwale* 'sit-IMP' (Qiu 2015: 37) < J *suware*

The glide /ɰ/ is replaced with its labio-velar counterpart /w/:

(42) *denwa* [denwa] 'telephone' (Chien & Sanada 2010: 354) < J *denwa* [deɴɰa]

Finally, in words etymologically derived from Japanese geminate consonants undergo degemination:

(43) a. *ipai* 'a lot' (Sanada 2015a: 78) < J *ippai*
 b. *gako* 'school' (Chien & Sanada 2010: 355) < J *gakkō*

Consider finally the syllable structure of YC. As in Atayal, the phonemes /t/, /k/, /s/, /h/ occur in word-final position:

(44) a. *mit* 'goat' (Chien & Sanada 2010: 354)
 b. *piyak* 'pig' (Chien & Sanada 2010: 354)
 c. *lukus* 'clothes' (Chien & Sanada 2010: 354)
 d. *lokah* 'good luck' (Chien & Sanada 2010: 354)
 e. *yulung* 'cloud' (Qiu 2015: 34)

Atayal influence also accounts for the occurrence of word-initial consonant clusters.

(45) *ngsan* 'home' (Qiu 2015: 34)

4.2. Morphology and syntax

YC has retained parts of the inflectional morphology of Japanese. These include the plural marker *-tachi* < J *-tachi* (46), the past tense marker *-ta* < J *-a* (47), and the progressive marker *-teru* < J *-te iru* (48):

(46) *anta-taci* (Sanada & Chien 2012: 44)
 2 PL

'you.PL'

(47) *tabe-ta* (Qiu 2015: 43)
eat -PST
'ate'

(48) *tabe-teru* (Qiu 2015: 44)
eat -PROG
'eating'

A frequently used means of word formation is compounding. The members of compounds may be from the same source language, as in (46a–b), or from different ones, as in (49c–d):

(49) a. A *hopa* 'big' + A *la'i* 'child' = *hopa-la'i* 'first-born child' (Chien 2015: 521)
b. J *unme* 'destiny' + J *zyoto* 'fine' = *unme-zyoto* 'good luck' (Chien 2015: 521)
c. A *hopa* 'big'+ J *tenki* 'weather' = *hopa-tenki* 'fine weather' (Chien 2015: 521)
d. J *naka* 'inside' + A *lukus* 'clothes' = *naka-lukus* 'pants' (Chien 2015: 521)

As far as affixation is concerned, it is worth mentioning the verb-forming suffix *-suru* < J *suru* 'to do, make'. As shown below, this suffix attaches to nouns (50a), (etymological) nominal adjectives (50b), (etymological) adjectives (50c), and verbs (50d):

(50) a. *kusisuru* 'to comb' (Chien 2015: 520)
b. *bakasuru* 'to look down on' (Chien 2015: 520)
c. *acuysuru* 'to warm up' (Chien 2015: 520)
d. *yasumusuru* 'to take a rest' (Chien 2015: 520)

YC has not retained the Japanese NOM and ACC markers *ga* and *o* respectively. Consequently, agent and patient are distinguished by word order:

(51) *wasi hong yomu* (Chien 2016: 6)
1SG book read
'I will read a book.'

YC has retained the case markers *no*, *ni*, *de*, *kara*, *to*. However, the case marker *ni* exhibits what Chien (2016: 7) calls "functional extension". Unlike Japanese, in (52a), for instance, *ni* occurs instead of the nominative case marker *ga*; in (52b) *ni* is employed instead of the Japanese locative case marker *de*:

(52) a. *wasi are ni suki* (Chien 2016: 8)
1SG 3SG DAT like
'I like her/him.'
b. *are gako ni asond-oru* (Chien 2016: 11)
3SG school LOC play -PROG

'I am playing at school.'

Other case markers are illustrative of what Chien (2016: 13) calls "functional simplification". Unlike Japanese, in which these markers are multifunctional, these markers express a single syntactic relation, as illustrated in the following examples:

(53) a. *Yumin no hayya* (Chien 2016: 14)
Yumin GEN car
'Yumin's car'

b. *are hocyo de niku kiru* (Chien 2016: 13)
3SG knife INS meat cut
'She/He will cut the meat with a knife.'

c. *maki kara mikang to -ta* (Chien 2016: 14)
tree ABL orange take PST
'[Someone] took the orange from the tree.'

d. *wasi titi to asond -oru* (Chien 2016: 13)
1SG younger brother COM play PROG
'I am playing with my younger brother.'

YC has a full-fledged system of personal pronouns. Most of these are etymologically derived from Japanese, except for *su* '2SG' and *hiya* '3SG' from Atayal. Several competing forms are attested for each person, both in the singular and in the plural (Chien 2015: 528, Qiu 2015: 39–40):

(54)

	SG	PL
1	*wa / waha / wasi*	*watati / wahatati / wasitaci / waci*
2	*anta / nta / su*	*antati / ntataci*
3	*are / hiya / zibun / zin*	*aretati / ataci / zibuntati / zintati*

The Japanese ternary system of demonstratives is reduced to a binary one in YC:

(55) a. *kore* 'this' (Qiu 2015: 41)

b. *are* 'that' (Qiu 2015: 41)

Adjectives are not marked for tense. YC employs adverbials of time to indicate tense, presumably due to Atayal influence (Chien & Sanada 2010: 355, Qiu 2015: 42):

(56) a. *kyô kilux* (Qiu 2015: 42
today hot
'It is hot today.'

b. *kinô kilux* (Qiu 2015: 42)
yesterday hot
'It was hot yesterday.'

Adjectives are not marked for negation. The negator is either *-ng* or *-nai* < J *-nai*, attached to the verb 'to do'. Consider the examples below:

(57) a. *kyô samui si -nai* (Qiu 2015: 42)
today cold do NEG

'It is not cold today.'

b. *asta* *samuy* *sa* *-ng*[9] (Chien & Sanada 2010: 355)
tomorrow cold do NEG
'It won't be cold tomorrow.'

As shown below, YC has no overt copula:

(58) a. *Kore* *ga* *handai*. (Qiu 2015: 45)
this TOP desk
'This is a desk.'

b. *lokah* *anta* (Qiu 2015: 42)
strong 2SG
'you are strong'

In copular structures YC the negator *cigaw* < J *chigau* 'to be different' is used, if the predicative is a noun:

(59) *izen* *zin* *ga* *keisatu* *cigaw* (Qiu 2015: 46)
before he TOP policeman NEG
'He was not a policeman before.'

Verbal predicates are generally negated with *-nai* and *-ng*:

(60) a. *are* *bang* *tabe* *-nai* (Qiu 2015: 47)
3SG evening eat NEG
'Because he has a lot of work tomorrow, he won't eat dinner.'

b. *lainen* *wa* *Taihoku* *ni* *ika* *-ng* (Qiu 2015: 47)
next year 1SG Taipei LOC go NEG
'I won't go to Taipei next year.'

The only exception are imperatives, which are negated with *tikang*:

(61) *yu* *tikang* (Qiu 2015: 48)
say NEG
'Don't tell!'

The question words are all of Japanese origin:

(62) a. *lare* 'who' (Qiu 2015: 53) / *lale* / *rare* (Sanada 2015a: 77)
b. *nani* 'what' (Qiu 2015: 52)
c. *doko* 'where' (Qiu 2015: 52)
d. *name* 'how many [persons]' (Qiu 2015: 53-54)
e. *ikura* 'how many [objects]' (Qiu 2015: 54)

In *wh*-questions question words tend to remain *in situ*, as in Japanese:

(63) a. *nani* *saga* *-teru* (Qiu 2015: 52)
what look for PROG
'What are you looking for?'

b. *anta* *no* *sinsiy* *doko* *aru*
2SG GEN teacher where exist
'Where is your teacher?'

[9] Chien & Sanada (2010: 356) analyze *sang* as a suffix, i.e. as monomorphemic: "the negative *sang* 'not'".

Unlike Japanese, ‘who’ is also used to ask for somebody’s name:

(64) *anta no namae ga lare* (Qiu 2015: 53)
2SG GEN name TOP who
‘What is your name?’

YC has SOV word order. However, SVO is also attested, especially among the younger generation (Chien 2016: 6), most probably due to Mandarin Chinese influence:

(65) a. *wasi mi -ta hoyung* (Sanada 2015b: 8)
1SG see PST dog
‘I saw a dog.’

b. *wasi no mama tapuy -toru gohang* (Chien 2016: 6)
1SG GEN mother cook PROG meal
‘My mother is cooking a meal.’

For sentence coordination YC employs *-te* (66a), as Japanese, but also *to* ‘and’ (66b), unlike Japanese:

(66) a. *wahatati [...] bang mami tabe* ***-te*** *benah mieru* (Qiu 2015: 49)
1PL evening meal eat LNK stars see
‘We eat dinner and watch the stars together.’

b. *ngasan doko waha huahua* ***to*** *benkyo* (Qiu 2015: 49)
home at 1SG draw and study
‘I draw and study at home.’

As for embedded clauses, their syntax is similar to that of Japanese. Consider the following examples of adverbial clauses of time (67a), reason (67b), and condition (67c):

(67) a. *waha [...] to -ta toki zibun jianghua si -na*i (Qiu 2015: 50)
1SG take PST when he say do NEG
‘When I took it, he did not say.’

b. *sigoto takusang kara are bang tabe -nai* (Qiu 2015: 47)
work a lot because 3SG evening eat NEG
‘Because he has a lot of work, he won’t eat dinner.’

c. adverbial clause of condition
zikan a -tara mô mae kara kuru (Qiu 2015: 50)
time have COND again beginning from come
‘If I have time, I start again from the beginning.’

4.3. Lexicon

The majority of the YC vocabulary is from Japanese, its lexifier language. For instance, among the 219 items in Swadesh’s list of basic vocabulary, 35.6% are from Japanese, but only 18.3% from Atayal (Chien 2015: 516). Interestingly, for 33.8% either a Japanese- or an Atayal-derived word is used (Chien 2015: 516):

(68) *walax* ‘rain’ < A *walax* / *ame* ‘rain’ < J *ame* (Chien 2015: 516, f.n. 6)

Consider next semantic changes. These include relexification, whereby the meaning a Japanese-derived word is modelled on that of the corresponding Atayal lexical item:

(69) *toru* 'to take; to meet' < J *toru* 'to take', cf. A *agal* 'to take; to meet' (Chien 2015: 523)

The following example illustrates semantic broadening:

(70) *'ba* 'hand; arm', cf. A *'ba* 'hand', *tloling* 'arm' (Chien 2015: 525)

Also attested is semantic narrowing, affecting both Japanese- and Atayal-derived words, as seen in (69a) and (69b) respectively:

(71) a. *tobu* 'to jump', cf. J *tobu* 'to fly; to jump' (Chien 2015: 526)
b. *koni* 'tree', cf. A *koni* 'tree; wood' (Chien 2015: 526)

Finally, several lexical items phonologically reduced forms of their Japanese etyma:[10]

(72) a. *baku* 'tobacco' < J *tabako* (Chien 2015: 522)
b. *kosi* 'a little' < J *sukoshi* (Chien 2015: 522)

5. Ogasawara Mixed Language

OML is spoken in the Ogasawara Islands,[11], which are located approximately half way between mainland Japan and the Northern Marianas Islands. The islands were first settled in 1830. The early settlers included speakers of European languages – English, Danish, Italian, French, German Portuguese, Polynesian languages – Chamorro, Hawaiian, Tahitian, North Marquesan, Rotuman, and Micronesian languages – Carolinian, Kiribati, Ponapean, Mokilese (Long 2007a). The second wave consisted of Japanese settlers, after Japan laid claims to the islands in the 1860s and 1870s (Long 2007). The growing bilingualism among the non-Japanese population triggered the emergence of OML.

Descriptions of OML include Long (2007b, 2007c) and Yang (2017).

5.1. Phonology

English words retain their original pronunciation in OML (Long 2007c: 31). For instance, the OML word in (73a) contains the low, front, unrounded vowel /æ/, while the one in (73b) contains the retroflex rhotic /ɹ/, neither of which is found in Japanese:

(73) a. *tack* [tæk] (Long 2007: 31)
b. *strike* [stɹaik] (Long 2007c: 31)

Moreover, English words found in OML do not comply to Japanese phonotactic constraints, which prohbit e.g. consonant clusters and word-final codas other than /ɴ/. Compare the same OML forms,

[10] Chien (2015: 522) analyzes such forms as instances of "clipping". This term, however, is generally used to refer to a synchronic minor means of word-formation.
[11] Also known as Bonin Islands.

repeated below for convenience, with their Japanese counterparts, which exhibit epenthetic and paragogic vowels:

(74) a. OML *tack* [tæk] vs. J *takki* [takki] (Yang 2017: 180)
b. OML *strike* [stɹaik] vs. J *sutoraiku* [sɯtoɾaikɯ] (Yang 2017: 180)

5.2. Morphology and syntax

OML has a simplified system of personal pronouns, compared to English or Japanese. For instance, *me* is used as a subject pronoun as well:

(75) *sono toki me sad dat -ta yo* (Long 2007a: 28)
that time 1SG sad COP PST PTC
'I was sad then.'

Similarly, unlike Japanese, *oma'e* / *oma'i* < J *omae* is used as the unmarked form of the personal pronoun for the second person singular (Yang 2017: 180).

As in Japanese, the plural marker -ra is attached to personal pronouns:

(76) *me -ra tabako suu to yuu ja* (Long 2007b: 21)
1SG PL tobacco inhale QUOT say PTC
'we say that we inhale cigarettes, right?'

OML has retained the Japanese case markers, as illustrated in the examples below:

(77) a. *water ga up to the knee dat -ta yo* (Long 2007a: 28)
water NOM up to the knee COP PST PTC
'the water was up to the knee'
b. *jibun no mom ni shabet -te i -ta* (Yang 2017: 183)
own GEN mother DAT say LNK PROG PST
'[she] was speaking to her mom'

Classifiers do not occur, given that OML uses English cardinal numeral + noun phrases (Long 2007b: 21):

(78) *movie ga one theatre* (Yang 2017: 179)
movie NOM one theatre
'There was one movie theatre.'

As already seen above, in (75)–(77), OML uses the verbal forms of Japanese.

Finally, as put by Long (2007b: 17) the syntax of OML "is comprised basically of Japanese sentence structure".

5.3. Lexicon

In some cases, either Japanese- or English-derived forms may be used:

(79) *oma'e*/*oma'i* < J *omae* / *you* '2SG' < E *you* (Yang 2017: 179-180)

In other cases, however, the choice is restricted to forms from just one of the source languages (Long 2007b: 21). For instance, cardinal numerals are all from English, as in the following example:

(80) *Three ka four gurai no ingredients* (Long 2007b: 21)
three or four approximately GEN ingredients
'about three or four ingredients'

A noteworthy feature of OML is the occurrence of phrases and expressions calqued after their English equivalents. Two such examples are reproduced below:

(81) a. *kusuri o toru* 'to take medicine' (Long 2007c: 30)
b. *mata miru yo* 'see you again' (Long 2007c: 30)

6. Japanese Pidgin English

JPE was formerly used by US army personnel and local Japanese after the Second World War[12]. The variety is also known as "Bamboo English", "English-Japanese Pidgin" or "Hamamatsu Pidgin English". From the point of view of its developmental stage, JPE is pre-pidgin (Avram 2016).

There are very few attestations of JPE. The textual evidence consists of dialogues (Michener 1954), cartoons (Hume 1954; Hume & Annarino 1953a, 1953b), and a story (Webster 1960). Previous works on JPE inclde Norman (1954, 1955), Algeo (1960), Webster (1960), Goodman (1967), Duke (1972), Stanlaw (1987), Tamaki (2001), and Avram (2014b, 2016, 2017).

6.1. Phonology

The phonology of JPE is illustrative of the interplay of two factors: attempts by its users to reach a "compromise" and inter-speaker variation.

A good example of a "compromise" solution is the syllable structure of JPE. According to Goodman (1967: 51), "in the Japanese speakers' version [...], /o/ or /u/ is normally added in final position to English words that do not end in [n, m, ŋ]". Goodman (1967: 52) further writes that, in their turn, "English speakers [...] developed a sensitivity to Japanese syllabic structure and attempted to end all words with /u/ or /o/ in a rather arbitrary pattern". These paragogic vowels are reflected in the spellings with <o> and <u> respectively of English-derived words containing codas:

(82) a. *pailu* 'pail' (Stanlaw 2006: 184)
b. *saymo-saymo* 'similar, alike' (Goodman 1967: 51)

[12] JPE was also transplanted to South Korea in the 1950s, where it was known under the name "Korean Bamboo English" (Algeo 1960; Webster 1960).

Similarly, Duke (1972: 170) comments on American speakers "ending English words with either "i" or "ee", a pronunciation reflected in the spellings with <ee> or <ie> of lexical items with word-final codas:

(83) a. *changee* 'to change' (Webster 1960: 163)
b. *speakie* 'to change' (Webster 1960: 163)

While such repair strategies favoured a more Japanese-like syllable structure, "Japanese speakers [...] made the same sort of compensation by clipping of final vowels" (Goodman 1967: 52). Deletion of word-final vowels thus yielded a more English-like syllable structure:

(84) *jidoš* 'car' < J *jidōsha*

On the other hand, as is typical of pre-pidgins, there was existed considerable inter-speaker variation. For instance, in both Japanese-derived words (85a–b) and English-derived ones (85c), the phonetic realizations of monophthongs differ depending on the L1 of the speakers, Japanese or English respectively:

(85) a. [sake] / [sæki] 'sake' (Goodman 1967: 51–52)
b. [itʃibaɴ] / [itʃibæn] 'very good' (Goodman 1967: 51)
c. [ɾoːɾaː] / [ɹəʊləɹ] 'roller' (Goodman 1967: 51)

The devoiced vowels [i̥] and [ɯ̥] in Japanese-derived words are deleted by American speakers. Deletion is indicated by the absence of the vowel letters <i> or <u>:

(86) a. [wataʃi̥] / *watash* 'I' (Goodman 1967: 48)
b. [takɯ̥.saɴ] / *taksan* 'much' (Webster 1960: 163)

The long vowels of Japanese undergo diphthongization in the JPE of speakers with L1 English (87a), while English diphthongs turn into long vowels in the JPE as spoken by users with L1 Japanese (87b–c):

(87) a. [neː] / [neɪ] 'confirmation particle' (Goodman 1967: 48)
b. [beːsɯ̥boːɾɯ̥] / [beɪsbɔːɫ] / 'baseball' (Goodman 1967: 51)
c. [ɾoːɾaː] / [ɹəʊləɹ] 'roller' (Goodman 1967: 51)

Inter-speaker variation also affects consonants. Compare the phonetic realizations of /ɴ/, /ɹ/ and /l/ by speakers with L1 Japanese and English respectively:

(88) a. [itʃibaɴ] / [itʃibæn] 'very good' (Goodman 1967: 51)
b. [ɾoːɾaː] / [ɹəʊləɹ] 'roller' (Goodman 1967: 51)

6.2. Morphology and syntax

JPE as used by the Japanese exhibits no inflectional morphology. There is occasional plural marking by American speakers.

There is little derivational morphology. The following is a rare example of compounding:

(89) *benjo ditch* 'toilet, the can' (Goodman 1967: 49)

Affixation is uniquely represented by the Japanese-derived suffix -*san*. Goodman: (1967: 54) states that it was also attached "to any of a group of English-derived terms, like mama, papa, boy, girl, and baby, as both terms of reference and address"

(90) a. *jo-san* 'girl; daughter' (Duke 1972: 170)
b. *godmother-san* 'godmother (Webster 1960: 163)

According to Goodman (1967: 51) and Duke (1972: 170), JPE also employed reduplication as a means of word-formation. In fact, as shown in Avram (2016: 13–14), JPE has mostly quasi-reduplicated forms, as in (91), while there base is not attested:

(91) a. *chop-chop* 'food' (Webster 1960: 163)
b. *dame-dame* 'bad' (Hume 1954: 95)

Categorial multifunctionality as a characteristic of JPE has not gone unnoticed in the literature. Goodman (1967: 52) notes the "looseness of word classes". More specifically, Goodman (1967: 53) mentions "the use of many words in a variety of grammatical functions". Duke (1972: 170) also states that "grammatically, many of the words function as both nouns and verbs and sometimes as adjectives and adverbs". Reproduced below are two such examples:

(92) a. *chop-chop* 'food' and 'to eat' (Duke 1972: 172)
b. *hayaku* 'quickly' and 'to hurry up' (Goodman 1967: 53)

Generally, no articles occur; however, *one* is occasionally used as an indefinite article:

(93) *one prince -san* (Webster 1960: 163)
INDEF prince SUF
'a prince'

The pronominal system of JPE is poorly developed system (Avram 2016: 14). Plurality is also marked with pre-posed *ol* < E *all*:

(94) 1SG *watakushi* 1PL *ol watakushi* (Goodman 1967: 48)

Only cardinal numerals are attested.

The only degree of comparison attested is the superlative. According to Goodman (1967: 48), *ichiban* < J *ichiban* is "used to indicate relative or absolute superlative". Also attested is the phrase *number one* 'the best':[13]

(95) *'Meda-meda', say Cindy -san. 'Number one'.* (Webster 1960: 163)
look over say Cinderella SUF the best
"Let me see', said Cinderella. '[It's] the best'.'

Overt copulas do not occur (Goodman 1967: 52; Stanlaw 2006: 184):

(96) *You takusan suteki* (Michener, *Sayonara*, 171)

[13] Cf. the YPJ examples under (20).

2SG very wonderful
'You are very beautiful.'

Similarly, no auxiliaries are used:

(97) *I beauty sawn go*. (Michener, *Sayonara*, 171)
1SG beauty salon go
'I'm going to the beauty parlor.'

Verbs, whether derived etymologically from English or from Japanese, occur in their infinitive or citation forms exclusively (Goodman 1967: 52). Tense and aspect are indicated by means of Japanese- or English-derived adverbials such as *one time* 'once', *kinō* 'yesterday' < J *kinō*, *ima* 'now' < J *ima*, *ashita* 'tomorrow' < J *ashita*, *all time* 'always' (Goodman 1967: 52; Stanlaw 2006: 184):

(98) *Maybe you one time gang boy* (Hume & Annarino 1953a: 43)
maybe 2SG once gangster
'Maybe you were once a gangster.'

The only negator recorded is *no* < E *no* (Avram 2014b, 2016):

(99) *No can stay*. (Michener, Sayonara, 170)
NEG can stay
'I can't stay.'

In spite of a general tendency towards SVO word order, "both American and Japanese speakers were somewhat indeterminate about this" (Stanlaw 2006: 184). This accounts for the occurrence of SOV word order as well:

(100) *I takushi get*. (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170)
1SG taxi get
'I'll call a cab.'

As noted by Goodman (1967: 52–53), sentences are generally coordinated via parataxis (101a), overt marking of coordination (101b) being extremely rare (Avram 2016: 16):

(101) a. *Meter-meter dai jobu. Testo-testo*
look over OK examine
dammey-dammey (Goodman 1967: 53)
bad
'It's fine took at the girl, but don't try anything else.'

b. *I like stay with you keredomo I train*
1SG like stay with 2SG but 1SG train
go honto (Michener, Sayonara, 170)
go really
'I would like to stay with you, but I really got to catch the train.'

As shown below, parataxis is also the only mechanism available for sentence subordination:

(102) a. *You all time speak work-work*. (Stanlaw 2006: 184)

2SG always speak work
'You always say you're out working.'

b. *Come night of big shindig, sisters*
come night of big event sisters
speak sayonara (Webster 1960: 164)
speak good bye
'When the night of the ball came, the sisters left'

6.3. Lexicon

Mühlhäusler (1997: 136) writes that "the military Pidgins developed between American troops and the Japanese [...] are lexically entirely English". In fact, as shown in Avram (2016: 17–18), Japanese has also contributed to the JPE lexicon. The following are examples of Japanese-derived lexical items:

(103) a. *dai jobu* 'alright' (Goodman 1967: 54) < J *daijobu* 'alright'
b. *kudasai* 'please' (Michener, *Sayonara*, 171) < J *kudasai*

Moreover, several words of Japanese origin function as synonyms of their English-derived counterparts, as in the examples below:

(104) a. *nice* < E *nice* and *suteki* < J *suteki* 'nice, beautiful'
b. *now* < E *now* and *ima* < J *ima* 'now'

Consider next code mixing in phrases:

(105) a. *chotto goddamn matte* 'wait a minute, goddamn' (Michener, *Sayonara*, 170) < J *chotto matte* 'wait.IMP a little' and E *goddamn*
b. *denki up* 'to install electrical equipment; raise electrical power' (Goodman 1967: 53)

Finally, entirely Japanese-derived phrases are also recorded:

(106) a. *anoo-ne* (Michener, *Sayonara*, 171) < J *anō ne*
b. *gomen nasai* 'excuse me' (Hume 1954: 95) < J *gomen nasai*

As with other pre-pidgins, the small size of the vocabulary triggers lexical polysemy. Goodman (1967: 54) states that "almost any [...] word in isolation is not concrete but extremely abstract" and is "concretized [...] only in specific contexts". As noted by Stanlaw (2006: 184), "most of the vocabulary items have undergone semantic extensions". Consider, for instance, the semantic extension undergone by *ketchee* < E *catch*, illustrated in the examples under (107):

(107) a. *ketchee one mouse* (Webster 1960: 163)
catch INDEF mouse
'[she] caught a mouse'

b. *ketchee beeru* (Webster 1960: 163)
get beer
'[she] got a beer'

c. *ketchee* *no* *fun* (Webster 1960: 163)
have NEG fun
'[she] had no fun'

d. *ketchee* *post* *cardo* (Webster 1960: 163)
receive post card
'[they] received a post card'

Also recorded are lexical hybrids:

(108) a. *meter-meter* 'to look over' (Goodman 1967: 51), cf. J *mite* 'see.IMP' and E *meter*

b. *mor* "with an intrusive *r* from association of Japanese *mo*- with English *more*" (Norman 1955: 44), cf. J *mō* 'more' and E *more*

A few words are the outcome of reinterpretation of morphemic boundaries:

(109) a. *morskosh* 'a little more' (Norman 1955: 44) < J *mō sukoshi*

b. *ohayo* 'good morning' (Norman 1955: 44)< J *o-hayō*

7. Hawaiian Pidgin English

HPC was formerly spoken in Hawaii, from the second half of the 19th century up to the first half of the 20th century. It was used by various ethnic groups, e.g. Hawaiians, Japanese, Portuguese, Filipinos, Chinese, Koreans.

Although HPC is an English-lexifier variety, Japanese has contributed significantly to its vocabulary. Japanese-derived lexical items include primarily nouns, such as the following:

(110) a. *bango* 'identification tag' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 390) < J *bangō* 'number'

b. *kusa* 'weeds' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 390) < J *kusa*

c. *mizu* 'water' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 390) < J *mizu*

d. *satokibi* 'sugar cane' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 390) < J *satōkibi*

e. *shigoto* 'work' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 390) < J *shigoto*

f. *tsuchi* 'soil' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 390) < J *tsuchi*

There are several adjectives and verbs of Japanese origin, as in (111) and (112) respectively:

(111) a. *atsui* 'hot' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 390) < J *atsui*

b. *nagai* 'long' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 390) < J *nagai*

(112) a. *mate* 'wait-IMP, stop-IMP' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 390) < J *matte*

b. *wakaru* 'to understand' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 390) < J *wakaru*

Finally, Japanese phrases are also recorded. Consider the examples below:

(113) a. *konnichi wa* 'good day' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 390) < J *konnichi wa*
b. *ohayo* 'good morning' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 390) < J *o-hayō*

8. Broome Pidgin English

BPE is an extinct variety, which used to be spoken in Broome, Western Australia, in the early 20th century, by various ethnic groups, e.g. Japanese, Malays, Torres Strait Islanders, Filipinos, Australian Aborigenes.

There is little documentation of BPE (Hosokawa 1987), but the available evidence shows that Japanese exerted some influence on the phonology, syntax and lexicon of BPE.

8.1. Phonology

One example suggestive of Japanese influence is the reflex [h] of English /f/ when preceded by /o/:

(114) *ho: sher* 'fore-sail' (Hosokawa 1987: 290) < E *fore-sail*

Consider also the reflexes of English /l/.and /ɹ/ in the following words

(115) a. *dekko* 'to drop anchor' (Hosokawa 1987: 291) < E *let go*
b. *mairo* 'mile' (Hosokawa 1987: 290) < E *mile*

8.2. Morphology and syntax

Several particles of Japanese origin are recorded in BPE. These include *ka* 'or' < J *ka* and *yo* 'EMPH' < J yo:

(116) a. *Yu kam barrum Japang ka sau?* (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 391)
2SG come from Japan or south
'Did you come from Japan or from the south?'
b. *Mi to:k Japani yo.* (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 391)
1SG talk Japanese EMPH
'I do speak Japanese.'

Interestingly, the Japanese nominative case marker *ga*[14] was used as a topic marker:

(117) *Aptawo nga nomo nomo Pilipino.* (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 391)
after war TOP no more no more Filipino
'As for after the war, there were no Filipinos [in Broome] any longer.'

[14] Presumably pronounced [ŋa].

8.3 Lexicon

The vocabulary of BPE contains several lexical items of Japanese origin. Two such examples are provided below:

(117) a. *saki* 'grog (in general)' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 391) < J *sake*

b. *sumo* 'wrestling' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 391) < J *sumō*

Also recorded are Japanese-derived phrases:

(118) a. *mo: cho:* 'more' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 391) < J *mō* 'more', *chō* 'piece'

b. *o: kiniyo* 'thank you' (Mühlhäusler & Trew 1996: 391) < dial. J. *ōki ni yo*

9. Conclusions

The overview has illustrated the lesser known outcomes of the linguistic encounters involving Japanese.

The data discussed hopefully contribute to a better knowledge in particular of Japanese-lexifier pidgins and creoles, which are still both under documented and under researched. As shown, Japanese-lexifier varieties such as YPJ and TIAPJ are extinct. It can only be hoped that yet undiscovered records, including Japanese sources, will bring to light new attestations. YC is the only Japanese-lexifier creole known to date, discovered as late as 2006. Consequently, data from YC have not been considered in comparative work on creole languages. Moreover, YC is an endangered language, losing out to Mandarin, the dominant language (Chien 2015: 513).

As for OML, the very status of this variety is at issue. While Long (2007a, 2007b, 2007c) considers it to be a (bilingual) mixed language, according to Yang (2017) it is rather illustrative of the phenomena of code switching and code mixing. Therefore, further research is necessary.

The three English-lexifier pidgins discussed, JPE, HPC and BPE, are no longer spoken. Furthering our knowledge about the Japanese component of these varieties is therefore dependant on the discovery of new attestations, e.g. in Japanese sources, which have virtually not been explored so far.

To sum up, this overview is also an attempt at raising awareness of the urgency of the situation concerning research on contact languages involving Japanese.

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OSAKA STUDIES – BEYOND THE MYTHS

Goran VAAGE[1]

Abstract: *This paper explores the notion of Osaka studies in relationship to Japanese studies and general area studies. The content of several authorities on Osaka studies are analyzed and evaluated, and what constitute respectively myths and scientific research are identified. Finally, by using Japanese humor as a case study, this paper demonstrates how research on Osaka studies can contribute to Japanese studies as well as other fields. Terms such as Osaka Studies or even area studies are problematic because they encompass too many diciplines that are often unrelated to eachother, and practicioners whose focus is too specific. As for Osaka studies, it was found that some authorities concentrate on historical facts, whereas others focus on character traits and behavior of the the people of Osaka. This paper argues that Osaka Studies, or more broadly area studies, may start out in a specific field, but that eventually it is crucial to encompass information from other fields and thereby aiming for generality in order to validate the notion of Osaka studies.*

Keywords: *Osaka studies, Japanese humor, area studies*

Introduction

Recent years have seen an increase in interest in the study of Osaka. The Osaka Aptitude Test (Naniwa Nandemo Osaka Kentei) will be held for the eleventh time in 2019, and Osaka City University has been offering classes in Osaka Studies (Osaka-gaku) since 2016. This comes in addition to publications on Osaka and the people of Osaka in book form with titles such as Osaka Obachan Korekushon [The Osaka Aunt Collection] (Maegaki 2014), as well as Television shows like Kamingu Auto Baraethī!! Himitsu no Kenmin Show [Coming out Variety, the Prefecture Inhabitant Secrets Show], airing in peak times by Yomiuri Telecasting Corporation. The author also receives several undergraduate students each year wishing to write their graduation thesis on topics related to the language or culture of Osaka. However, the frequent uses of the term study raise a few questions: what exactly is the scope of Osaka Studies, can it be investigated beyond myths and stereotypes found in mass media, and who are its practitioners and students?

This paper will give an overview of the relationship between area studies and Osaka before identifying some of the stakeholders, literature and materials available on Osaka, the people from and in Osaka, and

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Osakaness. Furthermore, implications for Japanese studies will be examined by introducing a case study of humor in Osaka in order to demonstrate how a scientific approach to Osaka Studies can bring us past the myths and towards systemized research within Japanese studies.

Area Studies and Anthropology

It is hard to determine exactly within which research realm Osaka studies would belong. Intuitively it should fall within some kind of branch or variant of *area studies*, Osaka being first and foremost an area. However, the label area study in itself is problematic because it covers too much. The following quote by Kuijper (2008) is telling:

> *Many people are considered to be knowledgeable about the state of affairs in, or the multifaceted and multilayered history of, a distinct geographic or socio-cultural area. Usually, however, these 'area experts' occupy themselves only with the language, literature, antiquities, arts, technical developments, religion, folklore, social structures/changes, legal system/practice, political affairs, military affairs, philosophical legacy, public health, education system, farming, energy sector, economy, business management, geological features, flora, fauna, population composition/change, media landscape or environmental problems of/in the country of their choice, inasmuch as a thorough grasp of all these issues is impossible. (1)*

Though most likely meant to be humoristic rather than informative, the official name of the Osaka Aptitude Test includes the word *nandemo* [everything], which shows that a variety of topics are covered. Alas, for Osaka as an area, many stakeholders are knowledgeable within certain confined fields. In this also lies a paradox in that even if some devoted their whole career to Osaka studies, it would be nearly impossible to keep up with national and international developments within each individual confined field. Kuijper (2008) proceeds to point out what is lacking.

> *Consisting of juxtaposed partial studies of a particular country, they provide the reader with a spectacle coupé; they lack a distinct theoretical framework by which these partial studies are overarched, or integrated. Consequently, the hallmark of true science is missing: systematized knowledge. (1)*

In other words, whether it be Osaka studies or Japanese studies, research efforts that embody general and theoretical frameworks are far and few between. Thus, research that positions itself within area studies should ideally be systematic, meaningful and with strong explanatory power.

Considering research history and tradition, perhaps it is better to look for clarification and purpose within the fields of anthropology and culture. Barth (1969) in his very influential book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* writes the following:

> *The identification of another person as a fellow member of a group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement. It thus entails the assumption that the two are fundamentally 'playing the same game', and this means that there is between them a potential for diversification and expansion of their social relationship to cover eventually all different sectors and domains of activity. On the other hand, a dichotomization of others as strangers, as members of another ethnic group, implies a recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest. (Barth 1969: 15)*

Although it makes little sense to use the label ethnicity in the context of this paper, the concepts of groups and boundaries may certainly be useful. People from Osaka, or on a wider scale the Kansai region, surely must share criteria for evaluation and 'play games' differently from people from Tokyo or other parts of Japan. Precisely this dichotomy could potentially be a useful premise for Osaka studies.

Osaka and Kansai

Before moving on to an overview of the content matter the stakeholders the various authorities provide for legitimizing Osaka studies, it is necessary to briefly draw up a physical boundary of Osaka, its culture and its people.

The city of Osaka has a population of 2.73 million people as of February 2019 (Osaka City). It is the capital of Osaka Prefecture, consisting of 43 municipalities and with a population of 8.82 million people and 4.04 million households (Osaka Prefectural Government). This distinction between the city and the prefecture of Osaka is not deemed as important in any of the resources mentioned in this paper, thus any person belonging to Osaka Prefecture is per definition an *Osakan*. Osaka Prefecture is situated in the Kansai region west of Tokyo on the largest island of Japan, Honshu. The Kansai region is conventionally comprised of the prefectures Osaka, Hyogo, Kyoto, Nara, Wakayama, Shiga, and often Mie, with a total population of 20.78 million people in 2018 (Nikkei), 16,7% of the total population of Japan. The large cities Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe have grown together to become the second largest metropolitan area in Japan, often referred to as Keihanshin. Even though various regional differences exist within Kansai, criteria for evaluation and judgement are by and large shared between people belonging to the Kansai region. As Vaage (2018) puts it, Osaka will always be the center and source of prototypes. Thus, in several contexts Osaka might be used as a label but in reality signifying the whole Kansai area. Furthermore, Osaka and Kansai are not only just areas within Japan, but also the number one contenders to a rivalry relationship with Tokyo and the Tokyo metropolitan area.

The culture of Osaka, whatever it may eventually turn out to be, is naturally derived from its history. To give an overview of the history of Osaka is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is important for the remainder of this paper to keep in mind that Kansai held the seat of power before the development of Edo, later Tokyo, and that it is possible to find sources of the culture of Osaka that date back to before the shift of power to Edo. This historical relationship emphasizes the dichotomy of Tokyo and Osaka even further.

Authorities on Osaka Studies (1) – The Osaka Aptitude Test

The next sections will introduce some of the authorities on Osaka Studies. The selection presented here is based on general interest, the naming being close to Osaka Studies, and whether the authors have attempted to adapt a comprehensive or theoretical approach.

The Osaka Aptitude Test is as the name suggests a test defined by area (*gotōchi kentei*) within Japan, which are numerous in Japan. The homepage of the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry lists 54 different tests on its website, but there are probably more. The Osaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry manages the Osaka Aptitude test, which gives it a certain authority. It has been held once a year since 2009, and according to the official text book (Hashizume 2012), over 12000 people took the test in its first three years. There are two levels of difficulty, and based on test score, the test takers are awarded between grade 1 to 4 (*kyū*). Taking the test costs between 3420 yen and 5220 yen and is free for certain groups such as school children within Osaka Prefecture.

The scope of the examination is defined by the official text book. It is arranged after a concept based on the elementary school system, and each chapter symbolizes a school subject. An overview of the structure and content is given in table 1. The book centers on a mixture of historical facts, statistics and observable traditions. It does not deal with the personality, character traits or conceptions of people from Osaka, or any form of Osakaness, which is understandable for an official aptitude test.

Section name	Content Overview
1. Language (*kokugo*)	Osaka dialect (vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar), older texts, Kawachi dialect and other variants
2. Society (*shakai*)	Geography, history, Osaka and its relation to water, trade, economy
3. Sports (*taiiku*)	Baseball, sumo, soccer
4. Arts and entertainment (*geijutsu goraku*)	Bunraku, kabuki, rakugo, manzai, classical music, jazz, folk music, festival songs, movies, drama and comedy, literature, manga, art
5. Living (*seikatsu*)	Cuisine, fishing, vegetables, yearly events, rituals, religion, festivals, housing
6. Excursion (*ensoku*)	Central places; Nakanoshima, Semba, etc.

Table 1. Content of the text book of the Osaka Aptitude test (Hashizume 2012)

Authorities on Osaka Studies (2) / *Osakology* (Otani 1994a)

Osakagaku [Osakology, i.e. Osaka Studies] is the title of a book by Otani Koichi published in 1994. The book is comprehensive, which should be expected from the title. In fact, there is a sequel *Osakagaku Zoku* [Osakology Continued] (Otani 1994b) with content that could not fit in the predecessor.

Otani was a journalist, university professor, and television commentator and published numerous essay collections and other non-fiction books on life and tradition in Osaka and Kansai. The *Osakology series* can be read as an epitome of his legacy and remains a bestseller. It is not official in the sense that it is endorsed somewhere, but it is an authority in its scope and the labor that has been put down in its creation.

A brief overview of the contents of *Osakology* is given in table 2. In many ways it is the spectacle coupé mentioned by Kuijper in the second chapter of this paper; it is comprehensive and also includes characterizations of the people of Osaka. It draws up some possible explanations on how these characterizations came about, but is perhaps not too scientific by modern standards.

Section Name	Content Overview	Section Name	Section Overview
1. Illegal parking (*fuhō chūsha*)	Cityscape	7. Modernists of the middle ages (*chūsei no kindaijin*)	Influential people
2. Humor (*owarai*)	Yoshimoto comedy	8. Birth of the city (*toshi no tanjō*)	Beginning of trade

3. Udon noodles (*kitsune udon*)	Food and cuisine	9. The reality of Osaka people (*Osakajin shajitsu*)	Characteristics of people belonging to Osaka
4. Supermarket (*sūpā*)	Daiei and Hankyu supermarket chains	10. Truth and Freedom (*jijitsu to jiyū to*)	Osaka people's way of thinking
5. I like you (*sukkiyanen*)	Osaka dialect	11. What's the big deal with Tokyo? (*Tokyo ga nan ya?*)	Literature
6. Bay area in ancient times (*kodai Beieria*)	Location of Osaka	12. North and South (*Kita to Minami*)	Umeda and Namba commercial areas

Table 2. Content of the book *Osakagaku* [Osakology i.e. Osaka Studies] (Otani 1994a)

Authorities on Osaka Studies (3) – Stereotypes about People from Osaka (Kinsui 2003)

Kinsui Satoshi's book on *yakuwarigo* [role language] (2003) used in manga and popular culture, is included in this paper as an authority, not because of its comprehensiveness, but because of its impact on Japanese studies in recent years, and its proposal of a theoretical and systematic framework. In this respect it offers a different approach from the two previous authorities.

Kinsui defines role language as "a language that enables the visualization of a particular character image of the speaker. In other words, role language is assumed to be a speech style spoken by specific individuals" (2017: 41). Role language is closely related to stereotypes, and in manga and popular culture, characters frequently speak and behave in a certain way in accordance with stereotypes. A large portion of Kinsui's first book of many on role language is dedicated to people from Osaka and the stereotypes about them found in popular culture and held by Japanese in general. The seven stereotypes are given in table 3.

Through referring to a wide array of historical sources and by utilizing the framework of role language, Kinsui proceeds to explain why such stereotypes came to be. He is thereby able to provide clues to how the dynamics of popular culture work.

To give an example, on the first stereotype, he gives the following reason for how the Osaka dialect came to be associated with *owarai* [comedy, or humor]:

> *Radio, which became the means that propelled the spread of standard language, was also the tool that transmitted Osaka Language and Kansai Language nationwide. However, Kansai Language that was*

heard was in short, manzai (comic dialogue) representative of the duo Entatsu and Achako. Entatsu and Achako also appeared in films and were successful. In the process, which occurred in the 1930s, one can say that the association of Kansai Language = Owarai (comedy) had become fixed in mass media. (Kinsui 2017: 56)

Common stereotypes about people from Osaka
1. Like jokes, like making people laugh, like to talk (*jōdanzuki, warawasezuki, oshaberizuki*)
2. Stingy, miser, mammonist (*kechi, shusendo, haikinshugisha*)
3. Foodie, big eater (*shokutsū, kuishinbō*)
4. Flashy, gaudy (*hadezuki*)
5. Lecherous, indelicate (*kōshoku, geihin*)
6. Having a lot of guts (*dokonjo*)
7. Yakuza, violent gangs, scary (*yakuza, bōryokudan, kowai*)

Table 3. Stereotypical characteristics of people from Osaka found in manga and pop-culture (Kinsui 2003)

Kinsui demonstrates that the researcher's interest should not be limited to confirming or falsifying hypotheses the people of Osaka, but rather focus on how or why such hypotheses came to be.

To sum up the most important authorities on Osaka studies, the Osaka Aptitude Test relies on fact and statistics. *Osakology* by Otani (1994) attempts to connect these to the character and behavior of the people of Osaka, whereas Kinsui (2003) investigates how conceptions about the people of Osaka came to be, and what they mean for the study of contemporary Japan.

On the Potential of Osaka Studies: A Case study of Humor in Osaka

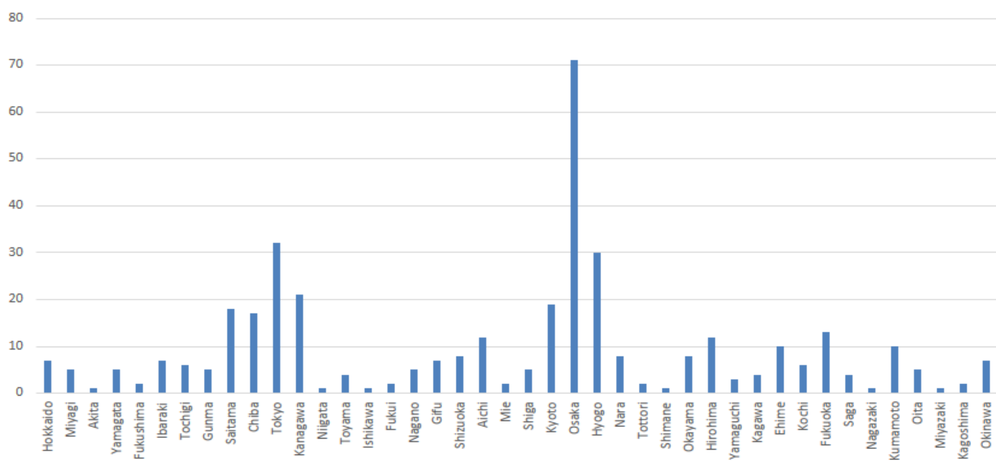
Listing up facts is appropriate for an aptitude test, but would not be valued as research in a modern sense because of the lack of explanatory power and lack of potential for making predictions. On the other hand, the researcher has scientific methods available to her or him, but requires data from real life. Furthermore, analyses need to make predictions that are relevant for real life.

The word *gaku* [study] is problematic in this context because it is used in two different senses on opposite sides of a scale. On the one hand it could refer to passive cram school style studying, which would be required to pass the Osaka Aptitude Test, and on the other hand it could refer to research in a scholarly sense based on scientific methods.

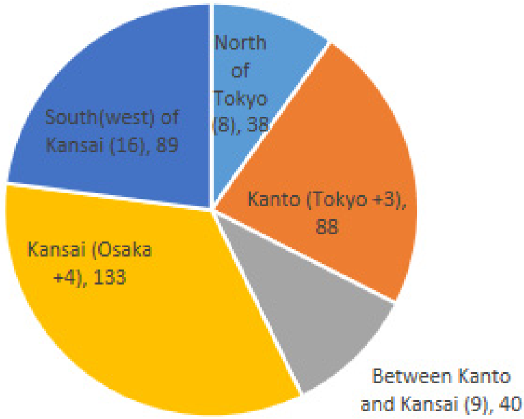
As a case study of how research on Osaka Studies could be conducted, this section will introduce Japanese humor, a topic that the author has been occupied with for the last decade. Above, *manzai* is mentioned in the art section of the Osaka Aptitude test, *owarai* [humor] has its own chapter in *Osakology*, and finally, stereotypes in Japanese popular culture mentioned by Kinsui (2003) suggest that people from Osaka are fond of jokes and like making people laugh. The first sensible step of an inquiry would be to observe; we need to what the widely held idea about a social phenomenon is. Indeed it seems like many people believe that people from Osaka have a special relationship to humor. Below are a few quotes attesting this conception:

> Osakaben wa, kotoba sono mono ni okashimi ga aru. Osakajin ga futari yottara manzai ni naru nado to iwareru koto ga aru. Tashika ni, Osaka no kotoba de hanasu to warai ga fukuramu shi, Osaka no hito no kaiwa ni warai ga taenai. [There is something inherently funny about the Osaka dialect. If you put two people from Osaka together, you get a manzai comedy act. It’s like when people speak in the Osaka dialect, the conversation picks up steam.] (Onoue 1999: 170)
> Osakajin no kaiwa o kīte miru to, kanarazu to itte mo ī hodo, dare ka ga boke, sore ni taishite “nande yanen” to dare ka ga tsukkomu to iu rūru ga mamorarete iru. Osakajin ni totte warai no nai kaiwa wa waku ja nai no da. [When listening to people from Osaka talk, you can observe that almost without exception the rule that if one person utters a boke, someone will reply with tsukkomi is obeyed. For people from Osaka, a conversation without humor is not acceptable.] (Kansai Rūru Kenkyūkai 2012: 107)

Are these just myths, or is it true that people from Osaka are funnier, or put more emphasis on humor than people from other areas? If so, how can we measure or prove it? The author has previously looked into the birth place of professional Japanese comedians (Vaage 2016). The distribution of comedians as regulars on shows on national TV channels as of season 2015 is given in graph 1. and 2.



Graph 1. Number of comedians as regulars on shows on national TV channels as of season 2015 by prefecture.



Graph 2. Number and proportion of comedians as regulars on shows on national TV channels as of season 2015 by area (the parentheses show number of prefectures)

Judging from this data set, people from Osaka are funnier than others, *if* we consider just the number and percentage of professional comedians to be good measurements. Alas, as with most research, there will be various objections one can make against data collection and analysis. In this case, the higher number of comedians coming from Osaka can also possibly be explained by the simple fact that the conglomerate Yoshimoto Kogyo, which educates the majority of professional comedians in Japan, is situated in Osaka.

Yet, the discourse found the quotes above, suggests that there are cultural and language internal reasons for the special relationship between humor and people from Osaka. The traditional method for investigating such a likelihood would be through surveys. Therefor the author conducted a paper-based questionnaire survey with 270 Japanese informants in 2013. The results have been analyzed in detail in Vaage 2015. To give a brief summary, the results showed that people from the Kansai area were more likely to use *boke* [silly, deviating phrases central in *manzai* duo comedy routines] and *tsukkomi* [correcting phrases central in *manzai* duo comedy routines] in everyday conversations, that they put more importance on comical twists to their stories, and that they valued the importance of humor in their daily lives higher compared to Japanese people outside of Kansai.

In short, it seems reasonable to conclude that there are regional differences in humor in Japan, and that humor also forms part of the identity of people from Osaka and Kansai. For the time being we can only speculate on why this difference exists. Coming up with an answer will require a substantial biographical research effort. However, what we can say is that the propensity for liking *boke* and *tsukkomi* most likely has been present in Japan since ancient times, as can see from the example of *tsukkomi* found in the last line in this English adaptation from an old *kyōgen play* [comic intermission in Noh plays that dates back to before the Edo period] by Kenny (1986):

MR: They say a bit of straw on the forehead will charm a cramp away. That is why I put it there. I am certain you will find it's better now.

TK: (Pretending to have an ailment) No, that can never be, for you see, this cramp of mine is an inherited cramp from my parents. So you can apply a bale of straw or even two, but that will never make it go away.

MR: Is there som reason for what you say?

TK: Indeed there is a reason. To begin with, my parents had a great lot of children. The fields, the mountains, and the heirlooms were inherited by my older brothers, one after another. And me being the youngest in the family, by the time it came my turn, there was nothing left to inherit, so that is the reason I inherited this cramp.

MR: Of all the things one could inherit, yours is a strange inheritance indeed.

The same comedians are typically popular all over Japan, and it seems that most Japanese people laugh about similar things. However, evidence shows that people from Osaka and the Kansai region have a more developed active competence in *boke* and *tsukkomi*. It is possible that active competence in *tsukkomi* historically never caught on in Edo.

Concluding remarks

A popular myth is a widely held belief or idea that may not be true, but still provide people with explanations on various phenomena. Myths might describe how people from Osaka 'play games' differently than people from other parts of Japan. These 'games' form a central part within Osaka Studies. This paper introduced some authorities on Osaka Studies, but as we have seen, this term in itself is problematic and confusing since the morpheme *study*, or in Japanese, *gaku* is used in two entirely different senses, each of them with their own methods and goals.

Furthermore, for area studies in general, it was postulated that there is a shortage of broad approaches that can encompass various research efforts, and a fundamental lack of systematic knowledge and theoretical frameworks. Area studies as a concept entails paradoxes of generality and specialty that cannot be solved within the scope of this investigation. Still, this paper argues for a broader approach on Osaka Studies than common in conventional area studies in order to build bridges between the various stakeholders. Recently, research of any field has become very specific. Doing something very specific makes one the only expert, protected from critique by others.

One possible solution could be to start out in a specific field, and then try to encompass information from other fields and thereby aiming for generality. As demonstrated in this paper, humor in Osaka is an example of a topic that can provide a gateway beyond myths to studies within linguistics, performing arts, and history. The author has previously argued that pragmatics should be included in dialect studies (Vaage 2018). This would include many interesting cultural aspects of *Osakaness*, and at the same time maintaining the theoretical frameworks of linguistics.

Perhaps the myths put forward in many of the books and media outlets on *Osakaness* are not always meant to be taken too seriously because they are popular believes and modes of explanation. Still, attempting to say something scientific about myths and common believes can be a stimulating intellectual exercise worth pursuing within Japanese Studies.

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READING YAMAGA SOKŌ'S *SHIDŌ* TODAY: A FEW CONSIDERATIONS ON THE FUNDAMENTALS OF HIS MORAL PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract: *Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622-1685) is a central yet controversial figure in Japanese intellectual history. Born to a bushi family at a time when Shushigaku 朱子学 scholars dominated the Tokugawa intellectual scene, he received his Confucian education under Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (the founder of the Shushigaku school), while simultaneously pursuing an education in military arts. Although not a major figure during his lifetime, Sokō did establish himself as the founder of a new school of Confucianism (Kogaku 古学 - Classical studies), which turned away from the overly scholastic Neo-Confucianism of the Shushigaku tradition and encouraged a return to the Confucian classics as a source of meaningful learning. Moreover, a firm believer in Confucian philosophy as an essential resource of social and moral change, Sokō also turned out to be one of the first Japanese Confucian intellectuals to try and make sense of a transitional feudal society, which was partly suffering from a severe sense of disenfranchisement among the military class. One of the texts resulted as part of this effort is Shidō (士道, commonly translated today as The Way of the Samurai), a mélanje of life philosophy and moral guidelines to serve as a model of a socially integrated, harmonious existence for the Tokugawa samurai.*

Although not necessarily Sokō's most well-known text, Shidō is representative for at least two reasons: on the one hand, it is one of the first 'home-grown' Japanese texts of Confucian moral and political philosophy, dealing with the specific social and political context of the Tokugawa period; on the other hand, it puts forth some of the critical values later incorporated (and heavily politicized) into the modern bushidō myth, the national polity of the Meiji and Taishō periods and - by extension - modern notions of public and private morality.

In this context, my presentation will attempt to analyse the moral philosophy put forth by Sokō in Shidō, while decanting it of later propagandistic interventions and pondering its modern-day implications.

Keywords: Yamaga Sokō, Shidō, bushidōron, Japanese Confucianism, moral philosophy, loyalty, moral discernment, human sociality, aidagara, free will

In recent years there seems to be an ever-growing move towards de-dogmatising Confucian philosophy and engaging with it not only as a historical or philosophical object of study, but also as a living philosophy (Angle 2018, Ames 2018), yet in Japan it remains a heavily controversial

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matter (Colcutt 1991, Khan 2007, Paramore 2016). After historians have repeatedly pointed out the modern association between Confucian moral education, *bushidōron* [2] and the nationalistic and aggressively imperialistic ideologies of the late Meiji and Taishō periods (Tucker 2002, Tierney 2008, Mustățea 2011, Benesch 2014, Paramore 2016), there seems to be a consensus on Confucianism's innate feudalistic nature and incapacity to meaningfully adapt into the more liberal-minded modernity (Paramore 2016).

One of the topics at the heart of this controversy is Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622-1685)'s *Shidō* 士道 ("The Way of the Samurai"), presumably the essential philosophy behind modern *bushidōron*. Tucker (2002) and Benesch (2014) give a detailed account of Sokō's modern incorporation into the nationalistic discourse of the Meiji period by Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 (1856-1944), whose influence and dedication led to an almost universal acceptance of Sokō as the first systematic theorist of *bushidō*, the teacher of the forty-seven Akō *rōnin*[3] and the "leading figure in the articulation of Japan's imperialist kokutai, or its 'distinctive national essence', consisting of its unbroken line of sacred emperors" (Tucker 2002: 37). While historians increasingly point to the rather loose manner in which Sokō's *shidō* was adapted and incorporated into modern nationalistic narratives (Tucker 2002, Mustățea 2011, Benesch 2014), the pervasiveness of this manufactured connection continues largely unchallenged even in recent accounts of *bushidōron*, both in Japan and abroad (Smith 1981, Tada 2005, Cleary 2011). In the collective imaginary especially, the fascination for (modern) *bushidō* as a symbol of Japanese uniqueness, a core feature of the "Japanese spirit," is still strong both at home and abroad (Flanagan 2016, Hayakawa 2018) – the new narratives of Cool Japan and cultural soft power are providing yet another vessel of *bushidō*-shaped culturalism, and Sokō's *shidō* continues to be at the centre of this discourse (Tada 2005). However, contemporary accounts of his *shidō* barely go beyond pointing out a few rehashed features (or interpretations) of Sokō's entire body of work, and his first writing on the topic of samurai morality, *Shidō*, is only superficially, if ever, treated (Hall et al. 1991, Hirokami 1991, Benesch 2014). It is therefore essential – both for a correct interpretation of Sokō's work and for evaluating its

[2] Modern discourses placing *bushidō* [the way of the warrior/samurai] at the core of Japan's cultural and national identity.

[3] The masterless samurai involved in the so-called Akō Incident (1701-1703), more widely known in Japan and abroad as "The Story of the Forty-Seven Rōnin." In 1701, Asano Naganori, the *daimyō* of the Akō province, was ordered to commit *seppuku* [ritual suicide] after he had drawn his sword in the *shōgun*'s palace and injured his rival, Kira Yoshinaka. After Asano's death, 47 of his retainers planned a revenge against Kira, finally decapitating him in 1703, during a surprise attack. Following the attack, the retainers were sentenced to death.

potential relevance today – to go straight to the source and perform a thoroughly Confucian "correction of names" (Confucius 1996: 212)[4].

In an attempt to move away from dogmatic interpretations of Sokō's work and discuss to what extent we can engage with his philosophy today, I will discuss a few of the fundamentals he puts forth in *Shidō*, their relation to modern (mis)readings and the possibility – or lack thereof – of their contemporary relevance. By addressing the Confucian principles which support his interpretation of samurai (shi 士) loyalty within Tokugawa society, I aim to throw light on two main issues at the core of contemporary criticism against Japanese Confucianism: its apparent impossibility to engage with a modern socio-political context due to its intrinsically feudalistic nature, and the potentially (self-)destructive and obedient nature of Confucian morality (Paramore 2016, Mustățea 2018). I will thus address the following four elements: 1) pre-modern social stratification and the Confucian focus on human sociality, 2) Confucian loyalty and moral cultivation, 3) the ritual of perception (the Confucian Rite, the individual and being-in-the-world (interacting with society and the universe), and 4) the freedom in moral discernment ("freedom in dealing with things").

I. *Shidō* – Context and Appeal in and Beyond Tokugawa Society

Shidō is part of *Yamaga Gorui* 山鹿語類, an anthology of Sokō's teachings compiled by his disciples into 43 volumes. Out of these, books 21 to 32 deal with samurai morality, social and political responsibility and decorum, and are comprised by *Shidō* 士道 and *Shidan* 士談. This keen interest of Sokō's in samurai morality and decorum can be easily explained by his career as a military strategist. However, it is worth noting that his *Yamaga Gorui* – and *Shidō* in particular – can be more aptly described as a Confucian philosophical writing, and not a military one: his preoccupation is first and foremost moral in nature, and military matters are only secondary to it. By adapting the Confucian philosophy of the "noble man" (*kunshi* 君子) to the social and political reality of Tokugawa Japan and his experience as a military strategist, *Shidō* makes for an interesting interaction between Confucian humanism and Japanese high warrior culture, resulting in a mélange of life, moral and political philosophy which proposes a model of a socially integrated, harmonious existence for the military class at large, in which

[4] "Correction/rectification of names" (正名, Ch. *zheng ming*). For Confucius, social disorder comes from the failure to perceive and understand reality/truth (i.e. to call things by their proper names); therefore, before acting, one needs to understand the truth of things and to put language in accordance with it.

military practice no longer serves a purpose in itself but is subsumed into the individual's practice of moral cultivation.

Shidō is not necessarily considered one of Sokō's most famous works. Historians generally tend to focus more on his later writings, when his philosophy shifted closer to Kokugaku [5] principles, but *Shidō* is nevertheless important in at least three respects: firstly, it is one of the first Japanese texts of Confucian moral and political philosophy dealing with the specific context of the Tokugawa period and aiming at resolving some of the (moral) issues affecting a changing social and political fabric by proposing a new ethos for the Edo samurai, sensibly different in nature from the earlier Sengoku period (c. 1467-1600). Secondly, in tone with Sokō's move away from heterodox Confucian studies, represented by the Hayashi (Shushigaku) School [6] – which he accused of obscuring meaningful Confucian morality behind too many layers of abstract thinking –, *Shidō* is also one of the earliest attempts in Japanese history to make Confucian teachings accessible to the larger public. While in *Kundō* 君道, another of Soko's writings on *shidō*, he focused on the relationship between masters and vassals and dealt with the changes happening within the military class, *Shidō*'s scope – aimed at both the *bakufu* and the local retainers, *rōnin* and all common-rank retainers – was a lot broader and focused on renegotiating the samurai's position within society at large (Tada 2005). And thirdly, *Shidō* put forth some of the critical values later incorporated (and heavily politicised) into the modern *bushidō* myth, the national polity of the Meiji and Taishō periods and – by extension – modern notions of public and private morality.

When we speak of *Shidō*'s appeal in the epoch, we should approach the subject with caution, as it is difficult to assess the actual acceptance of Sokō's ideas during his lifetime beyond his direct disciples. We do know that at the beginning of his career, Sokō – recognised as a brilliant *rōnin* scholar, well versed in both military and Confucian studies – was sought after by both feudal lords and the *shōgun* (Tada 2005). Especially after the rule of the first three *shōguns*[7] – who had a firmer grasp on government and military and political strategy – ended, later leaders were often met with distrust and had a harder time governing and

[5] The Kokugaku School 國學 was one of the major schools of thought originating in the Tokugawa period, also known as "Ancient Studies." It proposed a refocus of Japanese scholarship on early native classics, as opposed to "foreign" texts such as Chinese, Confucian or Buddhist ones. Some of its most prominent members were Motoori Norinaga, Kamo no Mabuchi and Ueda Akinari.

[6] The Hayashi or Shushigaku School 朱子学 [lit. Zhu Xi/Chu Hsi School] was the most influential of the Japanese Neo-Confucian schools of thought during the Tokugawa period. Some of its most prominent members were Fujiwara Seika and Hayashi Razan.

[7] Ieyasu (1603-1605), Hidetada (1605-1623) and Iemitsu (1623-1651), considered together as "the founders of the *bakufu* and the framers of basic political institutions and policies." (Hall et al. 1991: 20).

maintaining their authority over the *daimyō* [feudal lords] and their fiefs.[8] Given such an increasingly weakening central government and the still unsettled social structure, Sokō's unique combination of skills must have indeed made him a popular figure as the new political powerholders struggled to adapt to a largely administrative role. However, his later exile to the Akō domain (1666-1675) and the rather small school he was allowed to operate later in life in Edo seem to have interrupted his streak of luck. As to his actual connection to the Akō *rōnin*, the sore spot of modern stories of *bushidō* and *junshi* [following one's lord in death][9], not much is known beyond the fact that, for a period of ten years, Sokō was indeed retained and favoured by Lord Asano himself; however, there is no proof as of now of his actual contact with any of the infamous *rōnin*. All we know today of his reputation in the Edo period is still what the *bakumatsu* [end of the Tokugawa period] loyalist Yoshida Shōin and Meiji ideologues like Inoue Tetsujirō wrote of it.[10] Ikegami (1997) suggests that, overall, Confucian moral vocabulary offered in the Edo period the framework "to redirect the inherited samurai culture toward socially accepted goals and responsibility", and the concept of Confucian meritocracy "helped to reorient a primarily soldierly definition of achievement in the direction of a more intellectual emphasis on scholarship and administration" (Ikegami 1997: 299). In this sense, Sokō's *Shidō*, as the first native Confucian work to approach the subject of samurai morality, would have been rather valuable in addressing the plight of the military class. However, Ikegami also cautions that Confucian influence on the samurai culture "is often

[8] "Bakufu displeasure, formerly enough to shake the largest *han*, was no longer quite such a problem, simply because Edo officialdom no longer knew what it ought to be displeased about. […] After 1651 daimyo came to be treated with notable forbearance, receiving, in the main, the lightest of reproofs for offences that would have cost their fathers and grandfathers dearly. Open dissension among one's vassals, a misdemeanour that had cost at least seven daimyo their fiefs in the first fifty years of the Tokugawa period, was now usually punished with a reprimand, or at most a brief period of house arrest. […] Signs of mental instability, or gross misgovernment, which had once invited bakufu displeasure, continued to do so, but clearly the definition had changes. The astonishing affair of Matsudaira Sadashige, daimyo of Kuwana, is a case in point. Discovering in 1710 that one of his officials had been cheating him, the daimyo proceeded to carry out a stupefying number of executions – the guilty man, of course, but also eight of his sons (the youngest only two years old), his grandson (also two years old), his two brothers, ten of his nephews, his octogenarian mother, and several officials. A large number of other officials were banished and dismissed from their posts. So sensational a loss of control […] would have never been tolerated by the earlier Tokugawa shōgun, but by 1710 it was considered to warrant no more than a transfer from one *han* to another." (Hall et al. 1991: 201-213)

[9] Towards the end of the Meiji period, the legend of the Akō rōnin (fictionalized under the name of *Chūshingura*), as well as the (illegal) practice of *junshi* had become extremely popular as symbols of *bushidō* ethos. In 1912, the ritual suicide performed by General Nogi Maresuke at the death of Emperor Meiji only fueled the population's nostalgic fascination with *bushidō* and intellectual figures associated with it, such as Sokō.

[10] For more details on Sokō's association with Yoshida Shōin, modern *bushidōron* and political figures, see Tucker (1995, 2002), Mustăţea (2011, 2017) and Benesch (2014).

overemphasized to the point of misrepresentation," and of Sokō's philosophy itself she says that it lacked the pathos needed for social permeation (Ikegami 1997: 299).

Although the matter of Sokō's influence (or lack thereof) on samurai morality during the Tokugawa period cannot be easily settled, it is clear that his reputation significantly improved after 1868, when his normative theory of "the way of the samurai" came to play such an important role in the emerging Meiji state ideology. Besides the more obvious ideological appeal of a moral code able to support the narrative of the family-state with ideas of self-cultivation and lofty moral ideals, Tada (2005) makes an interesting argument on the reasons for this newly found appeal *Shidō* has had beyond its original feudal context: although 21st century Japanese society emerged as a nation-state through the very destruction of the social structure pre-modern "*bushidō*" (sic!)[11] presumed, Sokō's ethics is universal in nature. The four types of ethics he sets forth in *Shidō* – personal growth, family-life ethics, work ethics and civic ethics – can survive, adapt and function unhindered within modern social structures such as individualism, industrialisation, market economy or even a military society on account of its universality: regardless of their historical circumstances, "an individual is an individual in any epoch" (Tada 2005: 80-3). Furthermore, Tada notes, the core social components proposed by the Tokugawa period *Shidō* and the modern state are similar in nature – the family, the feudal domain (the hometown) and the *bakufu* (the state) – which made it easier to renegotiate their boundaries during the Meiji period (Tada 2005: 80-3).

II. The Fundamentals of Sokō's Moral Philosophy in *Shidō*[12]

1. Pre-modern Social Stratification (*shokubun*) and the Confucian Focus on Human Sociality

Sokō's *Shidō* was written at a time when the structure and scope of the military class was undergoing a profound change in Japan, some fifty years after Tokugawa Ieyasu had defeated all his rivals and accrued centralised power for the *bakufu*. As a result of the newly reached pax

[11] Tada (2005)'s account of Sokō's "way of the samurai" follows in the tradition set by Inoue Tetsujirō, using the term "bushidō." However, I believe it is advisable to use the author's original terminology - *shidō* - and thus differentiate between *bushidō* as a modern construct and Sokō's variety of Confucian samurai morality.

[12] For the English translation of the text, I have used Cleary (2009). However, for certain concepts that need more clarity, I will refer to the original text (Sokō 1941) and terms I have used in the Romanian translation (Mustățea 2017, 2018).

Tokugawa, the military clans – from *daimyō* to their lowest-ranking retainers – had to adapt fairly rapidly to the new realities of the time, in which military affairs had all but halted. Instead of focusing on warfare and military strategy as a means of acquiring and keeping local power, they needed to adapt to the idea of a centralised government and shift their focus towards diplomacy and administrative tasks like land, finance and population management. Unlike the other social classes whose transformation during pax Tokugawa happened more organically, the military class underwent an abrupt change and had to renegotiate its role within the social dynamic rather quickly. Yamaga Sokō himself is a product of this abrupt change, when many members of the *buke* [the military class] started pursuing other activities such as (Confucian) scholarship, commerce or artisanship. For many years, Sokō himself had been a *rōnin*, struggling to find full-time employment despite his scholarly success among *daimyō* and the *bakufu*. Until his death, he apparently never gave up the hope of becoming a retainer to the *shōgun*, even following his ten-year exile to the Akō domain (Tada 2005). There were also those samurai who, in spite of receiving stipends from their *daimyō* or the *bakufu* (as a matter of heritage), did little else than enjoy an idle life, and these were the ones Sokō was most dissatisfied with, and who inspired this first (and arguably most famous) paragraph in *Shidō*:

> The samurai, however, eats without tilling, uses what he doesn't make, and earns without engaging in trade. Why is that? As I reflect on my present status, I was born in a house of hereditary archers and cavaliers, and I am a public servant for the imperial court. I am one of those samurai, who do not till, manufacture, or trade. There must be a job for a samurai. Someone who eats without having a job should be called an idler. [...] Generally speaking, the role of knights (*shi* 士) is in being personally conscientious, completely loyal in public service for a ruler, faithful in association with friends, and individually circumspect, concentrating on duty. Moreover, one inevitably has personal, family, and marital relations. Even if they are universal social norms, nevertheless farmers, artisans, and merchants cannot always follow that path to fulfilment because they are preoccupied by their work. [...] This means that knights have to have both cultural and martial virtues and expertise. Thus, fulfilling the functions of sword and spear and bow and horse in punitive actions, practicing political, professional, social, familial, and spousal norms in the domestic sphere, with culture filling the heart while being prepared as a warrior for the outside world, they provide for knowledge of the fundamentals and the particulars, as the three civilian classes spontaneously take them for exemplars, respect them, and follow their instructions. With this the path of knighthood is fulfilled; you earn your food, clothing and housing, and so you can be easy in mind, for this can requite the benevolence of the ruler and the generosity of your parents in the meantime. Without this effort, it's as if you are stealing the generosity of your parents, devouring a salary from your lord, spending your whole life as a thief. (Sokō 1941/2009: 35-6)

The fragment, as critical as it is regarding the moral disarray of the military class, also seems to reveal a strong in-group bias, as well as Sokō's overall unwillingness to tackle the social stratification status-quo. This is short-sighted on his part, and it could be construed as proof of Confucianism's intrinsic feudal character, a critique often made against it (Khan 1997, Paramore 2016). However, there are at least two main reasons why this theory might not hold: firstly, in the specific case of Sokō's *Shidō* – him belonging to the military class notwithstanding – we also have to consider the rather limited social-organisation alternatives available in a pre-industrial Japanese society and also the significantly high level of social immobility, factors that must have definitely limited his view; secondly, and perhaps more importantly, Sokō (following in the footsteps of Confucius and Mencius) does not preoccupy himself as much with social organisation per se, but rather with the most basic dynamics of human sociality[13]. While indeed he does not challenge the foundations of the Tokugawa state and his expectation of samurai moral superiority is rather elitist (Ikegami 1997: 311), *Shidō* is proof that Sokō did acknowledge (albeit intuitively) the changing social and moral fabric of Tokugawa Japan under a centralized *bakufu*, and his attempt to formulate – for the first time in Japanese history – the military class' public responsibility to serve the realm is rather progressive on his part. In this sense, by superimposing the portrait of the Confucian *kunshi* to that of the Tokugawa samurai, Sokō became a pioneer of Japanese Confucian political philosophy, and set down the principles of virtuous governance and the public responsibilities of the powerholders in a pragmatic manner, embedded in the realities of his time.

2. Confucian Loyalty and Moral Cultivation

As mentioned above, Sokō's main preoccupation in *Shidō* is not to critique or change the external forms of social organisation. His focus is rather on individual moral cultivation and the individual's harmonious existence within the most basic forms of human sociality. In the newly established pax Tokugawa, these forms mainly referred to the individual's public service to the lord (local community) or the court (state) and their private life (immediate family), including such responsibilities as administrative work, protection and maintaining order in the realm, as well as managing one's household: "The public life of a man involves service to the lord and participation at court; in private life he is attentive to his father and elder brothers and manages his

[13] I use the term "human sociality" here in the anthropological sense, as the "social interaction that underpins [human] social life," "the special kind of bonds that set human apart" (Enfield & Levinson 2006: 2).

household. Thus, he assists the affairs of the land and resolves the people's worries." (Sokō 1941/2009: 35-6). In order to meaningfully fulfil these responsibilities, Sokō postulated the need for constant character cultivation:

> Now then, doing all you can for your father and mother, looking after them to their satisfaction, continuing to be attached to them, sacrificing your life without regret-this is filial piety exercised to the utmost at home, is it not?
>
> A man's responsibilities are very heavy. What I am talking about here is constantly cultivating your mood to be calm and quiet, keeping your presence of mind savoring principles, and transferring this to your lord and your father to clarify the realities of loyalty and filial piety. This is a knight's job – if you don't serve your lord virtuously and don't attend to your father and elder brothers sincerely, then there is no evidence of the effort to cultivate the spirit and keep presence of mind. (Sokō 1941/2009: 35-6)

Loyalty – generally coupled with filial piety as part of the *chūkō* 忠孝 binomial – remains to this day one of the most controversial Confucian values. It has pervaded modern Japanese history via *bushidōron*, being deeply associated in collective memory and much of Western research with the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890, with the strict pre-war moral training regimen in schools and, later on, with the Second World War kamikaze incidents (Tierney 2002, Mustățea 2011, Benesch 2014). Unsurprisingly, in light of this, Confucian loyalty still bears the stigma of a destructive moral dogma, an inhibitor of personal freedom, enabling civil and personal obedience and a potentially destructive idea of patriotic self-sacrifice (Tierney 2002). It is also understandable, given the repeated misuse of Confucian vocabulary in modern history, why this association is difficult to deconstruct and clarify, and considering the recent heated debates on the reintroduction of the Rescript in schools as part of the Moral Education classes, it's even harder to believe it will ever fade away. These modern interpretations of loyalty and its ideological usages are worth a more comprehensive analysis in themselves and will be addressed in a future project. However, it needs to be said here that in modern *bushidōron,* Confucian loyalty (as it is also formulated in Sokō's *Shidō*) has come to be limited, oversimplified and manipulated in the context of modern nation-formation and heavy politicisation. The 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education itself is a good example of the way in which loyalty – alongside other Confucian humanist values – has morphed into a hollow rhetorical device in Meiji ideological texts, envisaging an obedient and abstract sort of loyalty towards the state and the throne:

> Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth (*The Imperial Rescript on Education*, 1890, from de Bary et al. 2006: 109).

The rather successful permeation of this nuance of obedience in modern Confucian-esque loyalty has been discussed many times (Tierney 2008, Paramore 2016, Mustățea 2018) and can be also observed in philosophical texts such as Onishi Hajime's *Questioning moral foundations*. Written some three years after the Imperial Edict had been published, the essay describes *chūkō* 忠孝 [loyalty-and-filial-piety] essentially as one's *obedience* to their parents and ruler (Hajime, in Maraldo 2011: 634) in this very context. Unlike Sokō's Confucian loyalty (or filial piety, for that matter), Meiji period's nationalistic loyalty was stripped of its original meaning and reconstructed into a mechanism aimed at moulding obedient state citizens. In this sense, it comes closer in meaning to the loyalty demanded by modern totalitarian movements as a "psychological basis for total domination," as identified by Arendt in *The origins of totalitarianism*: "Totalitarian movements are mass organizations of atomized individuals. Compared with all other parties and movements, the most conspicuous external characteristic is their demand for total, unrestricted, unconditional, and unalterable loyalty of the individual member" (Arendt 1998: 423). The only difference is that, unlike the atomization of individuals Arendt identified in European totalitarian movements, the modern Japanese individual did not need to be isolated or "atomized," as the family-state ideology provided a strong enough instrument of control within the Japanese modern state itself.

However, we see that Sokō considers loyalty to be a complex moral value, and only one out of a cluster of moral virtues grounded in Confucian benevolence and tolerance, as well as independence of spirit. It is most closely associated with big-heartedness (度量 *doryō*), mellowness of character (温藉 *onsha*), and honesty (正直 *shōjiki*). Big-heartedness is making "your heart so free as to admit everything in the world, like an immense river that knows no end, or a towering mountain that shelters plants and trees and birds and beasts. The sky is open, letting birds fly; the ocean is wide, letting fish leap. When it is said that a real man must have this bigness of heart, it seems to refer to this attitude." (Sokō 1941/2009: 17). Mellowness "implies depth and tolerance,"

> It means keeping your virtues to yourself, covering your light, and not evincing anything extraordinary. [...] When you're big-hearted and good-tempered, standing out above myriad things, there's no point in insisting on your merit and boasting of your fame any more. So there's no more atmosphere of vehemence. When mellowness spontaneously manifests in your face, and the appearance of a humane man, a noble man, emerges in your interactions and associations with other people, you will be like sunny springtime, a blessing to all beings. This is the mellowness of a manly man. (Sokō 1941/2009: 21)

And honesty is where loyalty makes itself most saliently manifest in one's behaviour:

> Confucius said: 'In speaking, one thinks of loyalty.' He also said 'One should be loyal and trustworthy in what one says.' The classic Manners says 'In converse with the crowd, speak of loyalty, faithfulness, kindness, and good prospects' [...] Whenever you talk to people, you should do so in a way that will benefit them. That is a way to help others. To speak as to profit oneself alone is not the way of a noble man [君子]. To benefit oneself without considering the welfare of others is always the act of a petty person [小人]. This is what is meant by Master Zeng's saying, 'Am I unfaithful in my considerations for others? [...] Talking all day, wasting words, to make a point of your own cleverness, repeatedly showing off verbally, is something noble men detest; it should be called useless eloquence. [...] In Zhang Shishu's maxims it says 'All speech must be loyal.' [...] As for loyalty and trustworthiness, loyalty means being completely sincere in consideration for others. Trustworthiness means not fabricating falsehood, being correct and clear. (Sokō 1941/2009: 61)

Judging from the above quotes, it can be argued that in Sokō's thought, Confucian loyalty is very different from the obedient nature of modern *bushidōron*'s type of loyalty. First of all, it is not a stand-alone moral feeling, as it is always attached to a cluster of other values which regulate its interpretation, such as sincerity, dedication to moral duty, sincere intentions or the practice of humaneness and moral cultivation (to name only a few). Loyalty is an essential part of self-cultivation as learning to be a human in the world, essential to the individual's symbiotic relationship with society and with(in) oneself. Moreover, it requires one to be "completely honest in consideration for others," to always be accompanied by trustworthiness ("not fabricating falsehood, being correct and clear"). It takes the form of sincere preoccupation for others or a clean heart[14] and it is a universal principle, a *dignity* that needs to define all relationships in their entirety[15], a mindfulness which is found in opposition with negligence and lack of virtue in action.

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[14] Term first used by Vişan (1996).

[15] Here, too, I follow Vişan (1996)'s interpretation of Confucian loyalty.

Although the more common view of loyalty in the warrior culture – as it can be found in *Hagakure*, and which overlapped in modern Japan with Confucian loyalty – refers to the blind obedience to one's superior and keeping quiet when disagreement arises, Sokō specifically denies this nuance, focusing rather on the sincerity of one's preoccupation for their social partner (Sokō 1941/2009: 61). Sokō's Confucian loyalty is thus quite distinct from the nuance of obedience that The Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 and state-sponsored "Confucian education" of the Meiji and Taishō periods were trying to inculcate and, to a certain extent, managed to impose.

3. The Ritual of Perception – the Confucian Rite, the Individual and Being-in-the-world

Although Sokō does not set out to define the individual and his relation to the external world as a standalone topic in *Shidō*, the fragments dealing with the ritual behaviour (*rei* 禮)[16] of visual and auditory perception (慎視聽) address precisely this dynamic: "Although the physical body is complex, it may be summed up in two terms, perception of the external and communication of the internal. The ears, eyes, nose, and so on, all have the function of perception of the external, while internal functions, able to sense, can act externally." (Sokō 1941/2009: 50-1). In these fragments, Sokō describes the essential flow of human experience within the world and also explains the role of ritual behaviour in balancing the two entities – the individual's internal (内) and external world (外). In Sokō's words, these are "one, not separate" and they connect through physical activities like looking and listening. The world and the individual's "interior" ("internal functions able to sense") are in a perpetual state of mutually-defining interaction, and the sensory system acts as their essential instrument of communication. The individual is a complex whole which cannot function outside of this dynamic relationship with the surrounding universe. Within the body as a complex whole, the eyes and ears play an essential part in interacting with the world in *Shidō*, as these are the organs which both perceive and understand the external world (外をしる), and also communicate one's inner self to the world (内を通ずる). Sokō describes the flow of this ritual interaction between the world and the individual in three stages, of perception (視/聞), observation (思), and examination (明/聴). He explains the process of looking at/seeing things: "there are three rules: looking, observing, examining. There are

[16] For this, Cleary used the more general term "courtesy," but I kept the Confucian term for a more accurate representation of the concept.

interactions of five normative social relations such as lord and subject, father and son. There are functions of seven emotions. Each of them has to have its proper manner, according to the specifics of various contexts." (Sokō 1941/2009: 50-1). And

> Mentality is all internal, while the interaction of physical activity with people and things, including looking and listening, is external. The internal and external are basically one, not separate. When manners are correct externally, moods are correct internally. When there is any external disarray, there is invariably an internal response to it. If you clarify external manners thoroughly and keep them in accord with their natural laws, the keys to psychological technique should naturally become clear. Manners are forms of courtesy. Courtesy is based on not being disrespectful. If those who aspire to dignified manners work on habitually avoiding disrespect, the way should not be much further. (Sokō 1941/2009: 48)

The individual and the universe, then, are part of the same whole, and are not entities engaged in a dialectical relationship, but a collaborative, mutually-defining one. The individual affects, and is equally affected by, the world (s)he inhabits, therefore the entire process of this interaction between the individual and the universe needs to be mindful and carefully managed:

> Generally speaking, courtesy [ritual behaviour] arises from the need of the individual's heart, with natural measures in regard to things, the dignity of its expression inviolable. It ought to be elegantly articulated-this is called courtesy. As all of your activity and repose is a function of courtesy, each act, each restraint, each word, each silence, has its standard of courtesy. (Sokō 1941/2009: 47)

Rite, then, is a means to achieve individual freedom. In knowing oneself and one's objective, and by putting morality into practice, the individual creates the balance between oneself and the world, and the Rite (decorum, deferent behaviour) is the way to express this balance, to carry it into the world (Sokō 1941: 47). One word of caution is needed in interpreting Rite, however – although some modern critics interpret it as empty formalism, the Confucian Rite does not entail at any point a mindless repetition of code, but is the product of constant introspection and practice, and the expression of inner value[17].

[17] Following Vişan (1996)'s interpretation of the Confucian Rite.

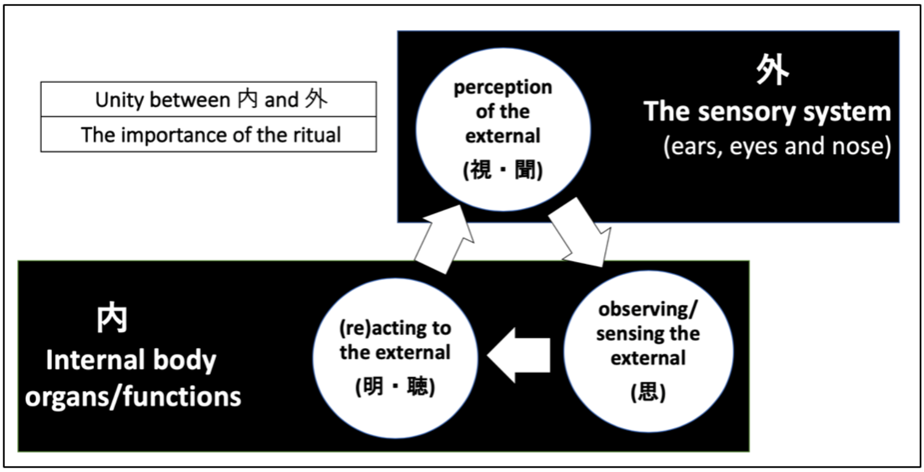

Figure 1. *A visual interpretation of the flow of human experience in the world in Sokō's Shidō*

This Confucian view of being-in-the-world posited by Sokō in *Shidō* (without the focus on ritual behaviour) is echoed in contemporary philosophy by Watsuji Tetsurō's principle of *aidagara*, which states that the locus of ethics is not in individual consciousness alone, and ethical questions of consciousness cannot be solved with reference to the individual self in isolation, as divorced from nature and society, but can only be resolved precisely in "the *in-betweenness* of person and person" (Watsuji 1996: 10).

As seen from the previous quotes, even such actions as visual and auditory experience are both a matter of self-cultivation and acting in the world, and therefore a matter of human individuality, and as such they need to be regulated by Rite. Manners shape, express and harmonise the balance between the individual and the surrounding world. They are the means by which the individual is protecting oneself from negligence and uncontrolled impulses. One's reaction to and towards the things around needs to be grounded in one's dignity, just as any other human action. Thus, Rite/decorum does not function as an inhibitor of self-expression, but rather as an instrument of that very self-expression in interaction, of situating oneself within society and the world. In Confucian ethics and Sokō's *Shidō*, society and the individual are not in a dialectical relationship, but a collaborative one.

4. The Freedom in Moral Discernment ("freedom in dealing with things")

Probably the most crucial concept put forth by Sokō in *Shidō* is the quest for "freedom in dealing with things" (事に處するの道自由), a prerequisite of enlightened governance:

> Since character is based on natural qualities, and humanity and justness are human principles, who would not rely on them? But even if you refine your character with humanity and justness, if you do not comprehend the qualities of things, from astronomy to geography, the thousands of differences and myriads of distinctions evolving from combinations of positive and negative energies, then your way of dealing with affairs is not free; you have not mastered heaven, earth, and society with your intelligence. Everything is like this in service of your lord and your father, and in cultivation of yourself. For a man of mettle to save the people of an era, accomplishing an achievement of distinction for myriad ages, assisting the virtues of heaven and earth, exercising the sincerity of sages to the utmost, is all a matter of establishing this character and perfecting your intelligence and abilities. So even the august emperor, in his unsurpassed rank, must know about everything down to the work of lowly woodcutters, or there will inevitably be neglect in national government. (Sokō 1941/2009: 40-1)

Insomuch as one does not thoroughly understand the principles of human nature and the "qualities of things," they cannot avoid negligence in governance. A morally legitimate leader, one who wishes "to save the people of an era, accomplishing an achievement of distinction for myriad ages" and "assisting the virtues of heaven and earth," needs to "master heaven, earth and society" with one's intelligence. Even the highest-ranking power holders (i.e. the emperor) "must know everything down to the work of lowly woodcutters, or there will inevitably be neglect in national government." Achieving this high ideal of moral discernment, then, is grounded in mastering "heaven, earth and society" through *moral cultivation* aimed at achieving humaneness and righteousness (maintaining one's will, magnanimity, mellowness of spirit, honesty, devotion to loyalty and filial piety, humaneness and justness, making peace with one's lot in life) and *intellectual cultivation* aimed at understanding the principles of things (Sokō 1941). Intellectual cultivation, Sokō cautions, does not lie in rote memorization of historical facts and current things, literature and poetry for erudition and "show off," but in actually understanding the principles of historical change and world affairs, in constantly broadening one's horizons, brushing up on one's intelligence and applying introspection and self-correction:

> Scholars sometimes memorise historical facts and contemporary affairs to show off to the world; others amuse themselves with poetry and prose, considering scholarship to require verse and composition. Neither of these is the scholarship of a man of mettle. [...] So what is scholarship? Rooted in the way of sages of old, assisted by tales of the acts of savants and noble men, understanding the changes of the present age and the principles of people and things is for broadening your perception and information, increasing your intelligence and ability, and improving your knowledge.

> When people are ignorant of past and present and do not comprehend changes, they are narrow-minded, their disposition is prone to prejudice, and their intellect is one-sided. That is because of taking education to mean learning the writings of ancient people. But if you study yet only work on yourself superficially, literary ability may become harmful because of this ignorance of how to use it. If you examine and understand your own present condition thoroughly, and then consider the times and ideals of past and present, all studies will increase your intelligence. (Sokō 1941/2009: 43)

If the individual grounds their moral and intellectual cultivation in humaneness and righteousness (仁義), they will achieve "freedom in dealing with things," the ability to act like an actor in the world and affect change, and they will not be a mere object of their own random inclination, circumstance and the passage of time:

> The virtues of the human heart do not go beyond humanity and justness. These are essentials of the order of Nature, and when you go along with those feelings without artificiality, you're just a heart-full of humanity and justness. Therefore in a manly man's personal discipline he should make humanity and justness his bases of reliance.
>
> Humanity is the life-giving heart of heaven and earth. When the feeling of sympathy emerges in proper proportion, this is the function of love.
>
> Justness means being scrupulous in dealing with matters. This means external projection of inward scruples in proper proportion. So without a humane heart, one cannot embody tolerance and breadth of mind; and so one sinks in subjective likes and dislikes. This is why humanity is considered the source of sagehood. (Sokō 1941/2009: 36-7)

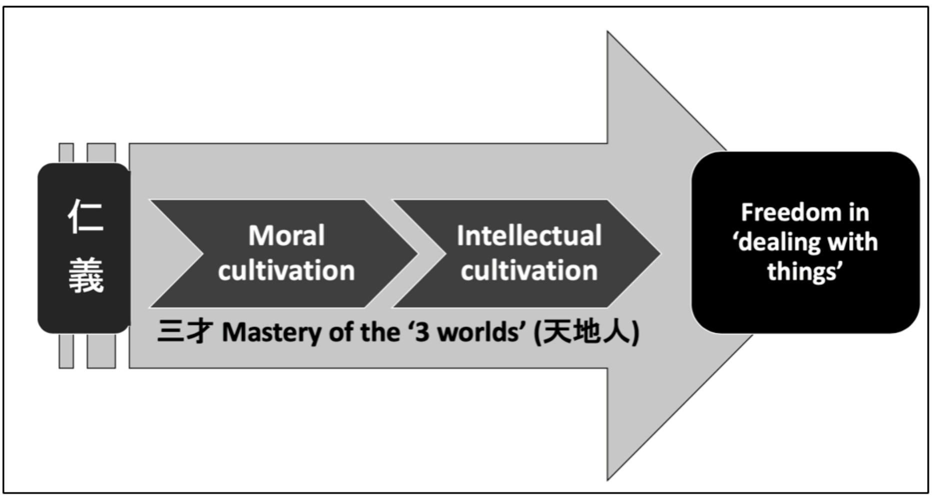

Figure 2. A visual interpretation of the process of achieving "freedom in dealing with things"

Conceptually, Sokō's idea of moral discernment ("freedom in dealing with things") is rather similar to Kant's idea of free will, insomuch as it refers to the individual's capacity to act in the world without being *caused* to do so: "The will is a kind of causality belonging to living things in so far as they are rational, and *freedom* would be this property of such causality that it can be efficient, independently of foreign causes *determining* it; just as natural necessity is the property that the causality of all nonrational beings has of being determined to activity by the influence of foreign causes." (Kant 2005: 103). In Sokō's thought, moral and intellectual cultivation, based in the practice of benevolence and righteousness, create the conditions that allow the appearance of moral discernment (free will) in the individual. In an interconnected world, moral discernment is the only form of freedom possible – the freedom to act according to a thorough understanding of oneself and the world one inhabits.[18]

III. Conclusion: Reading Sokō Today

On Confucian loyalty and its association with pre-war militarism

Reading Sokō today, we find very few things in common with the nationalistic and aggressive streaks of modern *bushidōron*: Sokō's *shidōron* is a thoroughly Confucian model of virtuous governance, grounded in human dignity and compassion, and focused on self-cultivation and maintaining a peaceful life and realm. The moral discernment he speaks of is, if anything, a training in free will and critical thinking. By gaining broad knowledge about historical, social and universal principles and practising benevolence and righteousness, the individual is no longer a mere non-discerning recipient of information and object of manipulation by external forces, but becomes a moral agent and acquires power over their own will and the world they inhabit It is a deeply humanistic project, in which even military training is subordinated to character cultivation and peaceful co-existence. As mentioned earlier, Sokō's main preoccupation is not with the social institutions and their legitimacy, but with the most basic and universal elements of human sociality – the individual, their family and the community they belong to,

[18] It would be worth considering further implications of Confucian moral discernment to Kant's philosophy of free will, but here I must underline an important conceptual difference between the two: unlike Kant's theory of the Categorical Imperative, Sokō's freedom in dealing with things is not innate and immutable within human nature, but a perfectible moral ideal, which can only be achieved through dedicated and relentless self-cultivation. Without a conscious effort to cultivate it, human nature's predisposition - either good or bad - can take over the individual and turn them into nothing but an object of circumstance. To learn how to differentiate between things and courses of action, the "good seed" present in one's human nature needs mindful nurture to grow into what we can call moral discernment or free will. For Sokō, human rationality itself is not a given, but a continuous and arduous process.

as well as the underlying dynamic of these relationships. In contrast, the modern *bushidōron* taking shape from Meiji thereon moves away from this Confucian humanism and into the tumultuous process of nation-state formation and ideologization, drawing more and more on the familiar vocabulary of the Confucian universe only to advance a profoundly modern and abstract type of "national spirit" and ultimately to legitimate an authoritarian and aggressive military regime during the Taishō period. It is certainly understandable, then, why Confucianism as a whole (and Sokō's *Shidō*) has become muddled in the process and why many historians of Japan seem to accuse it of an innate incompatibility with democratic and liberal principles, grounded in its accent on social conformism and blind obedience to authority (for a more detailed account of this, see Paramore 2016). We are still too close in time to the atrocities of war and to Japan's imperial history, and public space is still too sensitive about topics of moral education and history revision, to get a clear idea of what exactly happened. On a global scale, Confucianism's unfortunate association with the authoritarian Chinese regime in recent times is not helping the issue either. It is certainly the case that Confucianism has shown in recent history a certain weakness that opens it up to abuse by authoritarian regimes, but that weakness is also what strengthens it – its humanistic project, its appeal to universal values of human dignity, benevolence and social bonding and its focus on the most universal patterns of human sociality.

We see again and again how authoritarian regimes around the world make heavy use of the vocabulary of universal moral values – not only Confucian ones – to insidiously pervade people's minds and manipulate them into (self-)destructive "national" projects (Arendt 1998, Liu 2012, Ames 2018), and Japan was no exception. In modern Japan, Confucian humanism – and Sokō's *Shidō* – did indeed provide this vocabulary, but it served as an empty vessel for modern, ideological fantasies, embedded in the very nature of modern nation state formation, where culture and personal identity were subsumed into discourses of national power and identity, and where a universally acceptable moral vocabulary could be easily accessed and manipulated towards the creation of a body politic. Therefore, as tempting as it is to label post-Tokugawa *loyalty* or Taishō *moral training* by the name "Confucian," it would be a misnomer, a misunderstanding of the nature of historical mechanisms and an obstruction of the true vectors of extreme historical manifestations. Then, rather than limit our interpretation of Japanese Confucianism to an intrinsically feudal and backward philosophy, it would be more fruitful to address the issue of the usage of Confucian moral vocabulary and philosophy within Japan's modern history in a larger framework, aiming at uncovering ideological and cultural practices of the modern state; this would help us deepen our understanding of both the ideological mechanisms of state propaganda in modern history and the mechanisms of cultural diffusion. Like all philosophy, Confucianism too evolves, changes and interacts organically within a complex web of social and cultural constructs without being necessarily limited to them. It would be therefore simplistic and ultimately detrimental to limit our understanding of (Japanese) Confucianism to its evolution within a mainly politically motivated ideological project.

This is why it is also important, in the case of Sokō's *Shidō*, to refer back to his original writings before we can speak of Confucianism's influence on or misinterpretation in modern Japanese moral philosophy and political ideology. A "correction of names" of the sort can both direct us better in our understanding of Japanese historical and philosophical evolution and its mechanisms and also allow us to find a better grounding for Japanese Confucianism in contemporary philosophical debates.

Beyond the pre-war legacy

Moving beyond the somewhat stagnant readings of Sokō's Shidō today and the necessary correction of names, it is worth mentioning that his philosophy does not lack relevance even in today's postmodern world. Sokō's conceptualisations of human sociality, moral governance, self-cultivation and moral discernment would benefit many contemporary debates in areas ranging from social philosophy to moral, political or life philosophy. For instance, the Kogaku 古學[19] tenet of the seeds of goodness that need to be cultivated and which only realize their value in action (Tucker 2001: 161) could have interesting applications for the Aristotelian idea of virtue as manifesting itself only in action and for Kant's Categorical Imperative, especially in terms of one essential difference which could significantly change the approach to their moral philosophy: unlike Aristotle and Kant, Sokō (as Confucius before him) makes human fallibility in practicing morality the bedrock of his approach to moral behaviour, which he does not see as innate and universal, but as a product of self-cultivation. In political and public philosophy, too, his views on the moral foundation of leadership can have multiple applications in issues ranging from the moral responsibilities of the public office or government to the legitimacy of political power and citizens' rights.

[19] The Kogaku (or Ancient Learning) school of thought, established by Sokō himself, was one of the three major Neo-Confucian schools of thought that developed in Japan during the Tokugawa period (alongside Shushigaku and Ōyōmeigaku). Criticising Shushigaku school's excessively theoretical approach to Confucian morality, Kogaku scholars attempted to revive the original thought of Confucius and Mencius.

Last but not least, the Confucian conceptualisation of "freedom in dealing with things" provides a powerful model of life philosophy. The idea of moral discernment as a model of perfectible human activity is not only in tune with recent scientific ideas about brain plasticity but is also an exercise in critical thinking and in being human in an ever-evolving world. While Sokō's declared scope was limited to the morality of Tokugawa period's powerholders, the samurai, the moral philosophy he puts forth in *Shidō* is Confucian par excellence, and thus grounded in the very universality of human nature and sociality. As such, his theory of achieving moral discernment can easily find relevance even today, when, amidst unprecedented interconnectedness and increasingly rapid advancement of technology, humans' capacity to adapt and practice this kind of free will seems to be severely lagging. We often find ourselves overpowered by misinformation, manipulations and oversaturation with information, and our capacity for critical thinking and discernment seems to be insufficiently developed. In a Confucian reading, it oftentimes seems that we allow our predispositions to run freely and, by losing the opportunity to cultivate our better inclinations, we forfeit our agency in the world, and we let ourselves be defined by external factors. Human nature does not seem to have changed too much from Sokō's (or even Confucius') time in this respect, which is also why *Shidō*'s call for cultivation and perfection of moral discernment continues to be relevant. At its core, Sokō's philosophy of moral discernment teaches us to cultivate independence of spirit, the self-awareness and self-control that allows us to act (and interact) meaningfully in an ever-evolving world, based on a thorough understanding of ourselves and the universe surrounding us. Be it in feudal and socially stagnant pre-modern Japan or in today's hyper-connected and informationally overloaded contemporary world, our only possible freedom seems to come in the form of rationality.

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HERO WORSHIP PRACTICES IN THE RYŪKYŪAN CULTURAL SPACE – CONSIDERING THE IMPLICATIONS OF "AKAHACHI NO *IREI-SAI*" ON OKINAWA'S VIEW OF HISTORY –

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Abstract: *Drawing on both ethnographic data and review of historical sources, this paper explains the significance of multiple interpretations given to a single historical event in different regions of the Ryūkyūan cultural space, namely the 1500 "Yaeyama war" (the so-called "Akahachi's revolt"). This analysis highlights features of hero worship specific to this cultural space, and discusses the societal function of this practice. In order to do this, I focus on the elements that are being emphasised or left aside in the process of transmitting the story of Akahachi to the younger generations, as well as the ethnic politics involved in the storytelling by referring to "Akahachi no irei-sai" (a memorial event organised by Ōhama village, the place Akahachi ruled over).*

Keywords: hero worship, commemoration practices, Oyake Akahachi, Yaeyama islands, views of history

Introduction

In my neighbourhood, 5.30 p.m. is "Gosamaru hour". After the first part of the "Gosamaru song" is played, children are informed through speakers installed all over the village that it is time to go home and do their homework or help with chores. This kind of announcement played by local authorities in rural areas is nothing out of the ordinary in Okinawa, however what makes this one memorable is the song, the "Gosamaru song".

The earworm song is an energetic tune with lyrics singing the praises of Gosamaru, a fifteenth century historical figure who, among other things, is famous for building the local Nakagusuku Castle, now part of the UNESCO World Heritage. The song presents Gosamaru as the village's hero and a symbol for peace. The Nakagusuku village has been using the "Gosamaru song" for these public announcements and as the theme song for a series of videos presenting Gosamaru's story (See "Gosamaru Chronicle" http://gosamaru-nakagusuku.com/).

In fact, Nakagusuku prides itself on being "*Gosamaru-dukushina mura*" (護佐丸尽くしな村、"a village with all sorts of Gosamarus")

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(Nakagusuku-son Gosamaru Rekishi Shiryō Toshokan blog 2015). The local library, which was officially inaugurated in 2017, on May 30th, (also "Gosamaru Day") is named after him, and so are a number of other public and private facilities in the village. A local bus and shared-taxi service bear his name, and also a marathon and a walking event, which is meant to familiarise villagers with historical sites. The village mascot, Gosamaru-kun, is inspired by him; the local school has a course on him, as well a set of rules known as "The Gosamaru 7". May 30th is officially declared "Gosamaru Day"; this is because in Japanese the syllables for "Gosamaru" are homophones to the words for five, three and zero. On this day the village mayor and other official figures gather in front of his tomb to pay their respect in a quasi-religious ceremony. Moreover, according to village history, before World War Two, there was even a plan to build a Gosamaru-jinja, a shrine dedicated to Gosamaru, but this never materialised (Nakagusuku-son Gosamaru Rekishi Shiryō Toshokan blog 2015).

The appreciation my village shows for its local hero is remarkable, however it is certainly not unique within the Ryūkyūan cultural space. The figure of Gosamaru as an honorary community member is disputed by Nakagusuku and Yomitan, a village located north of mainland Okinawa, where this historical figure also lived. Another historical figure venerated by their respective local community is Shō Hashi, the founder of the first dynasty of the Ryūkyū Kingdom, who gives his name to a half marathon and other cultural endeavours in his native Nanjō city. A number of other historical characters from the Miyako Islands and Kume Island are the subject of fervently transmitted oral histories and local pride, despite being completely absent from history textbooks.

Figure 1. Gosamaru-kun on a construction site

What these historical figures have in common, apart from the images of bravery and resilience attached to them, is a historical period: they are all associated with the formation age of the Ryūkyū Kingdom; and the fact they originate from relatively small peripheral communities. As I argue in this paper, a majority of these figures are both heroes and anti-heroes. Conflicting narratives of their acts have been developed over the years, reflecting societal tendencies and challenges faced by their individual native communities. The reason for these similarities will be made clear by my analysis of “Akahachi no *irei-sai*”, an annual commemoration event which takes place in Ōhama village, on Ishigaki Island.

Hero worship as cultural practice

This paper discusses two concepts that need to be critically examined in order to better understand the commemoration of Oyake Akahachi from Ōhama village: hero worship as a human practice and “*irei-sai*” as a Japanese particular form of commemoration. While the scope of this paper requires a close examination of the idea of hero and how narratives of hero figures have shaped how people view the history of the Ryūkyūan cultural space, I argue that an understanding of “*irei-sai*” can offer a more nuanced view of this particular event and hero worship in Okinawa, in general.

On mainland Japan, it is not uncommon to have historical figures referred to as “*hitogami*”(人神, “ people-gods”) and enshrined as Shinto gods. Oikawa Shohei has given significant consideration to the problem of worshiping historical figures in Japan in recent years. His work draws attention away from the process of “*shinkakuka*” (神格化, “divinisation”) in order to focus on “*ijinka*” (偉人化, ”heroification).

Shinkakuka is a common religious practice in mainland Japan through which historical figures are idolised or enshrined as Shinto gods. Well-known examples include Sugawara no Michizane, Toyotomi no Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu, who are referred to as “*hitogami*” ”(人神, “ people-gods”) and “*kenshougami*” (顕彰神, “honoured gods”).

As Oikawa observes the study of these figures and the process through which they get to be considered gods is a classic theme of Japanese folklore studies. The study of hero worship as a religious practice in Japan was initiated by Yanagita Kunio with his analysis of “the custom of people venerated as gods” (人を神に祀る風習, “*hito wo kami ni matsuri fuushuu*”), and as part of an overarching theme of understanding “*sosen-saishi*” (祖先祭祀, “ancestor veneration”) (Oikawa 2017:20). However, Oikawa argues that more attention should be paid to the large number of Japanese historical characters that, although not considered godly in themselves, are seen as more-than-human, and represent the focus of local storytelling and veneration. These figures that go through a process of “heroification” are highly relevant, not only for their communities, but also for understanding Japanese society as a whole. Oikawa proposes that hero-making practices have developed in Japan in strict relationship with nation-building practices to reinforce national narratives and help integrate people from different regions of Japan into the bigger frame of the Japanese nation (Oikawa 2017).

However, while he mentions folk traditions of rural Japan, Oikawa limits the scope of his analysis to mainland Japan. As is the case with Yanagita's analysis of "*sosen saishi*", when the paradigm of mainland culture is imposed over the Ryūkyūan cultural space, important cultural differences tend to be ignored. Akamine Masanobu observes that in his analysis of ancestor veneration in Japan, Yanagita does not hesitate to discuss examples of ritual practices in Okinawa, but his interpretation of them fails to account for the complexity of the problem (Akamine 1998). Moreover, the problem of hero worship that Oikawa so aptly approaches in his analysis of mainland Japan is completely disregarded despite its potential to offer a more nuanced view of ancestor worship in Okinawa.

In analysing the "Akahachi no *irei-sai*", I intend to clarify what characteristics hero worship practices have in Okinawa, in what manner narratives related to local heroes shape how people of Okinawa view history, and the development of these hero-making narratives through different historical periods. The analysis presented here takes into account not only the figure of the hero or his historical relevance, or the many ways this memory has been transmitted through generations, but more importantly how the practice of transmitting, modifying and keeping alive (and at times amplifying) the image of Oyake Akahachi reflects societal tendencies and help to frame a view of history particular to the Ryūkyūan cultural space. This paper determines that while a focus on the image of the hero can promote a view of history as made by the few at the expense of the many, turning the lens from the worshipped to the worshiper can offer a relevant tool for understanding societal changes within a certain culture. Thus, this paper's main purpose is to understand how the people of Okinawa reflect on history, the manner in which this has changed in modern times, and the factors that influenced this transformation.

"*Irei-sai*"- appraising the souls of those who suffer unnatural deaths

Is the commemoration of Oyake Akahachi in Ōhama village a religious form of hero worshiping? If we are to consider the general meaning of *irei-sai*, the commemoration of Akahachi can categorically be considered a form of religious ritual.

Understanding what an *irei-sai* is makes it easier to interpret the community event of Ōhama village, but also to subsequently highlight how this event differs from what is normally viewed as an *irei-sai*. The particularities of this event are relevant for understanding how Oyake Akahachi is viewed within the village community, but also the importance that the community attributes to narrating his story.

As Shintani Naoki observes, *irei-sai* (慰霊祭) are rituals of modern origins and the word "*irei*" (慰霊) per se is often used in an ambiguous way (Shintani 2009). However, the most general image evoked by the word "*irei-sai*" is of a public memorial event dedicated to victims of "unnatural" deaths such as those caused by natural disasters, wars, etc., with a great number of these kind of events dedicated to World War Two victims. Ceremonies like these usually include a religious component, such as the presence of a priest or a Buddhist monk. However, especially when government officials are involved in the event, the inclusion of overtly religious symbols or practices is consciously avoided in order to prevent discussion about the intrusion of religion in the political sphere. Even in these cases, despite efforts being made to discuss events as entirely secular or post-secular, it is almost impossible (Nishimura 2016).

Komatsu Kazuhiko observes that while at their origins *irei-sai* are memorial practices with national scope, they have gradually transformed into a manifestation of *minkan-shinkou* (民間信仰, "folk religion"), migrating from the national level to the local level and eventually affecting the very personal way people perceive their relationship with death (Komatsu 2000:45). Komatsu believes *irei-sai* to be a practice through which people engage with "a kind of feeling" (ある種の思い, *aru shū no omoi*) that is inspired by people who died in unusual ways. He calls this "kind of feeling" "*ushirometasa*"(後ろめたさ, guilty conscience), emphasising the fact that at its origins this term has "*ushirobetashi*" (後方痛し, feeling a presence on one`s back) (Komatsu 2000:44). In the same spirit, Nishimura Akira describes *irei-sai* as a performative memory practice meant to appease ("*shizume*" 鎮め) the unrested souls of the ones who died in a violent way (Nishimura 2013:2).

Fukuda Yu focuses on how people overcome these feelings and shows that in the case of *irei-sai* and other memorial practices that engage with exceptional deaths, storytelling, alongside ritual, plays a major role by evoking the gruesome past and envisioning a better society as an element which could help comfort the soul of those who are gone (Fukuda 2012).

In many cases, storytelling is accompanied by other memorial practices, such as the building of monuments and establishing of commemoration days. For example, in the case of World War Two, *ireihi* (慰霊碑), memorial stones for those who died during war, were built in large number across Japan after 1952 when the ban against public commemorations of war dead was lifted and subsequently *irei-sai* and other types of memorial events were established (Komoto 2009).

In Okinawa, which was still under American occupation at the time, a day of memorial services was established more than twenty years later. In 1974, June 23rd was established as a prefectural event meant to "acknowledge and solemnly accept the historical grim truth of the numerous precious lives, properties and cultural assets lost during the war." (Okinawa-ken Irei no hi o sadameru jōrei 1974). The day is known as "*Irei no hi*" (慰霊の日) and in 1991 it became a bank holiday across the prefecture. For most Okinawan people, the commemorative events that take place on this day are typical events that one would consider when thinking about *irei-sai* type of events.

The *irei-sai* of Akahachi differs greatly from other *irei-sai* type of commemorative events. As stated above, most *irei-sai* are dedicated to the collective memory of people who died in modern era wars, but Ōhama village`s *irei-sai* distinguishes itself by choosing a historical character from a rather distant past, more than 500 years ago. It is also worth mentioning how this past is perceived. The story built around the *irei-sai* is not one of a tragic past that should not be repeated in order to allow the disappeared ones to rest in peace. On the contrary, it is of a glorious period when Ōhama was the center of local politics under the leadership of a great hero, a period which should serve as inspiration for future generations.

It could be argued that there is hardly another point in the history of the Ryūkyū Kingdom when Ōhama village and the Yaeyama Islands as a whole were so much the center of political attention as in 1500. It was during this time that they were conquered and incorporated into the Ryūkyū Kingdom as a result of an event now remembered as "Akahachi's rebellion" (a name contested by both historians and those who support the idea of Akahachi as a hero for the people of the Yaeyama Islands).

Moreover, while the presence of school children and officials is often a part of such events, the *irei-sai* discussed here is officiated by the *tsukasa* priestesses of the village. Their presence represents an unusual aspect, since a Buddhist officiant is usually preferred in Okinawa for such ceremonies. This choice of officiants is probably motivated by the *tsukasa* priestesses being seen as protectors of traditional culture, essential figures in transmitting the stories that the community sees as essential to its identity, but also the fact that a Buddhist officiant is not available in the village and the presence of one would require including an outsider to this community event.

The "*ushirometasa*" to which Komatsu refers to in his theory, an element often encountered at *irei-sai* type of events, is mostly absent. This could be attributed to the constant murmur of the school children, largely unaware of this being a memorial event. Another justification could relate to the *tsukasa* priestesses who are most often associated to prayers for the agricultural year, when good harvest and hopes for the coming year are celebrated. The whole event ends with a song; just as celebratory as the one my village plays for its own hero every day. There are many elements that could explain the lack of gravity associated with the event, but they are not as relevant as the absence of "*ushirometasa*" in itself. Most of all, it is the atmosphere of the event that makes this *irei-sai* a very particular one, an event that seems to be primarily an opportunity to discuss Akahachi rather than an attempt to appease his supposedly unrested soul.

"Akahachi no *irei-sai*" and how the image of the hero is transmitted throughout the event

Ōhama village where "Akahachi no *irei-sai*" takes place is from an administrative point of view Aza-Ōhama, a sector of Ishigaki city, on Ishigaki Island, the main island of the Yaeyama archipelago. The reason I refer here to Ōhama as a "village" is double folded. On the one hand, "*aza*" (字, section of village) subdivisions of Ishigaki are often referred to as "*mura*" (村, village) by the islanders. On the other hand, to this day, these "*aza/mura*" divisions roughly correspond to divisions between local traditional communities, which would normally be seen as a characteristic of villages, rather than urban areas. People belonging to these "villages" have a sense of common ancestry, as well as a shared consciousness in regards to their history and culture. In most cases, these common origins are legendary and intrinsically related to the origins of local *utaki* (御嶽, sacred groves). It is therefore not surprising that the sense of belonging to these "villages" becomes obvious in the case of practices of folk religion, as ritual practices such as harvest festivals or New Year's prayers are generally organised within the sphere of these communities.

"Akahachi no *irei-sai*" which takes place annually on the third day of the third month of the lunar calendar in the Ōhama village is one such event, organised under the auspices of the local *kōminkan* (公民館, community center). With the exception of a small number of curious people and media delegates, the ritual is mainly attended by the village people, with the students of the local school representing most of the attendants. Hence, the event aims to primarily teach the local students about the historical figure of Oyake Akahachi, the person being commemorated as a local hero. (Henceforth, Oyake Akahachi will be referred to as "Akahachi", apart from when discussing the controversy surrounding his name.)

Figure 2. Monuments for Akahachi and his wife

The commemoration takes place in the Sakihara Park where a monument was erected in honor of Akahachi in 1953. In the year 2000, commemorating 500 years since Akahachi's death, a monument for his wife was built and the commemoration of the *irei-sai* was accompanied by the first edition of "Akahachi Matsuri", a theatre and dance festival meant to celebrate Akahachi's life and the sense of pride that the people of Ōhama feel as his successors.

Figure 3. Prayers by the local priestesses

The *irei-sai* begins with a prayer by the local *tsukasa* priestesses, followed by local authorities and village elites paying their respects to Akahachi by lighting scents on a scent burner placed in front of Akahachi's monument. Officials deliver brief speeches, then a lecture on Akahachi's story is given by a local history enthusiast for the school children. The event closes with all those gathered singing the "Akahachi Song", with lyrics composed by Iha Nantetsu, a poet and writer of Yaeyaman origin who is credited with reestablishing of Akahachi's image as a local hero.

Who is this local hero who is being commemorated by the people of Ōhama village and whose story is so important for local children to learn from a small age?

Oyake Akahachi is known by many names, so many that some theories consider him not one, but two people. The ambiguity of historical records in regards to Akahachi is not a unique problem to this historical character, but rather a common feature for many historical figures in Ryūkyūan history. However, in the case of Akahachi, historical records only serve to contribute to the mystery around his person. Despite the unreliability of historical documents, there is hardly anyone in Yaeyama's history whose image has been so much looked into by scholars, artists and lay people. The pamphlet distributed to those participating at the memorial event describes him as follows (translation from Japanese by the author):

> OYAKE AKAHACHI`S LEGEND
>
> Oyake Akahachi is the main character in the earth-shattering "Akahachi's Rebellion" from 1500 when he denied Ryūkyū Kingdom the annual tribute and raised the standard of revolt. They say he was a young man with a figure bigger than most, of extraordinary strength, with a hardened face framed by discolored hair which set him apart from the Japanese.
>
> With a strong sense of justice, he faced power and led people to liberation, obtaining the confidence of Ōhama's people who venerated him as the Sun. Ever since, Ōhama's people have benefited from his virtues and passed on the "Akahachi spirit".

Figure 5. Lecturer presenting different theories about Akahachi`s origins

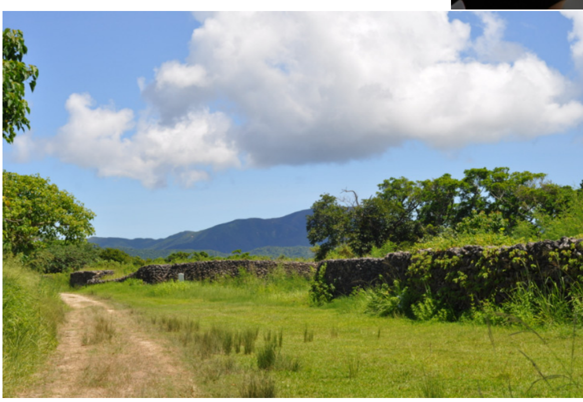

Figure 5. Furusutobaru archeological site

In the lecture given during the event, the lecturer explains that Akahachi is depicted as a traitor by historical documents of the Ryūkyū Kingdom. However, that description is a false narrative, and it is simply the one convenient for the king who at that time wanted to extend his power over the Yaeyama Islands. The lecturer details all the popular legends and different theories formulated by scholars and amateurs alike.

According to legend, Akahachi was born on Hateruma Island and abandoned at birth probably because he was a strange looking child: red haired and of incredible size, probably the fruit of a love affair between a local woman and a foreign sailor who shipwrecked on the island. Legend says Akahachi moved to Ōhama village at a young age and here he established his power and built his residence - in a place the locals used to call "Warrior's Plain", now known as the Furusutobaru archeological site.

After extensively explaining all the available theories about Akahachi's birth, the lecturer hypothesizes how he came to marry his wife, despite her being the sister of his rival, how his wife allegedly refused to poison Akahachi, despite pressure from her family to do so, and offers many other anecdotes that are not featured in any historical records. Some of them are part of local folklore, while others are personal invention. He also gives a detailed account of the "rebellion" Akahachi lead, as well as explaining why the "*irei-sai*" is being celebrated, why it is important for the community and what lessons children should learn from the story of Akahachi.

Folklore takes precedence to historical records, not only in regards to how the story is told, but also to practical matters. For example, the date of the event is also chosen based on a legend. While historical records do not mention the day of Akahachi's killing, local legend says Akahachi was killed on the day of the "*hama-ori*" ritual, a day when prayers and rituals for the good health of humans and calves are held by gathering on the sea shore of each village. This is the day that the people of Ōhama village chose to commemorate Akahachi. And while this legend in itself can be considered a sufficient motivation to commemorate Akahachi on this day, it is also worth highlighting the cultural significance of the third day of the third month of the lunar calendar in Okinawa. The day is also known as "*sangwacha*"; and while "*hama-ori*", the practice of praying for a good fish harvest and health, is the most widely distributed across the Ryūkyūan cultural space, there are other cultural practices that take place on this day (Yafuso 2019). Among them, the practice of praying for people who were victims of violent deaths at sea is relatively established and could suggest why this day was chosen to commemorate Akahachi.

The choice of this date is relevant because it shows not only the importance given to folklore in the case of a cultural practice that, as previously mentioned, has modern origins, but also because it indicates how the community believe Akahachi's death should be seen: as a tragic, violent event, which left a heavy mark on their history.

Akahachi, his "rebellion" and their portrayal by the Ryūkyū Kingdom

Tomiyama Kazuyuki, reputed historian of the Ryūkyū Islands, believes that the events of 1500 should not be describes as either a rebellion or a revolt, but should be referred to as "The Yaeyama War" (personal conversation). He argues that the three main forces that confronted during this military interaction: the Miyako Islands, the Yaeyama Islands and the Ryūkyū Kingdom should be considered three different political entities at the time.

To understand the attention given to Akahachi, consider the fact that he rose to fame in a historic period which corresponds with the reign of King Shō Shin, who expanded the territory of the Ryūkyū Kingdom, as well as organised and centralised its institutions. At the time, the Ryūkyū kingdom was in its early stages of centralisation, and under King Shō Shin's command it enters its "golden age". During the same period, Miyako islands were also reunited under a leader figure and had agreed to pay annual tribute to the Ryūkyūan king, while also trying to expand their influence over the Yaeyama Islands, on which they relied heavily for their construction resources.

In Yaeyama, Akahachi's life overlaps with what is called "the era of heroes", a period in history when different communities are reunited under local leaders. As locals understand it, this era follows a long period of peace in which no serious confrontation is registered across Yaeyama, and a series of local leaders probably ruled over various communities of relatively small size, despite islands groups around Yaeyama (Okinawa, the Miyako Islands, the Amami Islands) undergoing a period of great turmoil.

Akahachi puts an end to this period of peace. He clashes with both local leaders, most notable of which is Nata Fusu, his rival in Ishigaki village, as well as Miyako's leader, Nakasone Tuimiya. It is Miyako's leader who solicits the help of Ryūkyū's king, which leads to Yaeyama being under military attack and Akahachi being defeated and killed. Thereafter, both Miyako and Yaeyama Islands are incorporated into the Ryūkyū Kingdom, and in later historical documents the event is framed as a revolt of the senseless Akahachi who tried to break the bound between the Yaeyama Islands and the kingdom.

When both legend and historical documents are consulted it becomes unclear if Akahachi breaks the peace at his own initiative or, as some would argue, he is forced by external factors to fight for his own.

The nature of the historical documents that the Ryūkyū Kingdom released on this event should also be noted. In its storytelling, the Kingdom's official account interweaves myth with fact to such an extent that it is difficult to determine what the true causes for sending a considerable armed force to the Yaeyama Islands were. Moreover, divine intervention is cited as a justification for the outcome of what was in essence a military event. The account includes the fact that women (priestesses) were the ones standing at the front of the ships that reached Yaeyama, with the high-priest of Kume Island, Chinbe, being the most central figure and probably the leader of the women group. This is a largely acknowledged episode of Ryūkyūan history (Ishigaki-shi Kyōiku Iinkai 2013:18). It is also included in the historical documentation of "inagō ikusa no sachibai" (いなごーいくさぬさちばい、女は戦の先走り "women are the forerunners of war"), a well-known proverb in Okinawa. Apart from the implication of sacerdotal women in the war, gods themselves are referred to in the story, with the outcome dictated by an intervention by the god of Mount Omoto. I have discussed in detail the character of Ryūkyū Kingdom's historical account, as well as interpretations of this particular episode in another paper (Radulescu 2017) therefore, I will resume my considerations on this issue to the two factors I have already mentioned. They offer a good indication of how much these historical accounts are interlinked with myth and how important the event seems to have been for the kingdom at the time.

The fact that Akahachi's opposition was a significant event for the kingdom is supported not only by the ample space it reserves to the telling of this event in its historiography. In addition, the successors of several local leaders who fought against Akahachi, allying with the Ryūkyū king, were repaid with aristocratic titles in the seventeenth century, more than two centuries later, when Yaeyama's people were finally allowed to hold aristocratic titles and family registers (Sakiyama 1989).

While it is highly unlikely that Akahachi was alone in his fight with the leader of Miyako, and subsequently with the Ryūkyū Kingdom, in the historical descriptions by the kingdom, Akahachi is singled out and vilified in regards to the events of 1500. His alleged war crimes against people of great moral virtue are described in great detail and presented as unjust and cruel. He is portrayed as an arrogant man, with a changing heart, who "deceives the elders and despises children"; and the very reasons for his rebellion are presumably irrational and villain (Ishigaki-shi Kyōiku Iinkai 2013:15-17).

The evolution of Akahachi's image across the Yaeyama Islands

Nowadays, Yaeyaman people are aware of the way the Ryūkyū Kingdom describes their local hero as many people are avid readers of their local history books. It might seem ironic that while the Ryūkyū Kingdom vilified their hero, the kingdom is considered by the majority of Yaeyamans the golden age of their history. The existence of these two opposed worldviews is attributed to the fact that Akahachi openly opposed the great kingdom, and people consider his vilification should not be ascribed too much meaning. However, a remarkable amount of information included in historical documents has also been incorporated in the contemporary storytelling surrounding Akahachi in Yaeyama. For example, the fact that Akahachi is married with Koitsuba, his rival's sister, which is presented in historical documents, has been deliberately romanticised in modern retellings of the rebellion. A children's book about Akahachi`s life and his rebellion presents him accordingly: an almost mythical foreign character who rebelled against injustice and lived a great love story (Arakawa 2003).

It is important to note that Akahachi was not seen as a hero across all Yaeyama until recently. The image we acquire from the oral stories transmitted on his birth island, Hateruma, includes both neutral and negative elements: such as him being abandoned at birth and his killing of a rival neighbour. Dissimilarly, his enemy Nata Fusu, allegedly born on the same island, is sanctified and has an *utaki* (a sacred grove) dedicated to him.

On Ishigaki Island, he was also regarded as a villain before becoming the hero figure he is today. In one of her papers, Tashiro Hideko, whose father was a successor of Nakama Mitsukeyama, one of the local rulers in Ishigaki Island, who opposed Akahachi, mentions how her father and other male relatives would gather at their clan's tomb during Obon and retell stories of their ancestor's bravery. Upon his return home, Tashiro`s father would retell with great pleasure to his kids the story of how the rebellious Akahachi was finally killed. Tashiro also notices this gap in the way her generation and her father's generation perceived Akahachi. She considers that the idea of Akahachi as a villain died with her father and believes that if she will ever meet him on the other side, the topic will cause an argument between the two of them (Tashiro 1974).

Ōhama Shinken, a Yaeyama born medical scholar and historian who wrote an ample study on the capitation tax system in the Yaeyamas, blamed Akahachi for the heavy taxation imposed on the Yaeyama and Miyako Islands in 1637, after the Ryūkyū Kingdom entered the sphere of influence of Satsuma's clan. In his view, Akahachi was on the wrong side of history and his rebellion was a highly egoistical act, motivated by his desire to maintain his position as the leader of Ōhama village (Ōhama 1971).

The vastly positive heroic contemporary image of Akahachi that is now being transmitted to school children through the event in Ōhama village and to even smaller children through illustration books is an image which has been reinforced through modern media and art.

Miki Takeshi writes an exhaustive analysis on the evolution of Akahachi's image in the Yaeyama Islands and aptly demonstrates the influence that the works of Iha Nantetsu (1902-1976) and their subsequent screening have had on promoting Akahachi as a local hero (Miki 1992). As previously mentioned, Iha is the author of the verses that are nowadays sung during the *irei-sai* as the song of Akahachi. His work on Akahachi, first published in 1936, was rewritten several times and it was made into a highly popular movie by Toyoda Shirō in 1937. Moreover, after the war, in 1963, NHK presented it as a hundred minutes radio drama.

As Miki observes, Iha Nantetsu`s representation of Akahachi, which is highly artistic and also includes some obvious historical inaccuracies, was largely inspired by his school teacher, Kishaba Eijun, a highly respected historian of the Yaeyama Islands. The way Iha wrote and rewrote the history of Akahachi and his attachment to the story, motivated by the stories Kishaba told his students in school, has much to do with the particular context of his era.

Iha started his literary activity in the 1920s, while working as a policeman in Tokyo and he was passionate about introducing his native Yaeyama to the people of mainland Japan. He pleaded for a better understanding of Okinawa and its problems and advocated for the transmission of local legends and folktales as a necessary step to maintain Okinawa's cultural identity. While in Tokyo, he became a close friend to many members of the *minshushi-ha* (民衆詩派, popular poetry fraction) and, in consultation with them, he spent many years researching the best way to introduce Akahachi's story to mainland Japan and as a tool to promote a better understanding of the history of Okinawa and its people (Enami 2005).

For Iha, his poem about Akahachi had from the beginning two audiences: on the one side, the people of his native Yaeyama who he hoped would see Akahachi as a symbol of their struggles, on the other side, the Japanese people of mainland Japan, who could potentially discover through Akahachi the glory of Okinawa's history. While deliberately creating his poem in this manner and dedicating long-term efforts to it, Iha was himself surprised by the popularity the poem enjoyed even since its debut. This motivated him to dedicate the remaining of his career to perfecting this poetic work. Encouraged by Yamanokuchi Baku, another poet from Okinawa who enjoyed literary success in Tokyo, Iha released a final version of more than 300 pages of his "Oyake Akahachi" poem in 1967.

In this post-World War Two rewriting of Akahachi story, Iha expresses his desire for Akahachi to be seen as "an emblem of people's liberation" and serve as an example in the movement against American occupation. As Okinawan people were struggling to deal with the important role played by the American military bases located on their lands during the Vietnam war and the movement for "returning to the motherland" was intensifying in Okinawa, Iha considered Akahachi more relevant than ever: he was a hero who fought for his people by confronting bigger political forces.

Iha did not put an end to his efforts to promote Akahachi's story even after writing this final version of his poem, but rather made the choice to address his story to a new public: children. After temporarily moving back to his native Yaeyama, he took to writing children literature and rewriting local folklore, and rewrote the story of Akahachi as a young adult novel. He was convinced of the necessity to entrust the idea of Akahachi as a hero to future generations.

Through the analysis of the memorial event in Ōhama village, it becomes clear that Iha's earnestness to transmit the image of Akahachi as a hero to younger generations is still a central point in narrating Akahachi's story. Educational aspects that motivate the retelling of the story of Akahachi have only accentuated in recent decades, with special attention being placed on consigning the story to young generations. This is evident not only in the special attention being paid to local school children during the memorial event in Ōhama village, but also other activities meant to educate children heightened in recent years. Among them, an organisation called "Yaima Roman no Kai" periodically recruits local children, trains them in performing arts, educates them in local folklore and organises rehearsals for annual performances of a children musical titled "Oyake Akahachi – Tiida no Ran" ("Oyake Akahachi – The Sun`s Revolt"). Both the musical and the retelling of Akahachi`s story in the context of Ōhama village's *irei-sai* include fictional or not entirely accurate depictions of Akahachi. In them, Akahachi is not constructed as a historical character, but as a local hero, a symbol for a greater fight: the fight for one's own land and local interests.

The fact that the commemoration of Akahachi in Ōhama village remains a local event, despite the Yaeyama Islands enjoying a boost of interest from tourists both inside and outside of Japan, is probably not irrelevant to the way Akahachi and his legacy are viewed nowadays. There is little interest into making Akahachi well-known, as he was once, under the influence of Iha's writings. People perceive the problems that they confront nowadays as local struggles, largely misunderstood on mainland Japan. Okinawa has returned to "the motherland" in 1972, but American bases still represent an everyday reality for the people of mainland Okinawa, while the islands of Yaeyama gradually become home for Japanese Self-Defense forces. This process has divided local communities, like in the case of Yonaguni island, or induced a sense of acute lack of confidence in local representatives, as in the case of Ishigaki island. Unlike Iha Nantetsu, who hoped that a better understanding of Okinawa and its history would result in a better life for the people of Okinawa, nowadays Yaeyaman people see the transmission of the story of Akahachi to younger generation as a means to help them understand local struggles and the need for continuous resistance to bigger forces who do not have their interests in mind. It is also a way to continue to discuss the history of the Ryūkyū Kingdom with children whose textbooks fail to mention the history of their lands or, as the 2011 controversy around the "History Textbooks Problem" has shown, have their own history misrepresented to them in school materials.

Conclusion

The story of Akahachi's resistance and its image as a hero, rather than being a story of resistance through storytelling is a story about ethnic politics and how the identity of Yaeyama's people evolved after the fall of the Ryūkyū Kingdom. The same can be said about the image of a lot of historical figures who at different stages of history opposed the king and were vilified for it, only to be recovered in recent years as local heroes, celebrated through festivals and used to reinforce local pride.

Hero worship practices in the cultural space of the Ryūkyū Kingdom as well as everywhere else have less to do with accurate historical facts and more to do with deeply held beliefs about the community's place in the world. A re-evaluation of historical local figures that had an ambiguous or even antagonistic relation with the Ryūkyū Kingdom into exceptional heroes can be considered a characteristic of the hero-making process in the Ryūkyūan cultural space.

Through the retelling of Akahachi's story, the people of Yaeyama acknowledge and communicate to the world that their interests are often at odds with those of Okinawa as a whole and that their local identities should not be dismissed when social and political decisions are made. Analysing the way in which the 1500 events are narrated in Okinawa serves to highlight that a plurality of views on history within communities in the Ryūkyūan cultural space has existed at least since the early days of the Ryūkyū Kingdom. The kingdom might have united the people under one administrative unit and might have even offered people in this cultural space an umbrella-identity which to this day plays an important role, but it did not succeed (or even intended) to create a narrative that could incorporate all the opposite views people had of their roots and ancestors.

This plurality of views continues to exist today and influence how people position themselves in relation to important political topics, despite the way media and political actors tend to portray Okinawa, its history and its people. As Akahachi's story demonstrates, in the telling of Okinawa's history people create not only subversive discourses, but also alternative narratives, which constantly fight to undermine mainstream portrayals and support local views of the world. The story of Akahachi-the-hero survived alongside the story of Akahachi-the-villain, only to resurface and gain power and acceptance in eras when people needed to distance themselves from the main narrative of Okinawa's history, and to add nuance to their Ryūkyūan identity to better represent their interests.

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A STUDY ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JAPANESE ARISTOCRACY AND THE FOUR GODS BELIEF IN MEDIEVAL AND PRE-MODERN TIMES

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Abstract: *This paper analyzes the relationship between the Four Gods belief and Japanese aristocracy, and focuses on the development of ceremonial items (flags and staffs with sculptures on top) representing the deities in medieval times and in the pre-modern Edo period. The Four Gods belief refers to a Chinese faith in four mythological animal-beasts, each representing a cardinal direction: Blue Dragon of the east, Red Bird of the south, White Tiger of the west, Black Warrior of the north. Based on textual study, picture study and fieldwork, I would like to present my conclusions on how and why the role of the Four Gods changed gradually to modern days.*

Keywords: Four Gods, ceremonial item, aristocracy, flag, staff

Introduction

This paper analyzes the relationship between the Four Gods belief and Japanese aristocracy, and focuses on the development of ceremonial items (flags and staffs with sculptures on top) representing the deities in medieval times (Muromachi and Sengoku period) and in the pre-modern Edo period. Based on textual study, picture study and fieldwork, I would like to present my conclusions on how and why the role of the Four Gods changed gradually to modern days.

The Four Gods belief refers to a Chinese faith in four mythological animal-beasts, each representing a cardinal direction:

1. Blue Dragon of the east (Qinglong 青龍)
2. Red Bird of the south (Zhūquè 朱雀)
3. White Tiger of the west (Baihu 白虎)
4. Black/Dark Warrior of the north[2] (Xuanwu 玄武)

The association between the Four Gods and the cardinal directions has a long history. It already appears in the Book of Burial; however, the relationship of the present deities had not been settled until the Han

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[2] Despite its name, it is depicted as a huge tortoise entwined together with a smaller snake.

period.[3] After Daoism had become popular in China, these mythological creatures were synthesized into the Daoist tradition's Five Elements theory[4], which can be used to describe the movement and the relationship between different elements and all phenomena in nature. All five deities had a corresponding season, color, element, virtue, etc.[5] This system was introduced to Japan through the Korean peninsula by scholars in different time periods between the 6-8th centuries and thus every activity in life and after death was subject to this combined theory. In Japan, the Chinese guardians were renamed as Seiryū, Suzaku, Byakko and Genbu.

Remarkable examples of this intercultural exchange process are the ceiling and wall decorations of burial chambers and other ancient burial artifacts decorated with the Four Gods' motif. (Donohashi 2013) The importance of the Four Gods belief represented by wall paintings and bronze mirror patterns has significantly diminished from the 9th century, but instead of slowly vanishing from Japanese culture, the belief was incorporated into other concepts such as *yinyang* divination, geomancy, studies based on the observation of nature and city planning. This new process had started as early as the 7th century and reached its peak in the Heian period. (Ooms 2009)

The relationship between the Four Gods belief and the Japanese imperial court

The Japanese emperor and the court have had very clear religious obligations since the Asuka period; ceremonies that had to be carried out meticulously to make sure that the *kami* looked after the Japanese people. These imperial state ceremonies (such as the imperial accession and the New Year's Day ceremonies) have become part of the administrative calendar of the Japanese government from the 7-8th centuries.

According to written sources from the Nara and Heian periods, such as the Shoku Nihongi, Dairishiki, Gishiki or Engishiki, there were seven special ceremonial items (these were about nine-meter high poles with figures on top) among other flags that had to be treated with respect at the enthronement and the New Year's Day ceremonies: the Moon Banner (月

[3] Later Chinese records with references of the deities, Huáinánzi (The Masters/Philosophers of Huainan") and Lizi (Book of Rites) should also be mentioned.

[4] It explains the interactions and relationships created in phenomena that consist of fire, water, wood, metal and earth and lead to life, death, change and rebirth. It was combined with the yingyang theory during the spring and autumn periods in China and was developed into a comprehensive and logical view of the cosmos, which could be applied to every field of human society. (Inada, 2003)

[5] The Blue Dragon of the east is associated with spring, the green color and the wood element. The Red Bird of the south is associated with summer, the red color and the fire element. The White Tiger of the west is associated with autumn, the white color and the metal element. The Black Tortoise of the north is associated with winter, the black (or dark) color and the water element.

像) , the Sun Banner (日像), the Bird-shaped Staff (烏形幢), and the Flags of the Four Gods (*shijin* flags 四神旗). These ritual items were placed in front of the Daigokuden Ceremonial Hall, or later in the Shishinden Ceremonial Hall. From colored drawings in an illustrated scroll (文安御即位調度図) from 1444 documenting an earlier imperial accession, we know how these ritual items looked like. The four directional animals are multivalent signs: based on mostly Daoist theories, they can signify the Heaven (the cosmos), the emperor and his imperial and divine power, or the four seasons of Japan. (Ooms 2009:169)

Although these *shijin* flags had military usage in China and the Korean peninsula (they were carried during the procession of soldiers), it was considered to be a peaceful tradition in ancient Japanese culture, sending a strong message of imperial power. The significance of the four cardinal deities displayed at imperial ceremonies changed over time. (Yamamoto 2012)

Emperor Kōmei's enthronement ceremony was the last time when the four *shijin* flags were used by the Japanese imperial court (1846). After the Meiji Restoration, instead of using the seven ceremonial items, new flags and banners were created, which were positioned on the left and right side of the Ceremonial Hall. Since the Meiji government wanted to eliminate all possible foreign elements from the enthronement ceremony, it was no longer acceptable to use the *shijin* flags in any form. The last imperial *shijin* flags were destroyed by government order.

Remaining preserved flags from the Muromachi period to the Edo period

During my research (readings of old records and scrolls, collecting picture data, conducting fieldwork and interviews), I had come to realize that something remarkable happened with the ritual objects of the Four Gods in the medieval period and the pre-modern Edo period. During my fieldwork in 2014-2015, I visited several places in Eastern Japan where actual ritual objects of the Four Gods had been preserved.

The medieval period was a time of transition, when sacred imperial flags of the Four Gods and new ritual items of the Four Gods were used for different purposes by different ranks of society. The four flags of imperial state ceremonies, having been sacred ceremonial items, represented the emperor, the ancient capital, a sacred connection with all *kami* and imperial ancestors, and the state events that could be observed only by those few who belonged to the highest rank of society. With this change in the application and in the cultural role of the Four Gods belief, the deities rapidly became well-known guardian kami protecting the feudal aristocracy and later the common people.

In this chapter, I would like to outline my findings about the remaining preserved flags from the Muromachi period to the Edo period, and examine these valuable sources, which would hopefully demonstrate that unlike in other Asian cultures, the *shijin* flags had many different ritual roles in medieval and pre-modern Japanese culture.

Sansho Shrine (三所神社), Ibaraki Prefecture, Kasama city

- dating to the late 15th century
- painted on silk, with black silk frame
- artist: unknown
- full size of flag: length 130cm, width 50cm
- size of the painted material: 113cm x 36cm
- calligraphy 「遠阻長門守藤原綱久より相伝の御品」
- designated Cultural Property

Kasama was a castle town of Kasama Domain in the 15th century. According to the calligraphy written on the back side of the fabric of the Genbu Flag, Fujiwara Tsunehisa (藤原綱久), the captain of Kasama Castle donated all four flags to the shrine when it was rebuilt in 1477 by his order.[6] The design of the deities on these flags shows no similarities to those which are known to be used at enthronement ceremonies or at the ancient New Year's Day ceremony in Kyoto.

Ii Art Museum[7] (井伊美術館) Kyoto Prefecture, Kyoto

- dating to the late 16th century
- painted on silk with black ink, each flag depicts two descending dragons
- colored silk fabrics: blue, cream white, red, yellow
- artist: unknown
- calligraphy presumably written by Jiro hōshi (次郎法師) = Ii Naotora (井伊 直虎)

This unique set of colored silk flags belonged to Ii Naotora (died in 1582), who was a female feudal lord (*daimyō*) of the Sengoku period.[8] Before Naotora became the nominal head of her clan, she was a Buddhist nun at Ryōtanji, and was named Jiro Hōshi.[9] Although, the history of

[6] Mentioned both in „Sansho daimeishin engi" (三所大明神縁起) and „Kasamajō-ki" (笠間城記) documents. (Both currently in the private collection of the Ninpei family in Ibaraki Prefecture.)
[7] Ii Museum is a private art museum of Japanese armors and arms in Kyoto.
[8] The Ii clan governed the Tōtōmi region of Eastern Japan.
[9] However, a recent study of Ii Tatsurō suggests that -based on newly found sources- Ii Naomori's daughter, Jiro hōshi remained a Buddhist nun all her life, and Ii Naotora, who later became the head of Ii clan, was actually a man adopted from the Imagawa family. (Press conference at Ii Museum, Kyoto, December 15, 2016)

Naotora's shijin flags are not stated clearly or in detail, according to the family records of the Ii clan (井伊家傳記), she ordered the making of these items for the sake of her adopted son's (Ii Naomasa's) success. It is believed that the four Daoist chants placed vertically on the ink paintings were written by her. (Tachibana-kai 2000)

A chant translates as follows:

color	Original text	Translation
blue	青龍東天木徳諸神降臨 急急如律令	„Seiryū, guardian god of the Eastern Sky, and various deities of „tree" nature [10] descend to Earth! Quickly, quickly, in accordance with the statues!"
cream white	白虎西天金徳諸神降臨 急急如律令	„Byakko, guardian god of the Western Sky, and various deities of „metal" nature descend to Earth! Quickly, quickly, in accordance with the statues!"
red	朱雀南天火徳諸神降臨 急急如律令	"Suzaku, guardian god of the Southern Sky, and various deities of „fire" nature descend to Earth! Quickly, quickly, in accordance with the statues!"
yellow	勾陳中天土徳諸神降臨 急急如律令	"Kōchin, guardian god of the Center Sky, and various deities of „earth" nature descend to Earth! Quickly, quickly, in accordance with the statues!"

Although each silk flag portrays two black dragons, connections to the Four Gods and the reason why they are called "*shijin* flags" are readily apparent in the text of the chant and the colour of the fabrics. The text calls on Seiryū, Byakko and Suzaku, as astral guardian deities. The first problem with the set is that the Genbu flag is missing or, as Ii Tatsurō (the 18th generation head of the Ii family of Yoita and the director of the Ii Museum) believes, it was never made.[11] Can we call them autentical *shijin* flags, if the guardian deity of the North is missing? Was it left out intentionally or because of Naotora's lack of knowledge? What if it was only destroyed or lost at some point? Were they made for an actual ritual, just like the imperial flags? Did they want to copy the imperial tradition? More scholars need to confront this complex problem.

[10] *Toku* (Jp.) or *de* (Ch.) is a key concept in Chinese philosophy. Translating 德 into English is problematic, however, it is usually translated as "virtue" in Confucianism (both in the sense of inherent quality and in that of moral excellence) or "nature, character" in Daoism and Buddhism. (Boodberg 1979:32)

[11] Ii Tatsurō. December 15, 2016. Press conference presentation. Research on newly found private documents of Ii clan. Kyoto, Ii Museum.

Since there is no detail in the family records on the number of the pieces (only that they belonged to Naotora and she kept them at her main residence), Ii Tatsurō proposes that the original set consisted of four pieces. He also suggests that they were presented to Ii Naomasa and as inheritable items, they remained in the family, and were never used as actual ritual items.

I would like to suggest, however, that in order to understand the symbolic meaning and possible usage of these flags it is necessary to look beyond the family records and other sources in the collection of the Ii Museum. First, I would like to examine the chant texts written on the silk fabric.

Instead of Genbu, the text calls on a new deity. Kōchin is the Daoist guardian deity of the "center" direction and one of the Twelve Heavenly Commanders (十二天将) used by Japanese *yinyang* masters in *rokujin shinka* (六壬神課) divination rituals from the Heian period. As stated in the fourth chapter of Senji Ryakketsu (占事略决), one of the texts written by the legendary *yinyang* master Abe no Seimei, Seiryū, Byakko, Genbu, Suzaku and Kōchin (among others) are important "heavenly commanders", and one needs to summon them when performing a divination ritual. (Murayama, 1981) Moreover, in the chant text, there is a key sentence, which suggests the fact that these flags once were used in an actual ritual. The injuction "*kyūkyūnyoritsuryō*" (急急如律令) is a common formula used for the conveyance of Daoist petitions to deities and for ensuring their efficacy (Como 2015:32). Even in modern-day Japan, Shintō priests use this formula when creating household amulets or talismans.

In ancient times, Daoism was present as a series of fragments; Daoist and cosmological elements have inspired and framed cultural (and political) development in pre-modern Japanese history since the 7th century[12] (Ooms 2015:37). By the end of the Heian period, the *yinyang* thought, the Five Element Theory, the Indian-derived astrology and other elements had been increasingly assimilated into esoteric Buddhist discourse, Shintō traditions and popular traditions such as *onmyōdō* (陰陽道) divination.[13] (Richey 2015) From the tenth century, the growth and spread of *onmyōdō* rites have mostly occurred as a result of their increasing popularity among the nobility and people, who used *onmyōdō* as privately sponsored rites, rites directed toward celestial bodies as invocations of success and longevity, or rituals meant to invite good luck or ward off misfortune. (Murayama 1981; Kohn 2000)

[12] Both *yinyang* lore and astral cults enjoyed deep and prestigious connections with the rulership by the time that they were introduced to Japan.

[13] *Onmyōdō* has been practiced by *yinyang* masters (*onmyōji*) employed by the imperial dynasty from the 6th century onward.

Furthermore, by the chaotic Sengoku period, Shintō, Daoist and esoteric Buddhist traditions have often come up with providing different names or characteristics to what were essentially the same cosmological concerns. (Murayama 1981) In this particular case, the Four Gods are presumably identified as "indigenous" guardian kami or heavenly beings, heavenly commanders protecting not only the emperor, but also the feudal aristocracy and the common people.

When these four flags were made, *onmyōdō* rites were known mostly by *yinyang* masters and Buddhist monks. I would like to suggest that due to the fact that the state patronage of *yinyang* masters had been lost completely from the medieval period, compelling them to leave Kyoto and to belong to one of the large nearby monasteries such as *uranai-shi* (占い師) or *kitō-shi* (祈祷師), it is possible that Ii Naotora consulted a *yinyang* master or another skilled Buddhist monk at Ryōtanji (which is relatively close to Kyoto). In this case, it is difficult to imagine that a *yinyang* master or a skilled monk, who most probably would have a deep knowledge of divination rituals and the Five Element theory, would have intentionally left out Genbu, the warrior god of the North. It would have been illogical to do so, especially in such a period of Japanese history, which was marked by near-constant military conflicts. I would like to propose that originally, there were five flags in this set and they were probably used at least once in a divination ritual as talismans for the sake of Ii Naomasa's success or for the sake of Ii Naotora herself.

Inada Shrine (稲田神社) Ibaraki Prefecture, Kasama city

- painted on silk
- artist: Sakurai Saijiro (桜井才次郎) also known as Sakurai Tadashige (桜井忠重)
- full size of flag: length 120cm, width 72cm
- designated cultural property

As stated in the shrine's records, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646-1709) shōgun ordered Tokugawa Mitsukuni, the feudal lord of Mito domain[14] to go to Edo and reside there for months.[15] It is reported that during his trip, he made the first shrine visit of New Year at Inada Shrine in 1694 and decided to offer new equipments to be used in Shintō rituals, as well as other items. In 1698, he sent four ceremonial flags of Suzaku, Seiryū,

[14] Ruled by one of the Three Tokugawa Branch Families, Mito Domain (modern-day Ibaraki prefecture) was one of the most prominent domains in Edo period Japan.

[15] The *sankin-kōtai* (参勤交代) system was a Tokugawa Shogunate policy, which regulated and controlled the territorial lords of Japan. Under this system most of the daimyō were required to travel biennially from their domains to the capital (Edo) and to spend alternate years in personal attendance at the shogunal court.

Genbu and Byakko, which became the shrine's hidden treasures as they were not actually used for rituals. Since then, these items have been considered to be sacred flags that ward off evil spirits or drive away demons.

Inamura Shrine (稲村神社) Ibaraki Prefecture, Hitachi-ota city[16]

According to Shinpen Hitachi Kokushi (新編常陸国誌) edited by Nakayama Nobuna *kokugaku* scholar in the Edo period, a set of four *shijin* flags and other ritual goods such as mirrors and banners were donated to Inamura Shrine by Tokugawa Mitsukuni in 1693. (Nakanaya 1970) It is unknown whether or not the flags are still being preserved in the area, since Inamura Shrine and Ibaraki Prefecture Shrine Agency have no information regarding the whereabouts of the original flags.

Ookuni-tama Shrine (大国玉神社) Ibaraki Prefecture, Sakuragawa city

- designated cultural property

According to the data gathered from Ibaraki Prefecture Shrine Agency (茨城県神社庁)[17], Tokugawa Mitsukuni donated a new set of ceremonial items to Ookuni-tama Shrine in November, 1699. The offering consisted of four flags with motifs of the Four Gods and two banners of the "Sun and Moon", crafted with a spearhead on top. The artist is unknown. This is the only shrine in Ibaraki Prefecture where records show that not only flags of the Four Gods were donated to a shrine but also banners decorated with the Sun and Moon symbols. This detail made the author think that in the 17th century, Tokugawa Mitsukuni might actually have got his inspiration for the soon-to-be donated new ceremonial items from the official equipment of the ancient Japanese enthronement ceremony and the New Year's Day ceremony.

Mitsukuni (popularly known as Mito Kōmon) was known as a benevolent ruler who actively promoted Shintō tradition. He was the driving force behind the compilation called Dai Nihon-shi (大日本史) started by *mitogaku* scholars in 1657, a comprehensive rewriting of Japanese history from the country's ancient origins to the 14th century. His movement helped establish Neo-Confucian philosophy in Japan and also promoted the re-awakening of Japanese nationalism and loyalty to the chrysanthemum throne. He ordered the destruction of many Buddhist temples and the construction of at least one Shintō shrine per village. (Bocking 1997)

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16 Hitachi province was in modern-day Ibaraki prefecture.
17 Ibaraki Prefecture Shrine Agency http://www.ibaraki-jinjacho.jp (2014)

Giving financial support and building a number of new shrines (Shizuka Shrine, Yoshida Shrine, etc.), renovating old shrine buildings, recreating and donating new ceremonial items to various shrines (Inada Shrine, Ookuni-tama Shrine, Inamura Shrine) within his domain were part of his movement in which he put an end to kami-buddha combinatory practices and promoted Shintō tradition in Eastern Japan. (Tokoro 2001)

Numerous Japanese and Chinese scholars from all parts of the country were invited as historians of Mitsukuni's Shōkōkan institute.[18] During the compilation of Dai Nihon-shi, envoys were sent to different domains to collect and copy historical texts and emperor-related illustrations. It had been recorded by Asaka Tanpaku (安積澹泊 1656-1738), that a fellow scholar named Sassa Munekiyo (佐々宗淳 1640-1698) was sent to Kyoto several times during the last years of his life, from where he sent back original or copied documents to the Shōkōkan, such as illustrated books and scrolls of old enthronement ceremonies.[19] (Tokoro 2001)

To the best of the author's knowledge, Sansho Shrine has by far the oldest *shijin* flags in this Eastern region of Japan (1477), but the artist who made them is unknown, so are his sources regarding the design of the deities. Since its graphical characteristics are not similar to those which were used at enthronement ceremonies, it is possible that the artist intentionally created a totally new design and composition himself. Two hundred years later, in the 1690s, Tokugawa Mitsukuni ordered reproductions of the imperial *shijin* flags and the Sun and Moon banners for local Shintō shrines.

I examined several preserved documents and illustrations that were in the collection of Shōkōkan institute and are now stored in Shōkōkan Bunko library[20], which is located in the premise of The Tokugawa Museum of Mito city. According to the records of Suifu Keisan (水府系纂)[21], Mitsukuni invited a then 18 year old painter, Sakurai Saijiro (桜井才次郎) also known as Sakurai Tadashige (桜井忠重)[22] to Mito Domain, who made 3 sets of *shijin* flags for Yoshida Shrine (in modern-day Mito

[18] This group later formed the Mito School.

[19] For example,「行事官調進物四神之旗・高御座之図・御即位庭上之図」and「大礼御装束幢図」第一巻 were sent to Mito Domain in 1698 by Sassa Munekiyo. All of them are now in the collection of The Tokugawa Museum.

[20] In the Pacific War, during the carpet bombing of Mito city area in 1945, thousands of pieces of the collection were destroyed.

[21] It records and introduces the ancestry of the elite families of Mito Domain.

[22] The original text uses a different surname, but the only professional painter with the same last name who is known to had been working for Mitsukuni at the Shokokan institute at the time is Sakurai Saijiro. (Ouchi 1998)

city), for Shizu Shrine (in modern-day Naka city) and for Inada Shrine (in modern-day Kasama city) in 1695.[23] (Ogawa 1989)

There is a high possibility that

1, Mitsukuni saw the *shijin* flags of Sansho Shrine (and/or an unknown shrine), and hence, the idea of re-introducing the items as Shintō-promoting ceremonial flags was born;

2, The artist(s) in the late 17th century was/were probably inspired by old illustrations and reports that were sent back to the Shōkōkan by scholars, such as Sassa Munekiyo, about the enthronement ceremony.

Another transition period: Edo and the new role of the Four Gods

The Edo period was a time of internal peace, political stability, and a profound transition period for economic and cultural growth under the shogunate founded by Tokugawa Ieyasu. Ieyasu achieved hegemony over the entire country by balancing the power of *tozama*, *fudai* and *shimpan daimyō*. As a further control strategy beginning in 1635, Ieyasu's successor required the feudal lords to maintain households in the new capital of Edo and reside there for several months every other year. Another important aspect of the period is the cultural and political emphasis that was put on Edo, which grew, from what had been a small place, into a metropolis with an estimated population of one million by 1721. (Gordon 2003)

The emperor and the imperial family were still living in Kyoto, the imperial *shijin* flags were still used at the enthronement ceremony in Kyoto, but the actual capital and center of political power was now Edo. Tokugawa Ieyasu was continuously trying to surpass the strong historical and cultural image of Kyoto, while on the other hand, he helped the imperial family recapture their old glory by having rebuilt their palaces and having granted them new lands. He encouraged an increase in artistic, cultural and social development in Edo. One of his key concepts was picking up famous old customs and cultural elements from Kyoto, rearranging and integrating them with Edo culture through sharing them with the masses. One well-known example of this process was the integration of city-planning. The urban designers used all resources available to them, including divination – the philosophies of *yinyang* and *shijin-sōō* that had been a natural part of urban design since ancient times. "Defensive lines" were constructed to recreate Kyoto's auspicious features. In the northeast of Kyoto, an inauspicious direction, Enryakuji watches over the city, while in the northeast of Edo castle, Tōeizan Kaneiji was constructed in Ueno. (Lazar 2018)

[23] 「元禄八年乙亥正月十九日、義公、西山忠重（才次郎、十八歳）ヲ召テ、吉田、静、稲田ノ三社へ奉納ノ四神ノ旗ヲ画キ、且諸画ヲ献ズ」

A not so well-known example, the tradition of ritual flags symbolizing the Four Gods was also integrated into Edo's culture. With this further change in the application and in the cultural role of the Four Gods belief, the deities rapidly became well-known guardian *kami* or heavenly beings protecting the common people and their everyday life in Edo. The Tokugawa shogunate made the previously unapproachable emperor and imperial customs more accessible for the population in a Shintō spiritual sense, while making life in Edo more stable and organized by providing the new protective deities for the population.

In recent years, while Japanese scholars have confronted the complex topic of traditional *shijin* flags used at imperial state events, there is surprisingly little research being conducted about the newly made *shijin-boko* (四神鉾) or *shijin-ken* (四神剣).

As an initial effort to address this complicated topic, with the help of old records and book illutrations[24], in the latter part of this article, I shall endeavor to investigate the new ritual items that were reportedly used only in the procession of very important Shintō festivals in Edo and in the neighboring area.[25] They seemingly do not have any connection to the *shijin* flags that have been preserved in shrines of modern-day Ibaraki prefecture. During my fieldwork in 2014-2015, I visited several places in Kantō and Tōhoku region where actual ritual staffs of the Four Gods (*shijin-boko*) have been preserved, and I conducted personal interviews with many shrine office members and Shintō priests.

Kanda Shrine (神田明神)Tokyo Prefecture

Kanda Shrine was an important shrine to both the warrior class and the commoners of Japan, especially during the Edo period. San-ō festival, Kanda festival and Ten-ō festival are major state festivals held by the Kanda Shrine in Tokyo, started in 1600 by Tokugawa Ieyasu to celebrate his decisive victory at the battle of Sekigahara. Each of them had highly decorated *mikoshi* (portable shrine for the *kami*) which were paraded down the main streets of Edo in the summer. According to the *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints and some guide books of the time, the newly-made ritual items decorated with colorful sculptures of the Four Gods (*shijin-boko*) were used in the Ten-ō festival's procession and when the traveling *mikoshi* was taking a rest at a certain district for a couple of days, people put shijin-boko on full display. [26]

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[24] These records are mainly documenting Ten-ō or Shinkō festivals held in the late Edo-period.

[25] However, here I only discuss my main findings; the entire list of the examined data exceeds the limits of this article. For further examination in Japanese, see Lazar, 2018.

[26] When one of these areas was holding their main Ten-ō festival, the other would only hold a small 'shadow' festival (*kagematsuri*) and not an extensive one.

①Oodenma district Ten-ō festival: 5-8 June[27]
②Minami-denma district Ten-ō festival: 7-14 June
③Kobune district Ten-ō festival 10-13 June

Utagawa Yoshitomi's *ukiyo-e* woodblock print, titled Ryōgoku-bashi gion-e no zu (両国橋祇園会之図)[28] is one of the most famous prints that portrays the procession of „Gion-e" of Kobune district Ten-ō festival of 1861. Paying attention to the very small details, there are four colorful sculptures in the procession that resemble the Four Gods' animal images (a white tiger, a green turtle, a red bird and a green dragon). The only difference is that the turtle does not have the snake entwined to its body. The small sculptures are riding on a long spear-like ceremonial staff, that also has a red flag hanging from it. Utagawa Sadahide documents the same festival in his Ten-ō gosairei miyade no zu (天王御祭礼宮出之図)[29] woodblock print from the late Edo period. In the background, four small animal sculptures and a long spearhead leading the procession in the far distance can be discovered.
Several books document the Ten- ō festival of Kanda Shrine as follows:

- Morisada Mankō (守貞漫稿)[30] Vol 27. Summer and Winter[31] (1837) Edo Gozu Ten-ō festival, held on May 5th:
  In the procession, (the people were walking) with ceremonial drums, a big *sakaki* tree, with the sacred staff of Genbu, Byakko, Suzaku, Seiryū, Sun and Moon. After them, drums and the head of a *shishi* sculpture and a *mikoshi* follow.
- Edo Funai Ehon Fūzoku Órai (江戸府内絵本風俗往来)[32]
  ...Ten-ō festival of Oodenma district: Every year, on June 5th, (after the opening ritual) the *ni-no-gu mikoshi* of Kanda Shrine departs the shrine and the procession goes to Oodenma district to reach the designated resting place for the traveling *mikoshi*. It will return to Kanda Shrine on June 8th. In the procession, (the people were walking) with ten banners, ceremonial drums, a *sakaki* tree with the *kami-boko* and *shijin-boko*. After them, drums follow again, and head of two *shishi* sculptures, a *nusa* (wooden

[27] ①②③ are lunar calendar dates.
[28] In the collection of Edo Tokyo Museum.
[29]In the collection of Edo Tokyo Museum.
[30] From the database of Diet Library Digital Collections: http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/991466
[31] Edited by Kitagawa Morisada.
[32] Edited by Kikuchi Kiichirō.
From the database of Diet Library Digital Collections: http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/767856

wand decorated with many zig-zagging paper streamers), small drums, the *ni-no-gu mikoshi* and a *kami-ki* (small ritual table) follows. Two members of the shrine office end the procession on horseback.
... Ten-ō festival of Minami-denma district: The *ichi-no-gu mikoshi* departs the shrine on June 7th and the procession goes to Minami-denma district to reach the designated resting place for the traveling *mikoshi*. It will return to Kanda Shrine on June 14th. The procession is similar to the one of Oodenma district. However, this time, the *shijin-boko* was placed near the resting place, without being added to the procession.
... Ten-ō festival of Kobune district: The *san-no-gu mikoshi* departs the shrine on June 10th and the procession goes to Kobune district to reach the designated resting place for the traveling *mikoshi*. It will return to Kanda Shrine on June 13th. The procession is similar to the one of Oodenma district.

- Tōtosaijiki (東都歳時記)[33] Vol 2. Summer[34]
  (1838) After the opening ritual at Kanda Shrine, the *ichi-no-gu mikoshi* (carried by people) departs the shrine and the procession goes to Minami-denma district to reach the designated resting place for the traveling *mikoshi*. It will return to Kanda Shrine on the 14th (of June). Originally, this Ten-ō festival is believed to start on June 7th, 1623. The procession is similar to the one of Oodenma district. However, this time, the *shijin-boko* was placed near the resting place, without being added to the procession.
  The *ni-no-gu mikoshi* departs the shrine on June 5th and the procession goes to Oodenma district to reach the designated resting place for the traveling *mikoshi*. It will return to Kanda Shrine on June 8th. In the procession, (the people were walking) with ten banners, ceremonial drums, a big *sakaki* tree, with the "festival-staff" and *shijin-boko*. After them, drums follow again, and head of two *shishi* sculptures, a wooden wand decorated with many zig-zagging paper streamers, small drums, the *ni-no-gu mikoshi* and a portable table follows. Two members of the shrine office end the procession on horseback.

[33] From the database of Waseda Daigaku Toshokan: http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/8369318
[34] Edited by Saitō Gesshin, illustrated by Hasegawa Settan

The current structure of Kanda Shrine and most of its old ritual items (including *shijin-boko*) were destroyed in the Great Kantō earthquake (1923). However, the main building was rebuilt in 1934 of concrete, and all ritual items were replaced with new ones. According to Kanda Shrine's office members, the ritual items of the Four Gods have not been used since the Meiji Restoration, however, they became the shrines's designated treasure (*shinpō*). They are not accessible to the public.

Matsudo Shrine (松戸神社) Chiba Prefecture

- Red silk flag and animal sculptures are attached to the upper end of the staff

Matsudo shrine's *shijin-boko* have a very special history among others. There is no record about the origin of the sacred items, but they are said to had been dedicated to the shrine in the first half of the Edo period. In 1739, all four items disappeared in a big fire. After the fire, the shrine and all ceremonial items were replaced with new ones, but due to the regulations of the Meiji government, the shrine could not use the *shijin-boko* for a very long time. Instead, they hid them as the shrines's designated treasures and even their existence was slowly forgotten. 1941 was the last year when a main Shinkō festival was held (without the Shijin staffs). In 1989, a citizen of Matsudo city found an old box in a mikoshi warehouse of the city which surprisingly enough, contained the four old sculpture animals from the late Edo period. Nobody knew how to use them as there was noone who could remember the original Shinkō festival procession and there were no records about the festival. According to Mr. Tokiwa Akihiko, the *negi* priest of the shrine, they sent the old sculptures to Nikkō for restoration. Later on, they started to collect information from shrines nearby Chiba Prefecture (such as Rokugo Shrine, Hakone Shrine, Kanda Shrine) on how to use the staffs, but only the written sources could help them revive the old procession and its sacred items. At last, the reconstructed Shinkō festival was held in 1990 again after a very long time, and the most important ceremonial item in its procession was reportedly the *shijin-boko*, which has been in use since then, in every four years.

Illustration 1. Shinkō festival procession at Matsudo Shrine

Senju Nakamachi Hikawa Shrine (氷川神社) Tokyo Prefecture

- Size of the black staff without the sculpture: length 4 m, width 12 cm

The four and a half meter long shijin-boko set of this shrine belonged to Senjushuku inn town of Edo. It was dedicated to the Kiyokawa Shrine in 1833. The shrine was rebuilt in 2010 and all of its old ceremonial items were repaired and repainted in gold.[35] It is open to the public during the main festival, every five years.

[35] Size of the animal sculptures:
Suzaku (bird): width 55 cm, length 75 cm, height 51 cm
Seiryū (dragon): width 30 cm, length 90 cm, height 33 cm
Byakko (tiger): width 30 cm, length 63 cm, height 50 cm
Genbu (turtle): width 33cm, length 75 cm, height 33 cm

Illustration 2. Shinkō festival opening ritual at Hikawa Shrine

Rokugō Shrine (六郷神社) Tokyo Prefecture

Tōtosaijiki (東都歳時記) mentions the biggest festival of Rokugō Shrine, the Rokugō Hachiman Sairei from 1838: „People are walking from Haneda to Daishigawara district in a procession with ceremonial ornaments such as the Shijin staffs and the Moon and Sun spear.”[36]

According to Rokugō Shrine's official records (六郷神社誌), the ritual staffs of the Four Gods have not been used since the Meiji Restoration, however, the animal sculptures became the shrines's

[36] From the database of Waseda Daigaku Toshokan: http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/8369318

designated treasures and are preserved in the main hall. They are not accessible to the public.

Ōkunitama Shrine (大國魂神社) Tokyo Prefecture

- Red silk flag and animal sculptures are attached to the upper end of the staff
- The items were not repaired since 1861

Ōkunitama is now known as one of the five major shrines in Tokyo. There is no information about the origin of this shrine's *shijin-boko*, but as it is stated in the shrine's official records, the sculptures were repaired in 1861. The animal sculptures became the shrines's designated treasures and are preserved in the treasure hall. They are put on display during the main festival season.

Illustration 3. Shijin-boko of Ōkunitama Shrine

Hakone Shrine (箱根神社) Kanagawa Prefecture

Hakone Shrine's old sculptures from the Edo period are very similar to the set I found in Matsudo Shrine in Chiba Prefecture. However, due to the lack of records, it is not known who donated them or why they are so similar. It is also interesting that while the Matsudo Shrine proudly uses its restored *shijin-boko* during its main festival, Hakone Shrine did never attempt to revive this custom. It holds its own Shinkō festival, but it keeps the ritual items as sacred treasures inside the main residence of the shrine. They are not accessible to the public.

Whereas the following list obviously cannot presume to be exhaustive, in the table below, I list my findings about the main shrines where shijin-boko were (or supposedly were) used during the Edo period in Shintō processions.[37]

[37] Data were collected during the author's research trips in Honshū, Japan (2014. 9.; 2015. 9.).

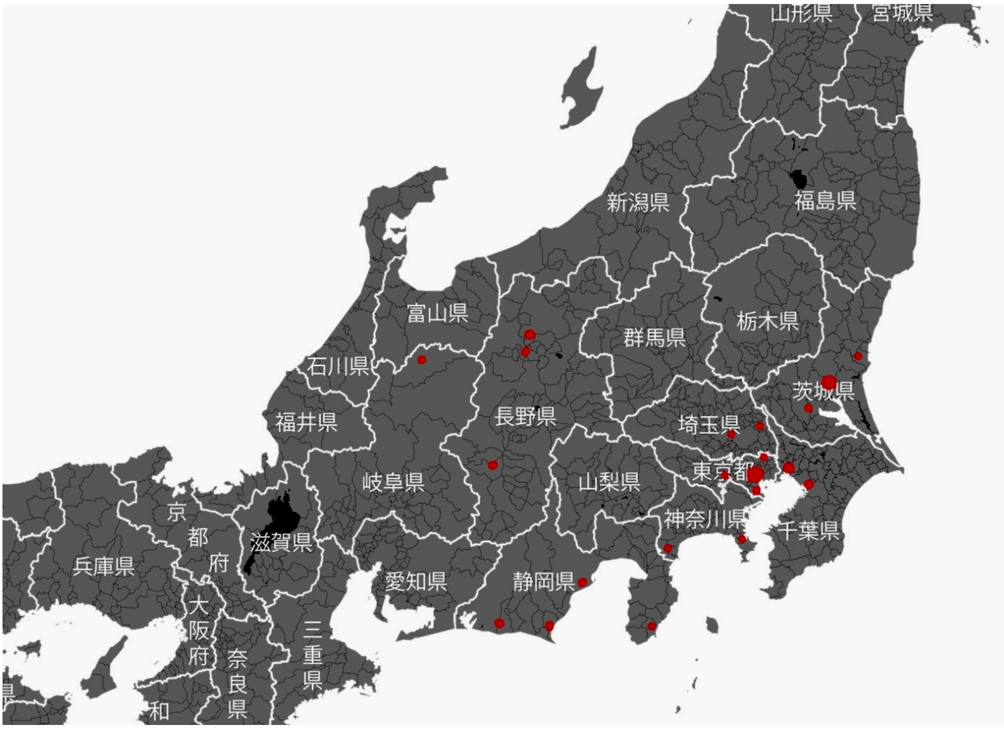
Table 1: Shrines in Japan where actual ritual staffs of the Four Gods (*shijin-boko*) have been preserved, or were reportedly used in the past (mostly in the Edo period) [38]

Number of Four Gods-related objects	Prefecture, city	Property of	Festival procession where shijin-flags were used	Time period
4 staffs	Ibaraki Kasama city	Kasama Inari Shrine	Not used in procession.	Edo period. Still preserved.
4 staffs	Ibaraki Kuji District	Kanasa Shrine	Not used in procession.	Edo period. Not preserved.
4 staffs	Ibaraki Jōsō city	Hachiman Shrine	Main Festival	Unknown, made before Shōwa period. Still preserved.
4 staffs	Saitama Kawagoe city	Kawagoe Hikawa Shrine	Main Festival	Edo period. Not preserved.
4 staffs	Saitama Koshigaya city	Hisaizu Shrine	Main Festival	Unknown, made before Shōwa period. Still preserved.
4 staffs	Chiba Chiba city	Matsudo Shrine	Main Festival	Edo period. Still preserved. Got repaired in 1990.
3 staffs ＊Genbu-boko is missing	Chiba Chiba city	Kemigawa Public Hall Kemigawa Shrine	Main Festival	Unknown, made before Shōwa period. Still preserved.
4 staffs	Chiba Narashino city	Kurita Shrine	Main Festival	Unknown. Still preserved.
4 staffs	Tokyo Ōta ward	Rokugō Shrine	Not used in procession.	Edo period. Still preserved. Got repaired in 1987.
4 staffs	Tokyo Chiyoda ward	Kanda Shrine	Ten-ō festival	Edo period. Still preserved. Got repaired in the Heisei period.
4 staffs	Tokyo Adachi ward Senju Nakamachi	Hikawa Shrine	Main Festival	Edo period (1833). Still preserved. Got repaired in 2010
4 staffs	Tokyo Fuchū ward	Ōkunitama Shrine	Main Festival	Edo period. Still preserved.

[38] However, the table is not containing data of *shijin* flags (imperial flags or flags used by feudal lords in medieval times and in pre-modern Edo period)!

2 animal sculptures	Tokyo Minato ward	Azabu Hikawa Shrine	Main Festival	Edo period. Still preserved.
4 staffs	Tokyo Shinjuku ward	Suga Shrine	Gozu Ten-ō festival	Edo period. Not preserved.
4 animal sculptures	Tokyo Hakone	Hakone Shrine	Not used in procession.	Edo period. Still preserved.
4 staffs +1 spear	Kanagawa Yokosuka city	Yakumo Shrine	Main Festival	Unknown, made before Shōwa period. Still preserved.
4 staffs	Nagano Okuwa village	Suhara Kashima Shrine	Main Festival	Unknown, made before Shōwa period. Still preserved.
4 animal sculptures +1 spear	Nagano Nagano city	Takei Shrine	Main Festival	Unknown, made towards the end of Edo period. Still preserved.
4 animal sculptures +1 spear	Nagano Nagano city	Sarashina Yokota Shrine	Main Festival	End of Edo period. Still preserved.
4 animal sculptures +1 spear	Nagano Nagano city	Nagaike Shrine	Main Festival	End of Edo period. Still preserved.
4 animal sculptures +1 spear	Nagano Chikuma city	Haruta Shrine	Inariyama Gion Festival	End of Edo period (1865). Still preserved. Got repaired in the Heisei period.
4 staffs	Gifu Takayama city	Hida Shrine (Tōshōgū)	Main Festival	Edo period (1818). Still preserved.
4 staffs	Shizuoka Shimoda city	Hachiman Shrine	Main Festival	Unknown, made before Shōwa period. Still preserved.
4 animal sculptures	Shizuoka Shizuoka city	Shizuoka Sengen Shrine	Not used in procession.	Edo period. Still preserved.
4 staffs	Shizuoka Makinohara city	Kashima Shrine	Main Festival O-fune ritual	Unknown, made before Shōwa period. Still preserved.

Distribution map of shijin-boko that were reportedly used in Edo period[39]



The Meiji Restoration

Meiji Restoration in 1868 brought a sudden change in Japan: Shintō was reorganized, was separated from Buddhism, and brought within the structure of the state administration.[40] With this change, the Meiji government eliminated all possible 'intruding' elements from Shintō festivals that were not originally 'Japanese'. (Beasley 2006) It was no longer acceptable for the Four Gods neither to participate in Shintō festivals nor to appear in any form. Shrines were cleansed of every trace of imagery deities, spirits, and rituals of foreign origin. The ceremonial flags and spears were completely removed from the shrines, only some of them survived, such as the ones I am listing in this paper and perhaps some others not yet located. However, interestingly enough, they were preserved quite well. Many of them were restored to their original form and glory, and have been used as ceremonial items in famous Shintō festivals through the country.

[39] Map is made by the author.
[40] Kuroda (1981), Beasley (1972)

Conclusion

Further study is required to trace and document these items; however, so far the information revealed demonstrates that unlike in other Asian cultures, the Four Gods belief, and the symbolic ritual item called 'Flag of the Four Gods' has had many different roles in Japanese culture since ancient times up to modern times. Among other things, the Four Gods were associated with the Japanese Imperial Court and the emperor, because they were uniquely used at state ceremonies as special ceremonial flags. In the 15-17th centuries, many Shintō shrines in present-day Ibaraki prefecture had custom-designed *shijin* flags dedicated by a powerful feudal lord of the area. Since Tokugawa Mitsukuni, the feudal lord of Mito Domain was known as a ruler who actively promoted Shintō tradition, it is quite possible that he witnessed the shijin flags of local shrines, and hence, the idea of re-introducing the items as Shintō-promoting talismans was born. In the 17th century, it is likely that artists could be inspired by old illustrations and reports that were sent back to the Shōkōkan institute of Mito Domain by scholars about the enthronement ceremony.

However, the Edo period brought along an important change in the deities' roles and applications: ceremonial flags gradually disappeared and *shijin-boko* was intentionally created by the Tokugawa shogunate to provide the people with old yet new protective spirits. After the Meiji Restoration, the flags and staffs were mostly removed from the shrines, but some of them were preserved and were used throughout the country, which played an essential role in keeping the belief in the Four Gods alive. Although they have lost their original attributes as cardinal deities, they still belong to modern Japanese culture.

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“WE ARE NOW LEARNING THE LANGUAGE LIKE LITTLE CHILDREN”: LEARNING WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE EARLY MODERN JESUIT MISSION TO JAPAN

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Abstract: *This paper is about learning within the context of the early modern Jesuit mission to Japan. Drawing on primary sources such as Francis Xavier’s letters, Luís Fróis’s comparison of European and Japanese customs as well as Alessandro Valignano’s manual on Japanese customs and ways of thinking, the paper highlights how the issue of learning marked the Jesuit mission to Japan from its beginning in 1549. My analysis draws attention to the Jesuits’ efforts to behave “like children” and to adapt to Japanese culture. I argue that this innovative missionary approach challenged existing power relations along ethnic, religious and generational lines.*

Keywords: Learning, Jesuits, Japan, early modern, Christian

Introduction

This paper explores processes of learning within the context of the late 16th and early 17th centuries Jesuit mission to Japan. I argue that the Jesuits’ emphasis on “childlikeness” and cultural adaptation led to an innovative missionary policy in Japan which challenged existing power relations along generational, ethnic and religious lines.

I focus on three main sources for the Jesuit mission to Japan: Francis Xavier’s letters about the mission to Japan, Luís Fróis’s *Tratado* about the striking contrasts between the customs of Europe and Japan as well as Alessandro Valignano’s manual on Japanese ceremonies and manners (*Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumbres e catangues de Jappão)*. These texts were written at different moments during the early Jesuit mission to Japan. Whilst they all share the concern for inculturation and the need to explain Japanese culture to future missionaries, they also reflect how issues of learning changed over time.

In this way, the paper contributes to the historiography of the role of learning within the early Jesuit mission to Japan. The transnational and intercultural aspects of learning and exchange of knowledge during the early modern Jesuit mission to Japan remain relatively unexplored by historians inside and outside Japan (Fujikawa 2017). Research in

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Western languages focuses on the works of Catholic missionaries. For instance, in 1931, Schilling wrote a doctoral dissertation in German on *Das Schulwesen der Jesuiten in Japan (1551-1614)* (The Jesuit school system in Japan 1551-1614). In his study, Schilling uses archival material from Spain. His findings indicate a transnational and intercultural aspect of learning during the early Jesuit mission in Japan. Schilling also published in 1940 a study on *Christliche Druckereien in Japan* (Schilling 1940) where he focuses on the activities of the Jesuit printing press in Japan. It is noteworthy that Schilling himself was not a Jesuit, but a Franciscan friar. Jesuit scholars also worked on Japan during the first half of the twentieth century, though interestingly, their research was not focused on learning in the mission itself. Instead, they were occupied with the critical edition of primary sources such as Alessandro Valignano's *Advertimentos e avisos* (Schütte 1946). Murat Antoni Üçerler, however, discusses Jesuit humanist education in 16th century Japan in his introduction to Pedro Gómez's *Compendia* on Astronomy, Philosophy and Theology (Üçerler 1997).

An important development in researching the Jesuit mission to Japan was the opening of the Jesuit archives in Rome to the wider public. As a consequence, during the 1960s, more and more historians, including Japanese scholars, accessed the sources pertaining to the early Jesuit mission in Japan (Fujikawa 2017). So, more recently, Kataoka (2013) and Kuwabara (2017) have published their research on seminary and college education within the context of the early Jesuit mission to Japan.

Learning in Japan: Francis Xavier's letters

The Christian mission to Japan started with the arrival of the Jesuit Francis Xavier on 15 August 1549. He was born on 7 April 1506 in the Kingdom of Navarre. In 1529 he went to Paris to study at the University of Paris. There, he met Ignatius of Loyola. In 1537 he was ordained to the priesthood. Two years later, Ignatius developed a plan for the foundation of the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits. This was approved by Pope Paul III in 1540. In the geopolitical context of that time Portugal and Spain were major powers. They were also rivals in maritime exploration and conquest. Because of their ongoing rivalry, Pope Alexander VI (1431-1503) issued the bull *Inter Caetera* ("Among other") which structured the world into the East and the West Indies. Accordingly, Spain and Portugal were given the ecclesiastical and civil administration over all those lands that they had "discovered" and were to "discover". This agreement was eventually formalized in the Treaty of Tordesillas on 7 June 1494. (Üçerler 2008: 153) In 1534, the Portuguese crown established the episcopal See of Goa which turned out to have an important role for the Catholic Church in Japan and other East Asian countries.

Within this context, the issue of learning was extremely important. In 1541 secular clergy founded the “Seminary of the Holy Faith” in Goa. Seven years later in 1548 the Jesuits were invited to take over the administration of the seminary and in 1551 the Portuguese King John III gave the seminary and the college to the Society of Jesus. Accordingly, the College of St. Paul in Goa played a crucial role in the formation of generations of Jesuit missionaries who studied there before being sent on mission to another region in India or further East to Macau, Malacca or Japan. Importantly, it was also at this college that the Jesuits set up a first moveable-type hand press which enabled them to print books in Portuguese, Latin and Tamil. (Üçerler 2008: 155)

Francis Xavier became the first missionary of the Society of Jesus and spent most of his missionary life in Asia, especially in Malacca, the Moluccan Islands, Japan, and China. During his time in Malacca (located in today’s Malaysia), he met in 1547 a Japanese man called Yajirō. In his conversations with Xavier, Yajirō suggested the foundation of Christian missionary work in Japan. Francis Xavier then travelled with Yajirō and two other Japanese back to St Paul’s college in Goa where the two Japanese received lessons in catechism and baptism. Obviously, Francis Xavier had to discern carefully the decision to go to Japan. In a letter from Cochin (today’s Kochi in the Indian state Kerala), on 12 January 1549 Francis Xavier explained to Ignatius of Loyola in Rome his reasons for going to Japan: “For these and many other reasons that it would take too long to relate, and because (…) they are a race that is most inquisitive and eager to know what is new, both with respect to God and to other, natural things, I have, with much interior satisfaction, decided to go to this land.” (Francis Xavier 1992: 219) In other words, Francis Xavier was deeply impressed by what he had heard about the state of learning in Japan. He was drawn to this country because he expected a general population that was interested in learning. This joy for learning, in turn, would make missionary work easier. Of course, certain words in Xavier’s letters such as “race” would today not be politically correct. However, at the time it was common to classify people according to “race” and indeed sadly there was not yet the sensibility for the cultural construction of “race” that exists today. (Cohen 2008)

Thus on 15 August 1549 Xavier arrived with his two Jesuit companions Cosme de Torres (1510-1570) and Juan Fernández (1526-1567) in the Satsuma peninsula, in what is now part of Kagoshima city. According to Jesuit historiography, Xavier and his companions were warmly welcomed by Yajirō’s mother, wife and daughter. They thought that Yajirō was dead and were overjoyed when they saw him (Schurhammer 1982: 52). The Jesuits then stayed in Kagoshima studying the residents' situation and developing a strategy for their missionary work. (Pacheco 1971: 56). The letters written during this time show Xavier's efforts to understand the Japanese people of whom he had a high opinion. Five letters sent by Xavier from Kagoshima to Rome have survived and have been confirmed as authentic. They are all dated 5 November 1549 and were sent from Kagoshima.

Learning emerges as an important theme in all of these letters. Xavier realized that the Japanese people had a highly developed economy and culture. Because of this he emphasized a humble missionary approach and called for "interior humility, which you will need everywhere, but more here than you think," (Xavier 1992: 302).

In the same letter, Xavier gives an example of this humble approach by comparing the Jesuits to children:

> May it please God our Lord to grant us a knowledge of the language so that we can speak to them of the things of God, for we shall then, with his grace, favour, and assistance, produce much fruit. We are now like so many statues among them, since they speak and talk much about us, while we, not understanding their language, are mute. We are now learning the language like little children, and may it please God that we may imitate them in their simplicity and purity of mind. We are forced to employ the means and to dispose ourselves to be like them, both in learning the language and in imitating the simplicity of small and innocent children." (Xavier 1992: 306)

This comparison between the learning Jesuit and little children is very interesting. It is not only about the need to acquire mastery of the Japanese language but also about maintaining the humble interior attitude of little children, their simplicity and purity of mind. Thus by encouraging the Jesuits to be childlike Xavier challenged existing power relations based on seniority.

The theme of learning is a recurrent aspect of Xavier's surviving letters from Japan. As mentioned above, Xavier was impressed by the high degree of learning in Japan. For example, in his letter to his companions in Goa, Francis Xavier highlights the fact that in Japan:

"A large proportion of the people can read and write, which is a great help in learning prayers and the things of God in a short time."

More than just being literate, Xavier found the Japanese to be "delighted with hearing things that are conformed to reason," (Xavier 1992: 298), "open to reason; and even though they live in many errors because of their ignorance, they have an esteem for reason, which would not be the case if they were ruled by malice." (Xavier 1992: 320) He was impressed by the universities in Japan, first of all the university of Miyako (Kyoto) followed by five other leading universities. Of course, the institutions which Xavier describes as "universities" were all Buddhist monasteries.

Xavier also wrote that the Japanese are “people of great good will, very sociable, and eager to know.” (Xavier 1992: 298) This propensity to learn would be encouraged if missionaries were to master the Japanese language well enough: “They take great delight in hearing the things of God, especially when they understand them.” (Xavier 1992: 298) The emphasis lies here clearly on the necessity to speak to the local population in a language that is intelligible for them. In other words, Xavier perceived the urgent need for foreign missionaries to learn the language of the population. He thus exhorted his Jesuit companions to learn the Japanese language quickly.

Xavier recommends in his letter to his companions in Goa in four paragraphs that they should learn the language of Japan in order to preach in a language which the native population understands:

> If we knew how to speak the language, I have no doubt in believing that many would become Christians. May it please God our Lord that we soon learn it, since we have already begun to have some experience of it; and forty days after we began to learn it, we are explaining the Ten Commandments.” (Xavier 1992: 300)

In this passage, Xavier encouraged the other Jesuits to study Japanese. Fruits of such efforts would be the likelihood that many Japanese people (with their esteem for reason and eagerness to learn) would become Christians if only they could well understand the catechesis. Secondly, he also gives the example of Jesuits who already studied the language and were able to explain Christian doctrine, in this case the Ten Commandments, after only forty days of learning.

Although Francis Xavier urged his companions to study Japanese well, he was well aware of the need to train interpreters too. Thus in a letter to Father Paulo in Goa he asked him to pay special attention to the education of Japanese (and Chinese) boys at the college in Goa:

> Strive earnestly to teach and instruct Chinese and Japanese boys in this college in preference to all others, taking great care that they advance in spirit and learn how to read, write, and speak Portuguese so that they may act as interpreters for the priests who, if it pleases God our Lord, will within a few years go to Japan and China.” (Xavier 1992: 314)

And indeed, the Jesuits’ mission depended largely on the translation skills of local Japanese scholastics and laymen throughout Xavier’s stay in Japan and after his departure in 1551.

After Xavier had left Japan, leadership fell on his companion Cosme de Torres and later on to Francisco Cabral. In order to train a laity that could take up roles such as catechist, acolyte etc. in the Church, the Jesuits built in 1560 a school in Bungo. At this school, forty to fifty boys of around ten years were taught subjects such as music, Christian doctrine, Portuguese and Latin, the official language of the Catholic Church. Latin language learning happened by rote and consisted merely of memorizing common prayers such as the *Ave Maria* or the *Salve Regina*. (Taida 2017: 567)

It is noteworthy that during this early time, learning mostly happened in one side with Japanese boys being asked to memorize Latin and Portuguese. However, individual Jesuits such as Luís Fróis showed outstanding command of the Japanese language and a deep appreciation of the Japanese way of life.

Learning about Japan: Luís Fróis's *Tratado*

Fr Luís Fróis (1532-1597) was born in Lisbon. His family was wealthy and therefore able to offer him a rigorous education in which he learned how to read and write in Portuguese and Latin. Thanks to this education, Fróis at the age of 13 was already employed as an apprentice scribe at the Royal Secretariat in Lisbon. At the age of 16 he abandoned his career as a scribe and entered the Society of Jesus. In 1548 he left Portugal for good and embarked on the Jesuits' mission to Asia. After completion of his noviciate at the Jesuit seminary in Goa, three years of work experience in Malacca and another scholastic year in Goa, Fróis eventually arrive in 1562 at the age of 30 in Japan. We can presume that he had read Xavier's letters in Goa. Fróis spent his first two years in Kyushu and then moved to Honshu where after a brief stay in Kyoto he spent two years in Sakai translating the catechism, the lives of the saints and other material into Japanese. Oda Nobunaga installed in 1568 Ashikaga Yoshiaki as a new shogun in Kyoto. He invited Fróis to his residence and allowed the missionaries – who were banned from Kyoto in 1565 to return to the Imperial capital. When Alessandro Valignano arrived in 1579 in Japan to inspect the mission, Fróis became his assistant and translator. Valignano's visit took three years and during all this time Fróis accompanied him to various parts of Japan. After this the Jesuit superiors asked Fróis in 1583 to compose a history of the Jesuit mission in Japan. This *Historia* is remarkably similar to the *Tratado*, the source which I analysed for this paper. (Reff 2015: 8-12) The *Tratado* probably served as a pedagogical tool to introduce Jesuits who had recently arrived in Japan to the local culture.

The *Tratado* is a text that compares Japanese and European elite customs in the literary form of disticHes, i.e. two lines of verse. These distiches are typically neutral and respectful of Japanese culture and it has been suggested that Fróis, although limited by the social conventions of his time, was generally interested in showing how "two societies with very different customs can both be civilized." (Reff 2015: 18) In total

Fróis composed over six hundred distiches divided among fourteen chapters. Each chapter focuses on a theme such as men's or women's behaviour, childrearing or Japanese ways of eating and drinking. Chapter 3 on "Concerning children and their customs" is particularly relevant for the theme of learning.

The chapter consists of 24 distiches and stresses the interest of the European Jesuits in Japanese childrearing practices.

Five distiches deal explicitly with issues of practical and theoretical learning.

For example, distich 6 says:

"Among us, a four-year old child still does not know how to eat with his own hands; in Japan a three-year old already eats by himself using chopsticks." (Fróis 2015: 84)

Or distich 8 says:

"Among us, one learns to read and write from secular teachers; in Japan, they all learn at the temple-schools of the Buddhist monks." (Fróis 2015: 85)

Distich 9: "Our children learn first to read and then to write; in Japan they commence with writing and then learn to read." (Fróis 2015: 86)

Distich 13: "Our children have little command and excellence in their manners; children in Japan are exceedingly thorough in their manners, so much that they are amazing." (Fróis 2015: 87)

Distich 14 "For the most part, our children are embarrassed to participate in public dramas and performances; in Japan they are uninhibited, relaxed, charming, and very graceful in their performances." (Fróis 2015: 88)

It is noteworthy how positively Fróis evaluates Japanese children. Compared to their European counterparts – the Portuguese and Spanish children Fróis may have been familiar with – Japanese children seemed to the missionary well mannered, dexterous and relaxed when performing in the presence of others. This positive interpretation of Japanese customs and behaviour can be found throughout the *Tratado*. Thus by learning about Japan and by comparing Japan with Europe as equals, Fróis challenged existing power relations based on the dichotomy of the "civilized" and the "barbarian" (Bitterli 1991: 368). Even bolder than Fróis, Alessandro Valignano challenged these conventional ethnocentric views during his visits in Japan.

Learning from Japan: Valignano's *Advertimentos e avisos*

Alessandro Valignano was born in February 1539 into a noble family in Chieti, a town in central Italy which was then part of the kingdom of Naples under Spanish rule. As a boy he studied Latin as well as exercises of chivalry. He then studied law at the University of Padua. Having completed his studies he moved to Rome where he hoped that his excellent family connections would assist him in a worldly career. However, because of an unhappy incident he ended up unjustly in prison in Venice for one and a half years. When he was released from his imprisonment he returned to Rome and entered the Society of Jesus in 1566. After one year as a novice and three years of theologically and philosophical study he was ordained a priest in 1570. He then soon asked the General Superior to be sent to the missions in the "Indies" which at the time included African, South Asian, Southeast Asian and East Asian countries: Mozambique, Malacca, India, Macau, and Japan. This request was not special in itself because many Jesuits asked to be sent out to Asian countries at that time. It was thus not without surprise that Valignano learned that the General Superior of the Order, Everard Mercurian, appointed him *Visitador* (personal delegate) to the Jesuit missions in the "Indies". (Üçerler 2003: 337-339) In this role, Valignano had been granted authority to rule the mission in the "Indies" according to his own discretion. This included the freedom to accept and dismiss members of the Society of Jesus as well as sending any Jesuit to any place where he thought a particular person might serve a particular mission. It also meant that Valignano was granted the right to change local superiors and to develop new mission policies. He used all his authority as we shall see from his time in Japan.

Valignano visited Japan three times as *Visitador*: 1579–1582, 1590–1592 and 1598–1603. As there was until 1596 no bishop resident in Japan, Valignano was practically in control of the activities of the Catholic Church in Japan. Having said that it is important to bear in mind that he was obliged to report back to Rome and Portugal with a detailed account of his activities and decisions. Although the General Superior was free to overrule Valignano, this rarely happened due to the long distances between the "Indies" and Europe as well as the not totally reliable postal services across oceans. (Üçerler 2003: 341)

During his first visit to Japan Luís Fróis acted as Valignano's translator. Valignano thus observed cultural insensitivity and racism within the Jesuit Order. For example, Japanese members of the Society of Jesus were not allowed to become priests, only lay brethren (Moran 1993: 52-53; Üçerler 2008: 158). It is noteworthy that during that time debates about the admission of Asians, Africans and Amerindians to the Society of Jesus caused an ongoing tension between missionary theory and practices. Although the papacy encouraged the ordination of non-European priests from the early 16th century onwards, Portugal and Spain implemented this directive differently: whilst the Portuguese

Crown encouraged the training of native priests, the Spanish kings objected to the formation of non-European clergy. (Cohen 2008: 205)

Valignano regretted the status quo of the mission and disagreed with Francisco Cabral's methods of evangelization. Although Cabral himself asked a couple of years prior to Valignano's arrival for the admittance of Japanese men to the Society of Jesus, he was by 1579 vehemently against this idea. Valignano found that Cabral was adhering to a strict discipline that stood in opposition to the gentle way promoted by the Jesuits when dealing with others. Also, Cabral insisted that Japanese and Portuguese were to be treated differently and that the Japanese had to accommodate to the needs of foreigners, rather than the other way round. He did not consider it necessary for European missionaries to study the Japanese language. He was likewise against the idea of teaching Japanese people Latin, Portuguese or any other academic subject. He thus also objected to the idea of building seminaries for the formation of Japanese priests. (Üçerler 2003: 361)

By contrast, Valignano said that it was essential to treat the Japanese with extreme gentleness and kindness. Indeed, the *Visitador* had a very positive impression of the Japanese people. Like Fróis he noted how quickly and well Japanese children were learning:

"People are very able and of good understanding; and the children are very able to learn all our sciences and disciplines (...) and they learn to read and write in our language much easier and in less time than our children in Europe[2]." (Valignano 1899: 92)

Curiously, he also reiterates Xavier's observation about the need for Jesuits to become like children when learning in Japan:

"However prudent and wise they may be, people find themselves in Japan like children and ignorant, in the kind of way that it is necessary for them to learn how to talk, how to sit down, how to walk, how to eat and to do a thousand other new things. These things seem at the beginning very strange and foolish, however, later they seem good." (Valignano 1899: 110)

Therefore, Valignano was keen to have Jesuits educated about Japanese customs and the Japanese language. So as to tackle these issues, Valignano convened three major meetings, of which the first one took place in 1580 in Usuki (Bungo). At this gathering he suggested two new approaches to the mission. First he stressed the importance of fostering Japanese language study so as to improve relations between Japanese and European members of the Society of Jesus. Second, he considered it as crucial for missionaries to adapt to the Japanese way of life. In this endeavour they were to take as example the Japanese

[2] Valignano wrote this text originally in Spanish. The English translation is mine.

religious rather than high ranking Japanese lay persons (as the Jesuits did initially).

This concern for the inculturation of the Jesuit missionaries to Japan eventually led Valignano to compose over the course of one day and a night *Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumbres e catangues de Jappão* (Advice on the customs and "ways of thinking[3]" in Japan). This text was not a theory about missionary methodology, but a short introduction for all members of the Jesuit hierarchy. With this text they were meant to learn how to adapt themselves to social life in Japan. The manuscript pays particular attention to the Japanese appreciation of "authority" (*autoridade*) on the one hand, and trust (*familiaridade*), on the other hand. (Schütte 1946: 81-82)

Valignano composed the book in response to Japanese Christian aristocrats – Ōmura Sumitada, Arima Harunobu and Ōtomo Yoshishige – who insisted that the success of the Jesuit mission to Japan would depend on the missionaries learning how to adapt to Japanese customs and etiquette. Failure to do so would make the Jesuits ridiculous in the eyes of the elite samurai members of society. (Üçerler 2003: 363).

The text focuses on the question as to how different groups of the Church hierarchy – such as superiors, simple priests, *irmãos* (brothers), *dōjuku* (catechists) and servants - should behave towards Japanese people in general. In particular, the manual focused on occasions of hospitality, i.e. when Jesuits were visiting Japanese houses or were receiving high ranking Japanese visitors. Valignano explained the details of everyday life, such as food, drinks, table manners, dress, cleanliness and the use of honorific forms when addressing one's interlocutor. Based on the advice of his Japanese contacts and after discussion with other Jesuit members in Japan, he also suggested that the Jesuits should organize themselves according to the Nanzenji, i.e. the then leading Zen Buddhist temple in Kyoto. The objective was for the different Jesuits to behave according to their religious status~~,~~ as members of the Society of Jesus and according to the social status they had within the Japanese context (Schütte 1946: 83-84; Üçerler 2003: 364).

The seven chapters of the *Advertimentos e avisos* have the following titles: (1) The way to acquire authority, (2) the way to acquire confidence, (3) missionaries' acts of deference towards strangers, (4) the ceremony of *sakazuki* (cup) and *sakana* (side dishes created to go with sake), (5) the habit of missionaries among themselves, (6) welcoming highly considered personalities and gifts to give to Japanese lords, (7) the architecture of mission buildings in Japan.

[3] Valignano created the Portuguese word *catangues* to refer to the Japanese word *katagi* which can be translated as "a way of thinking" (Watanabe, Skrzypczak and Snowden 2003: 555)

For example, in chapter two on the ways to establish confidence with Christians, Valignano gives detailed advice on how to receive Japanese guests: "it is therefore necessary that the food be in a Japanese style and that the cups and all the rest be kept clean, because otherwise, if one does it in a *nanbanjin* way, it is insupportable." (Valignano, quoted in Schütte 1946: 172) It is remarkable that Valignano refers here in the Portuguese original to the European Jesuits as *nanbanjin*, which can literally be translated as "southern barbarians". This term was used by the Japanese to describe the otherness of Portuguese and other Europeans who reached Japan from Southeast Asia (Totman 1993: 86). Thus, Valignano describes the European Jesuits as seen through Japanese eyes. In doing so, he uses a Japanese concept that stresses the "barbarian" character of Europeans. I suggest that this is a good example of Valignano's ability to empathize with the Japanese people. Casting off an established ethnocentric point of view and adapting the perspective of the Japanese, in turn, also speaks about Valignano's humility to learn indeed "like a little child" everything from scratch without prejudices.

Valignano also encouraged his Jesuit companions to imitate the behaviour of Japanese Zen Buddhist bonzes rather than of lay persons. As he writes in chapter three:

> "One has to know that the behaviour during ceremonies is very different for bonzes and for secular persons. This is why the Fathers and Brothers should not pay attention to what they see the secular persons doing and then to behave in a similar way. Instead, they always have to look for the way of the bonzes. Because this is of such importance that if one did it otherwise, one perverts all order and appears ridiculous." (Valignano, quoted in Schütte 1946: 182)

Perhaps unsurprisingly, with their emphasis on cultural adaptation, Valignano's *Advertimentos e avisos* did not meet the approval of Valignano's Superior, the Father General in Rome. Aquaviva was also concerned about chapter one's emphasis on "authority" and "honour". In his view, these concepts stood in stark contrast to the Jesuit Order's value of evangelical poverty and humility. These concerns were only intensified by letters of Jesuits such as Cabral who criticized Valignano's way of proceeding. In Valignano's response to the Father Superior he acknowledged that the *Advertimentos e avisos* were written in haste over the course of a day and a night and therefore still in need of improvements. He cautioned against drawing conclusions about the situation in Japan from a European standpoint only. According to Valignano it was necessary to know Japan from experience to appreciate the efforts the missionaries had to make to adapt to Japanese ways of dwelling, eating and etiquette. Indeed, in Valignano's view, the sacrifices missionaries had to make in adapting themselves to the Japanese way of life – adopting the humility of children –was already the best antidote for pride. During Valignano's second visit to Japan, the future of the *Advertimentos e avisos* was discussed at a missionary conference in Kasusa. According to Laures, the Jesuits present at this meeting agreed that the concerns from Rome were largely due to the critical voices from Macau. They decided to adhere to the manual and to explain the situation to Rome. Thus, on 2 February 1592 they declared the advice on Japanese etiquette as described in the *Advertimentos e avisos* as binding. They also implemented Valignano's idea of organizing the Society of Jesus in parallel to the organizational structures of a Zen Buddhist sect. (Laures 1951: 352) In doing so, the Jesuits clearly challenged existing ethnocentric conceptions of a hierarchy of religions.

Conclusion

The issues of learning marked the Jesuit mission to Japan from its very beginning. The high status of learning in Japan was a pull-factor for Xavier to establish the mission in Japan.

Language study was the most important issue right from the beginning of the mission. Xavier knew that learning the new language also required a lot of humility from the missionaries as they had to adopt the interior attitude of "little children" who learn without prejudices. So, from the beginning, the Jesuits' missionary policy was marked by a call to empathize with the Japanese and to avoid ethnocentric interpretations of their behaviour. This approach was briefly abandoned under Francisco Cabral. However, with the arrival of Alessandro Valignano, Jesuit interest in learning about and from the Japanese was revived and strongly encouraged. Indeed, during his first visit to Japan, Valignano emphasized the need for more language study and introduced the idea of missionaries adapting to the social life of Japanese Zen Buddhists. He also urged for the formation of native Japanese Jesuit priests. This innovative approach challenged conventional missionary methodologies which relied on ethnic discrimination.

Valignano's new approach required the development of study material that introduced individual Jesuits to the Japanese language and customs. Accordingly, Luís Fróis's *Tratado* and Valignano's *Avertimentos* were both developed as such. Whilst Fróis's *Tratado* reminds us of ethnographic notes of anthropologists, Valignano tried more to discern the Japanese "ways of thinking" (*katagi*). Both authors share a balanced description of Japanese society that emphasizes the high degree of Japanese civilization. It is remarkable indeed that both authors seem to think of Japanese and European civilizations as co-existent and therefore comparable with each other. Fróis's observations of children’s behaviour are good examples of how the Jesuit missionary saw areas where Japanese people – in this case boys and girls – were better mannered and educated than their Iberian counterparts. Whilst Fróis compares Japanese society in general with European society, Valignano focuses strictly on what concerns social life within the Jesuit Order. Like Xavier, the *Visitador* emphasized the childlike nature that was necessary for Jesuits to learn the many new ways of everyday life in Japanese society. It is important that he suggested that his *Avertimentos* were a detailed manual for Jesuit missionaries’ social life. It is noteworthy how Valignano not only encouraged them to adapt a childlike nature but also to imitate the behaviour of the Buddhist bonzes. In this way Valignano – who was ironically suspected by his Superior to lay too much emphasize on “authority” – challenged existing concepts of power like few others of his contemporaries. He challenged generational power relations by acknowledging that the mature Jesuits will find themselves “like children and ignorant” when learning to adapt themselves to Japan. He put ethnic power relations into question by urging for the admittance of Japanese priests to the Society of Jesus. Also, he was able to adopt a Japanese perspective on Europeans and accordingly described in his writings the Portuguese as “southern barbarians” (*nanbanjin*). In this way he blurred once more the distinction between what it means to be “civilized” and “barbarian”. Finally, Valignano’s encouragement for Christian Jesuits to imitate the organizational structures of Japanese Zen Buddhists suggests that the *Visitador* was open to transcend preconceived ideas concerning the power relations according to religion.

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WORLD AND LOCAL HERITAGE ALONG THE NOMINATION PROCESS OF "HIDDEN CHRISTIAN SITES IN THE NAGASAKI REGION"

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Abstract: *The World Heritage cultural property "Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region" is Japan's 22nd World Heritage (WH) property as of June 2018. The nomination of a national property for inscription on the World Heritage List is a diachronic process of transformation in terms of imagined resources as well as a synchronic one, involving multi-level actors such as international, state and non-state institutions, individuals, places or objects. By taking a longue durée perspective, we first question the imaginations and articulations of places, objects and practices along the nomination process, since the informal preparation stage until the pre-inscription phase. Secondly, we reveal the reflection of the WH selections of objects at the local state and non-state institutional level hosting the cultural property. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in Tokyo, Nagasaki and places from the Nagasaki Prefecture, we reveal the complementarities and contrasts between the World Heritage and local level in terms of privileged objects, places or practices. The theoretical framework given by Latour's (2013) "modes of existence" will provide an understanding of "heritage" as a temporary network involving human and non-human agents.*

Keywords*:* cultural heritage, Japan, UNESCO World Heritage

Introduction

A "World Heritage" nomination mirrors an articulation of international and national norms, specific social, political and economic circumstances of inscriptions and multiple protection logics. At the same time, it reveals the thoughts and knowledge practices of people connected to the World Heritage physical or mental space, referred to as the heritage owners, holders, adaptors or intergenerational transmitters. "Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region", Japan's 22nd World Heritage (WH) property as of June 2018[2], consists of one archaeological site, ten villages and a cathedral and is the first WH property related to Christianity in Japan. The property includes a tangible testimony

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[2] Japan's World Cultural and Natural Properties: https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/jp. For the World Heritage understanding of the "cultural" and "natural" categories, see the UNESCO's 1972 Convention for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties - https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/. It is a binding legal instrument which provides a permanent legal, financial and administrative framework for international cooperation in contributing to the protection of the world's natural and cultural heritage.

associated to the "Hidden Christian" group, understood as those who continued practicing the Christian faith introduced in Japan in the middle of the 16th century even during the ban on Christianity in the following centuries. Taking the recent inscription on the WH List as a departure point, we question the nomination process of the property in works of the *imagination* – documents of state and non-state institutions and narratives of interviewees – as constitutive elements of how the place is experienced and perceived. Our understanding of imagination is informed by Taylor's (2002:91) understanding of *social imaginary*, which is not a set of ideas, but rather what enables, through making sense of, the practices of a society. The social imaginary of any given group of people is enacted through practices and institutions which express relationships that could have also been enacted otherwise. The social imaginary is thought as "the ways in which people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations". (Taylor, 2002: 106)

Our understanding of "heritage" is informed by two theoretical strands. Firstly, critical heritage studies understand "heritage" as a complex and relational phenomenon that draws together and joins various social and cultural entities, such as material objects, places, values, ideas, emotions, memory and identity. Recent developments connect "heritage" to the ontological turn and call for a need to theorize the role of material "things" in the complex set of relationships in which human and non-human agents, heritage objects, places, and practices are bound together in contemporary worlds. (Harrison, 2018: 1369). Secondly, anthropologists point at the technical and non-technical meanings of "heritage" and see it as a label that society glues onto specific material, performative or intellectual units extracted from the vast expanse of cultural manifestations that, because of their age and stability over time, are considered as deserving of conscious preservation efforts. At the same time, they reveal the role of UNESCO in presenting as "heritage" much of what previously was addressed as "tradition", "customs" or "culture". (Brumann and Berliner, 2015: 7).

The implementation of UNESCO's 1972 Convention for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties at state level is approached by anthropologists in the framework of global-local articulations. Brumann and Berliner (2016) examine how far UNESCO is from the ground where WH happens in places from outside Europe, divided in cities, archaeological sites and cultural landscapes. Bendix et al. (2012) focus on the translation and interpretation that ensues once heritage conventions are ratified and implemented in local settings in Europe, by looking at layers of preservation regimes and state politics, selection processes, administrative structures or the reach of post-colonial sentiment and control. Lähdesmäki et al. (2018) address the constructive and performative nature of scale in the production of heritage worldwide, under the framework of the WH Convention and beyond.

How does the selection of resources for WH inscription change since the initiation of the inscription until the listing itself? What qualities of the place do the various actors stress in the late pre-inscription phase? What is the distance between the heritage as "packed" on the UNESCO level and as cherished on the ground? These are a few questions that our study aims to answer.

1. Literature review, methodology and theory

The World Heritage cultural property "Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region" was studied in relation to the heritage-making strategies of various actors along its nomination phase. The scholarship is guided by the meanings of the terms *Senpuku Kirishitan* understood as those who practiced a concealed faith during a period of "ban" or "prohibition"[3], and *Kakure Kirishitan*, as people who did not reunite with the Catholic Church after the public acknowledgement of their concealed faith, or the granting of religious freedom, as revealed by Miyazaki (1996) or Turnbull (1998).

Saitsu (2017) looks at the cultural property at the time of its re-design into the inscribed form and first points at a differential view on the churches from coastal Nagasaki. These churches made of wood, stones, bricks, concrete and surrounded by nature are entitled to be called "simple beauties" (簡素な美 *kanso na bi*). (Saitsu, 2017: 291) But if we look at the value of these buildings from an international viewpoint, we would probably have to call them "unsurprising, commonplace, or mundane." The author shows that the change of the property's name from "Churches and Christian Sites in Nagasaki" to "Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region" brings forth two problems: first, by preserving villages instead of churches, it is unclear what this has to do with Christianity; second, with the WH inscription, the multi-layered story of the *Kakure Kirishitan* should be re-drawn. Matsui (2010) questions the strategies of three actors along the nomination process - the "World Heritage Association" that hopes to achieve the goal of World Heritage registration for a selection of churches, the administration that wishes to create an opportunity to

[3] The year 1614 is associated in historiography with a state-enforced ban on Christianity throughout Japan, and the year 1873 with the lifting of this ban.

promote tourism while conserving them as cultural properties and the Catholic Church that wishes people to understand Christianity while remaining in harmony with tourism. Kawashima (2017) argues that the designation of the “Hidden Christian” religious tradition as an “important cultural landscape” in the national law provided a wider framework for the people living in Hirado to (re)embrace this “multi-religious tradition” as their own heritage. Fukushima (2015) looks at community engagement with the Egami church in the Goto Islands as a component of the future World Heritage property and shows how its value changed over time not only related to the building itself but also to its dismantling and relocation. Fukami and Ji-Hyun (2018) clarify the application of the “dark tourism” concept to the sustainability of the constituent properties of the future WH site.

Additionally, we review studies looking at the various national and international heritage protection systems in Japan in terms of their effects on the classification and selection of resources. If the interest in heritage shown by citizens and administrations is resumed to developing tourism in the context of a classification, then we witness a diversion from the essential objectives of the heritage conservation system. (Iwamoto, 2013) By looking at the impact of World Heritage and the WTO as globalization factors upon a local society of rice growers in the Noto Peninsula, Kikuchi (2015) shows that the state-level discourse on the preservation of a natural environment and a traditional culture, in fact, dissimulates in cosmeticized and superficial ways the concrete problem of the exodus and aging of rural societies, on which agricultural production relies.

Our study is also informed by former work on “religious” heritage as well on religious sites and rituals not protected by national laws. Isnart (2015) presents the heritage practices of the Catholic community in Rhodes in a multi-confessional context and addresses their autonomous agency among the island’s official cultural heritage institutions. Inaba (2005), by addressing two case studies - the Ise Shrine and the *shinkien zotai* (the periodic rebuilding ritual) and the *yamaboko gyoji* (the procession of floats) at the Kyoto Gion Matsuri - shows that we should not freeze the material expression of heritage by restricting the creativity and vitality of the supporting communities. Sánchez-Carretero (2013) explores the strategies used by actors representing the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, together with the sites along the routes, the monuments and landscape for one route included in the UNESCO nomination as well as a non-included one.

Our methodology consists of ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the late pre-inscription phase of the cultural property on the WH List, end of 2017 and beginning of 2018: structured and non-structured interviews with state institutional members - Agency for Cultural Affairs (*Bunkachō)*, Nagasaki Prefectural Government - World Heritage Promotion Division - and Information Center “Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region” - and non - state ones (the Nagasaki Pilgrimage Center); ethnography (observation and informal interviews with local guides, local inhabitants and extra locals) in coastal and offshore villages from the Nagasaki Prefecture. Additionally, we analyzed the WH “Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region” nomination file[4] and addressed two other WH documents (Comprehensive Preservation and Management Plan and Interim Report)[5] and promotional materials produced by state and non-state actors.

The late pre-inscription phase is a time when we could review the whole nomination process, since its initiation in early 2000s until the submission of the nomination file “Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region”. Due to this fieldwork timing, we could show how the overall longue-durée nomination process, involving specific mobilizations of resources – churches, villages, or coastline – is viewed by the local institutions and inhabitants. In other words, we could examine how the resources packed as “World Heritage” are reflected on a local level – by state and non-state institutions as well as local inhabitants.

Our theoretical framework is given by the broader “ontological turn” and Latour’s (2013) modes of existence, understood as inter-connected political entities, individuals, areas or buildings structuring our common world. Each mode brings to being relations among individual actants along with “conditions of veridiction” that sanction some relations among actants as “felicitous” or “infelicitous,” “happy” or “unhappy” (Latour, 2013: 18). What is felicitous or happy by the criteria of one mode may be infelicitous or unhappy by the standards of another. Latour identifies distinct modes of existence, such as the [NET]work one - the network mode of existence provides a metaphysical principle of

[4] A comprehensive document written by actors ranging from national or international civil servants to consultants or academics that a State Party to the WH Convention (understood as state which ratified the Convention) prepares for submission to UNESCO after placing on its so-called “Tentative List” the sites it plans to nominate in the next five to ten years for inclusion on the World Heritage List. The file is a document following a pre-fixed template given by UNESCO’s constantly updated Operational Guidelines. A State Party’s argument for inscribing a property needs to fit the WH criteria of selection and a general argument for an Outstanding Universal Value / OUV. (for details on UNESCO selection criteria and meanings of OUV - https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/)

[5] The Comprehensive Preservation and Management Plan is a document written by a State Party to the WH Convention as part of the inscription process aiming to show how the OUV of the property will be managed. The Interim Report is a document produced by the WH advisory bodies which responds to the submission of a file.

integration which draws individuals together when they threaten to become too isolated and too compartmentalized. Based on the network mode of existence and other modes revealed by Latour's (2013), we will provide an insight in the specific assemblies of resources, or heritage packages along the nomination process which stay bound in a network together for a while, and the meanings given to them by the WH and the local actors. By doing so, we show how modes of existence co-exist "side-by-side".

We structure our work in two parts. First, we outline the chronology of the World Heritage nomination and reveal the specific packages of resources since the WH inscription initiation until the final version of the nomination file.

Secondly, we address the reflections of these packages of resources at the local state and non-state institutional and everyday levels hosting the cultural property.

2. The World Heritage imagination

2.1. From the "Nagasaki Church Group" to "Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region": a chronology of the World Heritage nomination

The World Heritage inscription idea was launched by the "Association for Declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a Word Heritage" founded in Nagasaki in the early 2000s and self-described as "an association of volunteers which want to make known to all people, inside and outside the Nagasaki Prefecture, the splendid value and long history of belief of the Nagasaki Church Group."[6] The "Nagasaki Church Group" includes 39 churches spread across four areas - the Goto Archipelago (16), Hirado and Sasebo area (11), Sotome Area (4), Nagasaki City Area (8) – corresponding to specific histories related to Christianity in the Nagasaki Prefecture.[7] The churches are also categorized based on the building materials - brick, wood, stone and reinforced concrete - and are represented both as a material object and as a place of a living faith. Then, they are separated by protection levels: national, prefectural and the remaining buildings, for which "there is much to be done." The Association brings three arguments for the value of the "Nagasaki Church Group" as World Heritage: historical: churches are "the external

[6] Association for Declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a Word Heritage: http://www.heritage-nagasaki.jp

[7] We will further show how the delimitation per "area" is used by both the Association and the actors involved in the formal nomination process: the WH nomination file- "academic research conducted by Tagita Koya around 1950 and published in 1954 shows that Hidden Christian villages have been distributed over six areas during the ban.", p. 132 (examples of areas – "villages in Sotome", "Western Coast of Hirado and Ikitsuki Island"); the local state institutions, which also propose divisions of visits or "pilgrimages" per area.

expression of the re-emergence of the suppressed Christianity of Japan"; buildings: they "represent an East-West fusion in style and architecture"; cultural heritage: they "represent inter-relation and harmony between Nature and Human beings".[8] By an official heritage policy maker, the Association is viewed as a group of citizens, including the descendants of "Hidden Christians", who love the unique small church buildings that were built in remote areas of Nagasaki by their ancestors. Together with the Nagasaki Catholic Archdiocese (the owner of the buildings) the Association is one essential stakeholder in the WH initiation process. At the same time, the Association may informally continue its activities related to the promotion of churches, in parallel with the formal nomination process.[9] Or, the Association is seen as the informal promoter of the nomination prior to the moment when the Agency for Cultural Affairs recommended the listing of the cultural property in question on Japan's Tentative List, and officially endowed the Nagasaki Prefectural Government with the WH nomination action.[10] The World Heritage inscription initiation is also viewed in terms of its "bottom-up" feature, thus belonging to the turn when the interest to nominate a cultural property gradually got popular among citizens, groups, local authorities.[11] The placing of the "cultural property" "Churches and Christian Sites in Nagasaki" on Japan's Tentative List in 2007 marks the official beginning of the preparation of the nomination file, unfolding between 2007 and 2013.

Research on nomination files identifies the problem of creating linear, continuous and unilateral presentations of history that omit different perspectives and other histories that might have been linked to the sites. The file crafts an idealized version of the place that emphasizes its Outstanding Universal Value at the cost of erasing some places, thus undergoing an epistemological selectivity. (Labadi, 2007: 161) The nomination file also meets the thought on heritage-making as a reflexive meta-discourse on culture whose characters and values are made explicit and objectified. (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1997) We consider the nomination file as one "mode of existence" bringing together people, places or objects as human and non-human agents building up specific assemblages of resources. At the same time, the file is a milestone for looking back at previous formal and informal heritage representations and further, at their subsequent transformations.

[8] Association for Declaring the Nagasaki Church Group a Word Heritage
[9] Interview, Tokyo, 6.11.2017
[10] Interview, Nagasaki, 21.11.2017. The Agency for Cultural Affairs is the governmental body which has the role of recommending to UNESCO for registration on the WH List cultural heritage sites that represent Japan.
[11] Interview, Tokyo, 17.11.2017

The cultural property “Churches and Christian Sites in Nagasaki” is composed of historical sites, sacred sites, villages and churches that help illustrate the propagation and penetration of Christianity into Japan over a period of 450 years. It includes four chronological phases illustrated by specific components: *introduction and prosperity* (Site of Hinoe Castle), *suppression* (Site of Hara Castle, Sakitsu Village in Amakusa), *faith in hiding* (Sacred Places and Village on Hirado Island), *revival* (Former Gorin Church, Shitsu Church and Related Sites, Ono Church, Kuroshima Church, Former Nokubi Church and Related Sites, Tabira Church, Egami Church, Kashiragashima Church).[12] In early 2014, the Japanese Government submitted the nomination to the World Heritage Center for review and in early 2016 received the recommendation for a shift in the considered historical period. Instead of the over four hundred years that illustrate the arrival and establishment of Christianity into Japan the recommendation is for a focus on “the historical context” which “made the situation of Christian communities different from other parts of Asia.”[13] The new design of the file brought a shift from tangible resources linked to the whole history of Christianity to ones focusing on the historical “Hidden Christian” group. The change of content is viewed as a passage from a substantial aspect to a historical one.[14]

2.2. “Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region”: the new WH imagination

The WH cultural property “Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region” is described as “bearing unique testimony to a cultural tradition nurtured by hidden Christians in the Nagasaki Region who secretly transmitted their faith during the period of prohibition from the 17th to the 19th century.”[15] It combines twelve spatially discrete components – an archaeological site, ten villages and a cathedral - spread over two prefectures, six cities, and two towns. In the WH terminology it is a “serial property”, whose “component parts should reflect cultural, social or functional links over time that provide, where relevant, landscape, ecological, evolutionary or habitat connectivity.”[16] Serial properties are used as an example for belying the idea that World Heritage properties

[12] “Churches and Christian Sites in Nagasaki. Candidate for World Heritage”, World Heritage Promotion Division, Nagasaki Prefectural Government, Japan
[13] Churches and Christian Sites in Nagasaki – Japan. Interim Report, 15 January 2016
[14] Interview, Nagasaki, 21.11.2017.
[15] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1495. In the WH understanding, “Nagasaki Region” refers to the mainland part and islands of the Nagasaki Prefecture, as well as the area of Amakusa City in Kumamoto Prefecture.
[16] Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, World Heritage Centre, 12 July 2017

are naturally delimited and that an unambiguous line can be drawn between heritage ground and ordinary ground. (Brumann and Berliner, 2016:3) The property is protected by the national Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties[17] and other national laws and regulations.

This sub-section first addresses the new configuration of resources in nomination file "Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region". Consequently, we examine two specific issues: the imagination of the church and of the "Hidden Christian" category in the file.

The historical narrative of the file begins with the emergence of the group, continues with its underground survival and ends with its public acknowledgement. It corresponds to four chronological stages and related divisions of the twelve components. The first phase corresponds to the event that triggered the "ban" on Christianity and the subsequent formation of the Hidden Christians' religious tradition. It is represented by the archaeological site "Remains of Hara Castle" and its physical remains. The castle became a battlefield in the Shimabara-Amakusa rebellion of 1637 when, some twenty thousand Japanese Catholics, most of whom were peasants, fishermen and craftsmen in the Arima domain, revolted against their lord.[18]

The second and third phases illustrate the emergence of the group through developing its own religious systems and migration strategies to offshore islands. The ten villages are understood as places where the group had secretly maintained its faith by forming religious organizations since the 16th century. The WH imagined resources are sites of religious leaders' houses, graveyards of their communities, "sacred sites" where Hidden Christians offered prayers, Shinto shrines that were used as secret places of worship, Buddhist temples that the Hidden Christians were outwardly affiliated with, agricultural lands, forests and fisheries where they shared workspaces with pre-existing communities, sites of temporary churches and the churches that symbolize the end of the tradition.

The development of the group and emergence of four religious systems (2nd phase) is represented by four places and related faith

[17] The Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (*Bunkazai Hogohô*) enacted in 1950 (Scott, 2003; Kakiuchi, 2014) currently defines seven categories of "cultural properties". The term cultural heritage (*bunka isan*) became popular in both official and everyday language after Japan's ratification of UNESCO's Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1992. Prior to that, the term "cultural property" (*bunkazai*) was used. Today, the two terms are used almost interchangeably and while "cultural heritage" is increasingly in use, especially in relation to WH, "cultural property" is still prevalent and familiar to most Japanese people. (Matsuda, 2014) For the understanding of the notion of "cultural property" on the everyday level in a WH cultural property of Japan ("Iwami Ginzan Silver Mine and Its Cultural Landscape"), see Russel (2011).

[18] Nomination file, Description Chapter, p. 53. The further descriptions of the twelve components are retrieved from this source.

particularities in the context of a concealed faith: *"Kasuga Village and Sacred Places in Hirado" (Kasuga Village, Mt. Yasumandake and Nakaenoshima Island)* is the place where the local communities venerated nature sites as sacred places, such as the mountain that had been regarded as sacred by the pre-existing religious communities and the island where early Japanese Catholics had been executed; *"Sakitsu Village in Amakusa"* is connected to the concealment of the group's faith by substituting everyday items that were used in its livelihoods for Christian devotional tools (e.g. statues of the Japanese traditional deities *Daikokuten* and *Ebisu* as Deus, the God of the Christian faith, and abalone shells that had special significance as their mother-of-pearl patterns were associated with the Virgin Mary); *"Shitsu Village in Sotome"* hosted communities which concealed their faith by venerating icons secretly and continuing their religious practices based on the Catholic liturgical calendar and the Christian catechism without any guidance by missionaries; in *"Ono Village in Sotome"*, the Hidden Christians outwardly behaved as Buddhists and Shinto followers, and venerated Shinto shrines commonly seen in conventional Japanese villages at that time. In each village, the WH nominated area (understood as the legally protected physical space) is represented by the area used by the religious community. For example, the nominated area in "Sakitsu Village in Amakusa" includes the site of a house of a Hidden Christian leader, the site of a house of village headman / present precincts of Sakitsu church, the Sakitsu Suwa shrine (understood as "the seat of the village's guardian deity since its establishment in 1647", and the praying place during the concealed faith period), the site of the former Sakitsu church / site of the convent.

The migration strategies to offshore islands, (3rd phase) or from Sotome area to the Goto Islands and from place to place within the Goto Islands towards the end of the 18th century is represented by four components. The latter are described in relation to migration logics: *"Villages on Kuroshima Island"* (Hidden Christians migrated to uninhabited areas on Kuroshima Island and formed religious communities, following the policy of the Hirado clan to encourage migration and cultivation of official pastures which had earlier been abandoned by the clan); *"Remains of Villages on Nozaki Island"* (bearing testimony to the efforts of Hidden Christians to maintain their faith in the 19th century through migration to an island considered sacred by Shinto practitioners); "*Villages on Kashiragashima Island"* (bearing testimony to the efforts of the Hidden Christians to maintain their faith through migration to an island that was once used to quarantine those who were suffering from smallpox, and which other communities therefore avoided); *"Villages on Hisaka Island"* (illustrating the group's migration to uncultivated and uninhabited areas on the island following a migration policy initiated by the local feudal lords). For all four offshore components, the WH nominated area includes the whole island. The maps joint to the file description differentiate between the "Hidden Christian" villages – established with the migration of the group - and "Buddhist", pre-existent ones. For example, the component "Villages on Kuroshima Island" consists of six "Hidden Christian villages" and two "Buddhist villages". The constituent elements are: eight "Hidden Christian Graveyards", two sites of a house of Hidden Christian leaders / site of a temporary church, site of an office, Kozenji Temple, site of the first Kuroshima Church / present precincts of Kuroshima church).

The fourth stage corresponds to the end of the group's religious tradition following the public acknowledgement of its concealed faith and is marked by two components: "*Egami Village on Naru Island (Egami Church and its Surroundings)"* (here, the Hidden Christians maintained their faith while overcoming severe conditions during their migration in the period of the ban on Christianity and eventually managed to survive in the midst of conventional society on the island.); *Oura Cathedral* (the site where the 'Discovery of Hidden Christians'[19] took place, bringing about the new phase marking the transformation and subsequent end of the distinctive religious tradition).

In our following discussion on the WH imagination, we address the representations of the church and of the "Hidden Christian" category. Technically, the nomination file has a new design, passing from a testimony of archaeological sites, villages and churches connected to the penetration and propagation of Christianity in Japan to one focusing on a historical group, connected to an archaeological site, villages and one cathedral. The category of the majoritarian components shifted - the "churches" from the previous nomination file are replaced by "villages" with churches in the new one. In the second file, the resources are selected based on the religious and economic lifestyle of the group, and the church is an object among others. In a chronological description of the group's lifestyle, the church marks the end of its "tradition". In this description, the church bears a historical dimension, reflected in its physical transformation over time, and is represented in maps with overlapping labels, e.g. the site of a house of village headman / present precincts of Sakitsu church. The church stands in line with the narrative on the group, by being imagined in relation to the history of the

[19] The revealing of the faith by group members from Urakami Village in Nagasaki to the missionaries at Oura Cathedral in 1865

concealed faith. At the same time, it is described in terms of architectural or design value - “tatami mats were used for the flooring from the very beginning”, “low roof that was designed to cope with strong sea winds, as well as two steeples in both the front and the back as a result of extensions”, “church made of local sandstone”.[20]

Secondly, we discuss the imagination of the “Hidden Christian” group in the nomination file. Additionally, we support our discussion with related understandings from the Comprehensive Preservation and Management Plan. The file uses the overall term “Hidden Christians” when referring to the group which practiced a concealed faith. Furthermore, it shows that, upon the lifting of the ban, the “Hidden Christians” split in three groups: those who reaccepted Catholicism under the guidance of the missionaries and rejoined the Catholic Church; those who refused to submit to the authority of the missionaries and instead continued with their own practices nurtured during the lengthy period of the ban on Christianity (this group was known as the *Kakure Kirishitan*); those who decided to convert to Buddhism or Shintoism, leaving the Christian faith altogether after a long debate over whether to rejoin Catholicism or not.[21] The file also shows that only a small number of *Kakure Kirishitan* now remain-in Ikitsuki and along the western coast of Hirado, in Sotome, and in parts of Goto. At the same time, it reveals that the heritage of the *Kakure Kirishitan* is not tangible testimony of the Hidden Christian tradition to which the nominated property relates but that it has provided a good deal of information used for preparing this nomination dossier.

The lifestyle of the Hidden Christian group is described in terms of objects used in the concealed faith practice (e.g. abalone shells), gendered practices (e.g. women serving as religious leaders of the communities), natural environment (e.g. mountain or island regarded as sacred) or built environment (e.g. houses of former religious leaders). The Management Plan brings further information on the present-day status of places or objects associated to the historical group. For example, a “site of a house of Hidden Christian leader” is still used by its owner and it will not be opened up to the public. The plan adds that “the devotional items that have been handed down from generation to generation within the village will only be presented to the public in a way that ensures their further protection and preservation, such as their exhibition in local archive centers for a limited period of time.” Or, “Hidden Christian devotional items such as sacred icons, Catholic liturgical calendars and catechisms written in Japanese should be kept

[20] Selected descriptions from the “Description” Chapter of the nomination file.
[21] Description Chapter, p. 196

and managed by relevant religious organizations or kept in museums and the like."[22] It further mentions graveyards still in use today, maintained by communities.

Additionally, in the nomination file, the "village" components are described in terms of their unchanged feature, e.g. "land use patterns throughout Kasuga Village, as well as the village structure reflecting the livelihoods of the original Hidden Christian communities, remain almost unchanged since the 16th century, well beyond the period of the ban on Christianity". Or, "Sakitsu Village has retained its original structure and layout, such as the main streets and residential areas dating back to the period of the ban on Christianity, in good condition."[23] The "land use pattern" itself is an element in the WH policy for preservation and management, which calls, for example, for action for continued use of farmland.

3. Local heritage imaginations

This section addresses the reflection of "Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region" and related assemblages of resources at the local institutional level hosting the cultural property. We address two institutions emerging in the post-2007 context of the nomination. Firstly, the Information Center "Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region", as a branch of the Nagasaki Prefectural Government opened in 2014 manages visits at churches from nominated components. Secondly, the 2007- founded Nagasaki Pilgrimage (*Junrei*) Center, as a church-related NPO also involved in joint actions with the Nagasaki Prefecture Tourism Association functions as a sightseeing platform targeting places related to the history of Christianity (churches, museums or martyrdom sites) in the whole Nagasaki Prefecture. The timing of our fieldwork allowed a questioning on the cherished resources by the local institutions and inhabitants as well as the adaptation of the local promotion campaign to the new assemblage of resources.

The Information Center "Hidden Christian Sites in the Nagasaki Region" organizes visits at seven churches from nominated villages (Shitsu, Ono, Kuroshima, Former Gorin Church, Egami, Sakitsu) and a church from a non-nominated one (Tabira).[24] Technically, it offers a prior notice system, upon which a "church keeper" is appointed for a thirty minutes long visit. The format of the visits is "individual" or "group." The options for a visit are a church, a group of churches, or the

[22] Comprehensive Preservation and Management Plan, p. 191

[23] Selected descriptions from the "Description" Chapter of the nomination file.

[24] The World Heritage Centre recognizes the center as an exclusive manager of information on visitor access to the site. In the nomination phase, the Information Center centralizes all the documentation produced at city level on areas of visit (e.g. Sasebo area, Hirado area), distributed at stations, airports etc.

Mass by appointment. The challenge of the institution is to protect the intimacy of the church as a praying place in the context of the nomination, when it becomes a touristic destination. For this purpose, it established a set of manners for visiting e.g. not taking photographs during the Mass, not entering the altar, not touching ceremonial and decorative objects. Making the tourists follow these rules is the Center's mission, while not the photographing itself, but the transmission of photos via twitter etc. is considered intrusive for Christians and the intimate practice of faith.[25] The visitors are described as people joining "pilgrimage groups" (visits of selected churches) from South Korea, Philippines, Hong Kong or Taiwan who visit the churches regardless of the nomination, people from Europe and the Americas who hopefully will do longer stays, or Japanese people who re-visit their history. Some indexed numbers from an internal document of the Center refer to visitors on Pilgrimage tours depending on the seasons – April to June (4308) and July to September (1259). (*figures of 2013*) From the nominated components, the most visited place is Oura Cathedral, in which, because of a growing number of visitors, an adjacent building is used for the Mass. The least visited are the first three components or "those without a church" (remains of Hara Castle, Kasuga village, Sakitsu village). The increasing number of visits at churches and overall nominated village is also approached by "church keepers", who, from a perspective of local inhabitants, see the further inscription as disturbing the peacefulness of their living place. Others see it as making the place livelier. On a symbolic level, one positive outcome of the nomination is that it will promote the spirit of Christianity and its local features.[26] In the visit itself, the church keepers present a linear narrative on the history of Christianity and put a central element related to a local history. For example, the dismantling and relocation of the Old Gorin church by sea in 1931 in Hisaka Island. The background information displayed by the Center shows that the number of Catholic Churches and Catholics in Nagasaki is bigger than anywhere else in Japan: 134 Catholic Churches in Nagasaki / 991 Catholic Churches in Japan; 50 Catholic churches in Goto area / 134 Catholic Churches in Nagasaki; 612 62, Catholics in Nagasaki / 437 267, Catholics in Japan.[27]

The Nagasaki Pilgrimage (*Junrei*) Center proposes eight "pilgrimages" understood as visits in eight coastal and offshore places related to specific stages in the history of Christianity in Nagasaki

[25] Interview, Nagasaki, 6.12.17

[26] Interviews in Shitsu, Ono and Hisaka Island, 11/ 12.2017

[27] Numbers of 2013, Catholic Bishops' Conference in Japan, https://www.cbcj.catholic.jp/english/, on display at the Info Center

Prefecture - introduction, flourishing or crackdown. The "pilgrimages" include churches, museums, graves, castles, Christian shrine or sites of martyrdom. For example, the pilgrimage in the Goto Islands includes a trip to Fukue Island and seven stops at churches and a "Christian cemetery." The area is presented as hosting 50 churches built by the Christians who reached the island in the late 18th century. The pilgrimage in Hirado includes four churches, a martyrdom site and two museums (Hirado City Kirishitan Museum and Shima no Yakata Museum of Ikitsuki). The pilgrimages include active churches, former church on a "now-abandoned" island, churches with or without legal protection. They are cherished for their architectural and historical values or striking and creative design (e.g. piling up natural stones, drawing wood grain by hand onto boards, front wall finished with stucco etc.). Apart from churches, the pilgrimage includes places such as Endo Shusaku Literature Museum (Endo Shusaku, 1923 – 1996, author of the novel *Silence* which relates the story of Christians under oppression) or Shima no Yakata Museum of Ikitsuki, which presents information on the history and folklore of the Island of Ikitsuki and displays artifacts related to livelihood and religion. The Center has four regional stations in the Nagasaki Prefecture and its activities are: implementing and training guides to conduct the pilgrimage; approaching the "Nagasaki Pilgrimage" as a regional revitalization project; management and support of accommodation activities related to the Nagasaki Pilgrimage.[28] The aim of the Center is to provide tourists with a true understanding of Christianity in Nagasaki and thus does not define its mission in terms of promoting the nomination. The pilgrimage is understood as a way of re-discovering Nagasaki, when people don't only visit the place but go back in time and take "a journey of the heart".

The outlook on the two local institutions revels the role of the church as an architectural, intimate and local asset. The Information Center proposes visits at churches, while the Pilgrimage Center proposes visits with combined destinations – churches, graveyards, or sites of martyrdom. The document "Nagasaki Pilgrimage: a Guide to the Churches and Christian Sites of Nagasaki" shows that currently there are 130 churches in Nagasaki Prefecture and that each of these churches recounts to us a local history of Christian faith. The local value of churches is stressed by the aforementioned document, co-produced by the Center and the Nagasaki Prefecture Tourism Association: "for an international standard, most of Nagasaki churches are small, simple buildings. But they symbolize the "resurrection" of the local, deep-rooted Christianity in this area."

[28] Nagasaki Pilgrimage Center - http://www.nagasaki-junrei-center.jp/

Additionally, we question the meanings that the two local institutions and local inhabitants give to places related to the "Hidden Christian" historical group. For the Pilgrimage Center, the new nomination changes the work of the local guides, who, upon the change of the property's content from "Churches and Christian Sites" to "Hidden Christian Sites" need to focus on the overall history of the place, not only of the church. [29] Then, the WH Promotion Division of the Nagasaki Prefectural Government has a road map under preparation, which explains the locations of Hidden Christians (sites of houses of Hidden Christian leaders, house containing devotional tools, or graveyard) – how to walk to them, and how each site stands within the village. Now it is difficult to understand this group just by looking at the sites, as the Hidden Christians are not easy to understand. For local guides, showing these locations is a way of taking pride in their home place.[30] In our interviews with local guides, the members of the living religious community (*Kakure Kirishitan)* are approached in terms of their living places and praying rituals. They show that most *Kakure Kirishitan* live in Hirado, then there are those of Sotome and Goto. They still follow *oratio* as a prayer ritual, which takes place in the house of the group leader, and not in the church.[31]

This insight on the cherishing of specific resources offers new ground for re-questioning the commodification of cultural resources (Harvey, 2009) and what is incorporated as "tradeable commodity" in the World Heritage and local imaginations. The imagined anxiousness of local inhabitants of remote and calm areas about their changing life circumstances or the preparation of a zoning plan of private and public areas[32] are entry points for the study of the transformation of a village into a commodified place.

[29] Interviews, Nagasaki, 18 / 21.11.2017
[30] Interview, Nagasaki, 21. 11.2017
[31] Interviews, Shitsu and Ono, 6.12.2017. The word *orashio* derives from the Latin *oratio* and has been in use from the time of the Kirishitan to the present. The prayer seems to faithfully transmit the wording as it has been handed over by missionaries in the time of the Kirishitan. (Miyazaki, 2003)
[32] Interview, Tokyo, 17.11.2017

©RM, Former Gorin Church (left hand side)

©RM, Egami Church

©RM, Shitsu Church

Conclusion

The imagination of selected places and objects at the World Heritage and local institutional level and related articulations and contestations was the object of our work. We followed the track of selected objects since the informal initiation of the World Heritage nomination until the listing phase. By doing so, we followed the call for a need to theorize the role of material "things" in the complex set of relationships in which human and non-human agents, heritage objects, places, and practices are bound together in contemporary worlds. (Harrison, 2018: 1369). Thus, we placed our interrogation in the framework of a needed shift from the privileged focus on the discourses of heritage. In *Uses of Heritage*, Smith (2006) privileges such a focus when drawing on critical discourse analysis to chart the connection between power and the language of heritage, showing how the discourses of heritage, termed as Authorized Heritage Discourse, both reflect and create a particular set of socio-political practices. (Harrison, 2018: 1368).

By looking at the formal and informal phases of the nomination, we could reveal the specific assemblies of resources that various actors mobilized. We addressed how two key elements – the churches and the Hidden Christian sites - are illustrated in the new nomination file. Then, we revealed the echoes of the inscription at the local institutional and everyday level in the late pre-inscription phase. We could see how the resources are articulated by two local institutions and showed what is cherished at a local level. While the church is an attractive resource for both institutions, the heritage related to the "Hidden Christian" historical group is peripheric in the narratives of the interviewed institutional members.

The "modes of existence" theoretical framework allowed us to see assemblages of categories at two levels, and their coexistence side by-side. First, at the nomination level itself, when the packages of resources underwent specific transformations until the listed version of the WH cultural property. Secondly, between the WH level and the local level, where the network of resource creators, consumers and the objects themselves has its own existence modes. Political entities, individuals, areas, or buildings are inter-connected into modes of existence that structure our common world. The "modes of existence" vision blurs the difference between cultural and natural, tangible and intangible and constantly re-defines our common world in which heritage is assembled and dissembled.

The limit of the study stands in privileging an exploration of the institutional configurations of heritage which needs to be supplemented by further fieldwork. A deeper fieldwork in the place now recognized as a WH cultural property will be able to offer valuable insights in the post-inscription changes at local levels. Namely, we believe that a contrastive study of the coastal and offshore villages within the property that our further work plans, could bring deep insights into tourism forms at the creation and consumption levels, as well as overall local economies. Apart from the visits connected to a religious heritage, the place is imagined in terms of alternative tourism forms, such as eco-tourism or experiential tourism. The nominated area in a village and all the elements which compose it, as well as the places outside this area, offer a highly interesting ground for this exploration.

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THE BODY OF THE SUMO WRESTLER: TRADITION AND CHANGE

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Abstract: *There are many Japanese sports that have entered the international arena, judo having even become an Olympic sport. However, it is sumo, with its characteristics that go beyond mere physicality and training, that has remained the "traditional" Japanese sport, THE national sport. More than a competition of strength and technique, sumo has been associated with ritual practices, such as divination at the beginning of the agricultural year, rain charms (female sumo), or sumo odori as a sacred art performance. Nowadays, there are two categories of sumo wrestlers: one is represented by those who belong to the Japanese Sumo Association, the professionals who conform to traditional precepts, who have created and preserve the image we have of the body of a sumo wrestler in contemporary society. The other are the amateurs, who see and perform sumo as a modern sport, not from a sacred, but from a perspective based on scientific training.*
The present paper aims at discussing the internationalization of sumo by looking at the body of the sumo wrestler. If we consider the number of (some of them highly successful) non-native Japanese professional sumo wrestler, we might be led to believe that the internationalization of sumo is an accomplished fact. However, by analyzing how the body of the sumo wrestler is created according to tradition and folklore, I would like to argue that the international bodies who have entered the sumo world have not turned it into an international sport; on the contrary, those non-Japanese bodies have acquired the necessary physical attributes that would allow them to be part of the sumo world.

Keywords: sumo, Japanese sport, ritual, body, internationalization

Introduction

Many Japanese traditional competition sports have become known worldwide, with martial arts such as judo, karate, aikido, kendo, or kyudo gaining international popularity in recent years. A particularly successful example of diffusion outside the borders of Japan is that of judo, which has become an Olympic event. While not as popular as judo, karate, aikido, and kendo have acquired a numerous population of practitioners, with dojos established in most parts of the world, a fact which may lead us to believe that competition sports that have their roots in Japanese martial arts have managed to attain a certain degree of

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internationalization. The reason for this is that these sports, while inherently Japanese, possess a certain degree of secularity, the training is based on modern scientific methods, and anyone can participate. This chapter will address the situation of sumo, one of the Japanese traditional competition sports.

Sumo is also a martial sport, but one characteristic that makes it different from other martial arts is the fact that is it divided between professional sumo and amateur sumo. Professional sumo refers to the grand sumo tournaments managed by Nihon Sumo Kyokai ("Japanese Sumo Association"), which descend directly from the fund-raising competitions held during the Edo period in order to collect money for temples or shrines. Professional sumo is based on the classical image of sumo wrestlers, that has been transmitted since ancient times, and has become established in modern society, while amateur sumo is closer to the image we have nowadays of sports. In other words, from the perspective of internationalization, it is rather the amateur sumo that has achieved success outside of Japan, and that has the largest number of non-Japanese wrestlers. Grand sumo tournaments, on the other hand, seem to have stopped at performing tours abroad in order to introduce the Japanese sumo culture to the world, and as such professional sumo is far from being popular. Nevertheless, in recent times the performance of non-Japanese wrestlers in grand tournaments has been extraordinary, to the extent that they have come to represent the contemporary sumo world. This in itself appears to be an indication that the sumo world has become fairly international, but the phenomenon is more complicated than that. In this chapter, the issue of sumo internationalization will be analyzed from the perspective of the folklore surrounding the body of the professional sumo wrestlers.

Previous perspectives

There are quite a few studies related to international sumo wrestlers, prominent among them being those concerned with the language acquisition skills of the wrestlers. To be more exact, the topic of mastering the Japanese language in a short time has attracted the researchers' interest, beginning with Satoshi Miyazaki's study from 2006, "Why Are Sumo Wrestlers So Proficient in Japanese[2]." Oinuma's 2010 paper, "Non-Japanese Participants in Grand Sumo Tournaments and the Heya System" discusses the environment where international wrestlers find themselves once they are part of the official sumo system, while Okada ("The Japanese and Non-Japanese Are the Same-the

[2] For coherence purposes, an English translation has been given here for studies originally published in Japanese.

Hungry Spirit and Family Ties that Support the International Sumo Wrestlers" 2008) focuses on the reasons why non-Japanese wrestlers have such a brave attitude towards their chosen career despite being confronted with an unfamiliar environment. A digital database created by the Asahi Shimbun, "WEBRONZA", has gained popularity by offering various articles on the wrestlers' style, as well as addressing the reformation of the sumo world, particularly the taboo on women entering the ring. The topic is one of high interest, having been addressed by Oinuma in 2008-"The Globalization of the Grand Sumo Tournaments: Non-Japanese Wrestlers and the Female Taboo."

By comparison, the research concerned with the body of the wrestlers is not equally abundant. To be precise, there are few studies that deal with the body of the sumo wrestler from a general perspective, regarding it as a cultural element, and not just as a living body. It is not an exaggeration to say that research focusing on the human body from a cultural perspective is still lagging behind the social perspectives (the factors of external appearance that construct the human being) or the psychological ones (the inner factors involved). In 1998 Komatsu and Katsuki published a collection of studies, "The Folklore of the Body and Mind", where they try to establish a cultural position for the Japanese body. Komatsu suggests that the body is a solid element within the social structure, visibly influenced by its changes, the result being that the body an individual has is actually decided by society. Moreover, there is a close connection between body and mind, and in many cases human feelings are actually expressed through the body. Following this current of thought, Kuraishi (2013) focuses on the folklore surrounding the body in the day-to-day culture, particularly body parts such as hands, fingers, or nails. He also focuses on body parts that had previously been ignored, such as the genitalia, emphasizing the importance of the cultural body. Kuraishi offers a folkloric perspective of the hand as part of the sumo wrestler's body-giving the examples of stone monuments engraved with the handprint of a wrestler, or similarly stamped papers, he argues that the hand is a symbol of character, skill, and power. Worthy of special attention is Whang's study from 1996, "The Body as Culture. The Case of the Sumo Wrestlers", which is a direct approach to the body as a cultural aspect. Whang views the body within several frameworks: "the passive body", "the body as a cultural construct", "the body as metaphor." The "passive body" appears as the representation of a sport where a moment's balance decides the winner of a fight, where the participants have to master (through harsh training) the fundamental components of the sumo way, "mind-skill-body", and where the processes through which their bodies are shaped is expressed in the ring. Whang suggests that all these elements contribute to the completion of the sumo wrestlers' selves. She is also of the opinion that the naked body is the center of a set of beliefs surrounding the bodies of the sumo wrestlers, intricately connected to the culture of the Japanese body. The "body as a cultural construct" sees the bodies of the wrestlers as an expression of the quality and quantity of their training, as well as their attitude towards it. The way they express their feelings is an internalization of the cultural practices shaped within the sumo world, and their special techniques are the result of both their physical attributes and their internal attitude towards the sumo culture. Their bodies are also a "metaphor" because they have been developed through the sumo tradition, transcending the intrinsic sumo philosophy and being re-created as symbols of power preservation within the world of international politics and economy.

This chapter will follow the method suggested by Kuraishi (2013) of analyzing the various parts of the body of a sumo wrestler, and the folklore surrounding them, as well as the wrestling techniques they are associated with, using data that is currently available. Referring to the body as a "cultural construct", Whang gives the example of small-build competitors, who overcome the differences in weight through agility, thus establishing a clear connection between body and technique. This chapter aims at analyzing the body of non-Japanese sumo wrestlers who are currently active, from the perspective of internationalization, discussing the issue of the internationalization of sumo from the point of view of body-centered folklore.

The body of the sumo wrestler in Japanese tradition

As mentioned above, the professional sumo wrestlers perpetuate a physical image that has been shaped by tradition, and this is what creates a clear distinction from contemporary sports. For each physical characteristic established in the distant past and transmitted through figurines of wrestlers, there is an array of tales and beliefs surrounding it.

1. Hairstyle

The specific topknot worn by sumo wrestlers, called *ôichô*, can be observed on haniwa clay figurines dating back to the 5th or 6th centuries. Since haniwa were placed in graves, there is a clear connection to funerary rituals, the specific role of this figurines being that of protecting the deceased from evil spirits. Those figurines represented individuals with big bellies and strong arms, who supported the ceiling of the tomb, and wearing their hair in a topknot called *henpeimage*, which could supposedly ward off evil. The wrestlers' hairstyle is first mentioned in *Kojiki*, in an episode considered the first recording of a sumo match, namely the contest between Takeminakata no kami and Takemikazuchi no kami, who wore their hair in the *mizura* style. During the Edo period, the original *henpeimage* evolved into the current *ôichô* type topknot. In the beginning of the Meiji period (August 9, 1872), the Great Council of State issued on ordinance that prohibited the topknots characteristic to previous eras, but sumo wrestlers were exempt from this law because some state officials were fond of the sport and considered that the lack of a topknot affected the image of the wrestler, and this is how the *ôichô* survived until the present (Shimoie 2006). Nowadays, the topknot is a symbol of the professional sumo wrestlers, and is seen as part of their bodies, which is why grabbing an opponent's hair is considered foul and leads to losing the match. Moreover, this topknot has a particularly strong meaning for the wrestlers themselves, and the loss of hair leading to the impossibility of tying up a topknot is seen as the end of a wrestler's career.

2. Hands and arms

The original form of sumo can be seen in the above-mentioned contest between Takeminakata no kami and Takemikazuchi no kami, their confrontation being called *te-goi*. According to the myth, Takeminakata first tried to grab his opponent's arm, but Takemikazuchi's arm became hard as a pillar of ice and sharp as a sword. When in turn, Takemikazuchi grabbed Takeminakata's arm, the latter's limb became soft like young reed leaves, and was smashed by Takemikazuchi. Shinobu Orikuchi (1934) sees this contest as more than a mere physical confrontation; in his opinion, the participants are actually testing each other's magical powers, a ritual that has been transmitted to the sumo competitions as well. According to Kuraishi (2013), in this myth the arm is not just a limb, but a symbol of power and authority, representing the entire body, and it is this belief that led to customs such as recording the handprint of a newborn, or using the handprint of a sumo wrestlers as an amulet or souvenir. The sumo techniques are called *kimarite*, and we can thus infer that this *te* (hand) is connected to the hand that represents power and authority. The use of the hand is very important in sumo, the way one grabs the opponent or pushes him being often the element deciding the result of a match, so it is not far-fetched to say that even in contemporary competitions there remains something of the magical meaning of the hand in the ancient myth.

3. Legs

In another Japanese chronicle, *Nihonshoki*, a battle where the legs have a particular importance is recorded in the chapter about Emperor Suinin. Nomi no Sukune and Taima no Kehaya fought using their legs, and eventually Sukune kicked Kehaya and cracked his ribs, then stomped on his hipbone and killed him. Many sources indicate this episode as the origin of sumo, based on the words used by the emperor to refer to the fight between Sukune and Kehaya-"*sumai torashimu*." Hasegawa (1993) sees this fight as excessively bloody and considers that it was more of a free battle than a sumo match; indeed, a fight where a fallen opponent is kicked to death seems very distant from the sumo aesthetics. Nevertheless, it is also possible to imagine that in the old times kicking was a gesture allowed in sumo.

In modern sumo, the basic techniques of using the upper half of the body and the hand techniques decide the result of a match, but there are also many important techniques that use the legs, such as *uchigake*, *sotogake*, *kekaeshi*, *ashitori*, or *susobarai*. Besides these, the leg stomps (*shiko wo fumu*) performed by the Yokozuna during the first ring entry ritual, or by the wrestlers before the match are also important movements that involve the legs. This movement is called *chikara ashi* (strong legs)-the wrestlers crouch with their legs wide open, then lift them alternatively-and many see it as a sign that the preparations for the match are complete. However, *shiko* written with a different kanji can also mean "ugly", referring to the evil spirits that lurk under the surface of the earth, and which can be appeased through stomping. During the Heian period, one of the courtly rituals called *sumai sechie* was performed by a priest leading sumo wrestlers, who stomped the ground in a rite called *henbai*, a clear example of the sacred use of sumo related gestures.

According to Misumi (1976), *henbai* is one of the movements specific to Japanese performing arts, along with *ashibyôshi*, *ranbyôshi*, *shihô katame* and *jikatame*. In kagura, *henbai* implies stomping the stage with force in order to suppress the evil spirits and restore balance to the world. Misumi also states that *henbai* is used not only to appease or ward off evil spirits, but also to invoke them, as seen in the myth of the hidden sun. Infuriated by the actions of her younger brother, the god Susano-wo, Amaterasu, the sun goddess, hides in a cave and plunges the world into darkness, so the other gods ask Ame-no-Uzume to help. Ame-no-Uzume dances on a barrel in front of the cave, and her stomping makes the other gods laugh with excitement. Curious, Amaterasu peeks from the cave and is pulled out, the result being that Ame-no-Uzume's dance is seen as a magical gesture that restores divine power, becoming the origin of the *ashibyôshi*.

Thus, leg stomping appears to have a double effect, controlling evil forces and restoring the power of the gods at the same time. A concrete example of leg stomping as appeasement is that of the "one-man sumo" ritual performed at Ôyamazumi Shrine in Imabari, Ehime, on May 5th (lunar calendar) during the rice planting ceremony, and on September 9th, during the harvesting ceremony. By enacting various gestures characteristic to sumo, the performer forces the rice spirit to go back to the earth, ensuring rich crops in the future. The opposite effect is created during the "Doronko sumo" ritual from the Etsutsumi area in Sakurai city, Nara, where on New Year's Day (according to the lunar calendar, February according to the calendar in use) a sumo match takes place in the middle of the rice paddies in order to rouse the spirit of the earth and make sure the crops grow abundant. The Meiji Shrine in Tokyo also has deep connections with the sacred aspect of sumo, and special rituals called Jikatame Sumo (earth-hardening sumo) are performed by Nihon Sumo Kyokai for the recommendation for promotion to the rank of Yokozuna ceremony, the first ring-entry ceremony in spring and autumn, as well as during the earth-pacifying ceremony that preceded the opening of the Meiji Shrine Garden on June 1st, 1918. All these examples show that legs are just as present as hands and arms in the traditions related to sumo, and their role in the performance of various techniques is just as important.

4. Torso

In a strict sense, the word torso designates the chest and abdomen, but in a larger sense, it can be used to refer to the general form of a wrestler's body. In this analysis, the word torso will be used in the wider acceptance, and references to the concept of naked body will also be discussed.

Both within and outside Japan, the classical image of a sumo wrestler is that of a naked man with a well-rounded body, an image that can be traced back to the ancient haniwa figurines. Archeologists agree that the haniwa representing sumo wrestlers from the 5th and 6th century display the same image of a man wearing only a loincloth, with his hair tied up in a flat topknot (*henpeimage*). This image is not limited to Japan, similar figurines having been discovered in tombs from China and the Korean Peninsula, which prompted researchers to believe that sumo is actually an imported sport (Kimine 2016), a tradition that goes beyond the borders of a single country. The haniwa were placed in tombs as funeral objects, or similar images were painted on the tomb walls, their relationship with funerary rites being very clear. The naked wrestlers acted as protective amulets, guarding the departed from evil spirits, a belief that can still be found in the Japanese rites related to the naked body. Even nowadays, there are many practices and rituals at temples and shrines that involve men wearing only loincloths, the presence of naked bodies being something that not only was not avoided, but it was actually welcome in sacred instances. This is an element that clearly shows that in Japanese society, nakedness was not associated with shame (Whang 1996).

While the concept of naked body is easy to define and analyze, the same cannot be said about the form of the wrestler's body. It is actually hard to say whether the fact that the discovered haniwa had well-rounded bodies is a simple coincidence, or whether they actually represent the traditional image of the wrestler at that time. There are records, however, that in Japan, at least, during the courtly ritual *sumo sechie*, the participants had big, rounded bellies. That tradition continued during the Muromachi period, with warrior sumo, and Edo period, with fund-raising sumo, until the sumo as we know it in the present.

The need for a big body in sumo is a concept supported not only by the ritual, symbolic meaning, but it also has a scientific basis as a sport where the victor can be decided in the blink of an eye. The huge bodies of the wrestlers are honed through harsh training so that they do not expect a victory based merely on the force of impact, but use muscle force, flexibility and agility to move around in the narrow ring, as well as build endurance for prolonged matches. In conclusion, it can be said that the body of the sumo wrestler draws on the haniwa tradition and continues to exist as an element that is associated with the sacred while being, at the same time, a highly functional machine.

Non-Japanese wrestlers and the internationalization of sumo

After discussing the image of the wrestler's body within tradition and culture, I shall focus next on the internationalization of sumo, particularly on the situation of non-Japanese wrestlers that are active in tournaments organized by Nihon Sumo Kyokai.

1. Country of origin and body type

According to data made available by Nihon Sumo Kyokai, in May 2018 the number of sumo wrestlers was 685. At any given time, there are usually between 650~690 wrestlers, but only about 650 find their names on the official list called *banzuke*; a table with unique hand written 'sumo calligraphy'. *Banzuke* affects the status of a Sumo wrestler. To have a higher rank in *banzuke* brings more incomes and welfare to wrestler. Hence, each wrestler will try to win as much as possible so that he will have higher and higher range in *banzuke*.

Banzuke is a table with two columns. The column on the right is called the 'east side' and the one on the left is the 'west side'. In *banzuke*, apart from the names of wrestlers, there are names of referees (*gyôji*), retired wrestlers who hold the statuses of senior members in Nihon Sumo Kyokai (*toshiyori*), former wrestlers whom Nihon Sumo Kyokai hires to do different works (*wakaimonogashira, sewanin*), and builders and supervisors of Sumo rings (*yobidashi*). Sumo wrestlers are divided into 6 main classes, namely, *makuuchi*, *jūryô*, *makushita*, *sandanme*, *jonidan* and *jonokuchi*. From the aforementioned 6 classes, *makuuchi* and *jūryô* can be jointly called *sekitori*. To become a *sekitori* is to be a real sumo wrestler, with greatly better incomes and welfare than the 4 other classes. In addition, wrestlers in *makuuchi*, which is the highest class, can be divided in accordance with their skills into 3 groups. The first group is *yokozuna* which is the highest group that a sumo wrestler can be in. There cannot be more than 4 *yokozuna* at a time. The second group is *sanyaku* which consists of 3 levels in accordance with capabilities, namely, *ôzeki*, *sekiwake*, and *komusubi*. Other *makuuchi* wrestler are in the group called 'hiramaku'.

Table 1. The rank of sumo wrestlers

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="5">makuuchi</td><td colspan="2">yokozuna</td><td rowspan="6">sekitori</td></tr>
<tr><td>ôzeki</td><td rowspan="3">sanyaku</td></tr>
<tr><td>sekiwake</td></tr>
<tr><td>komusubi</td></tr>
<tr><td>maegashira</td><td>hiramaku</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">jūryô</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">makushita</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">sandanme</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">jonidan</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">jonokuchi</td></tr>
</table>

The number of non-Japanese wrestlers was less than ten per cent, more precisely, 32, the reason being that official rules limit the number of accepted non-Japanese wrestlers to 40. Moreover, in 2002 regulations stated that each *heya* could have only one non-Japanese member, with things becoming even stricter in 2010, when the "non-Japanese" category was redefined as "not born in Japan", thus including naturalized wrestlers as well. It is obvious that these regulations make the increase in the number of active non-Japanese wrestlers almost impossible.

Table 2. Non-Japanese wrestlers

Birthplace	Number
Mongolia	22
USA	1
Brazil	1
Argentina	1
Inner Mongolia	1
Korea	1
Russia	2
Tonga	1
Georgia	2
The Czech Republic	1
Bulgaria	1
Kazakhstan	1
Estonia	1
Hungary	1
Egypt	1
Canada	1
Indonesia	1
Philippines	1

As can be observed from Table 2, the number of wrestlers from Mongolia is overwhelmingly large compared to other countries, and is followed (at a considerable distance) by Russia and Eastern Europe. It is worth noting that the number of wrestlers from South America, where amateur sumo is quite popular, is surprisingly small, as is the case of Korea, which has a traditional sport similar to sumo, called *ssireum*.

Table 3. Body types (data was not available for all wrestlers)

Birthplace	Average height (cm)	Average weight (kg)	Data available	Total number of wrestlers
Mongolia	187.8	162.1	13	22
USA	-	-	1	
Brazil	194	205	1	
Argentina	-	-	1	
Inner Mongolia	186	146	1	
Korea	-	-	1	
Russia	-	-	2	
Tonga	-	-	1	
Georgia	185	198	2	
The Czech Republic	-	-	1	
Bulgaria	191	188	1	2
Kazakhstan	-	-	1	
Estonia	-	-	1	
Hungary	-	-	1	
Egypt	-	-	1	
Canada	-	-	1	
Indonesia	-	-	1	
Philippines	-	-	1	

What has been read from Table 3 is that non-Japanese wrestlers in the overview has gigantic bodies. Based on the statistics in January 2018, the average height of makuuchi classed Sumo wrestlers is 184.2 cm and the average weight is 164 kg, but non-Japanese wrestlers at that time are taller than the average height, especially a Brazilian wrestler who is 194 cm tall and a Bulgarian wrestler with 191 cm height. However, as for the average weight, it is found out that whilst Brazilian, Bulgarian and Georgian wrestlers weigh greater than the average weight, those from Mongolia and Inner Mongolia have less weights than the average weight of wrestlers in *makuuchi* class. Mongolian wrestlers, which are the population of non-Japanese wrestlers with the greatest number or 22, weigh lower than the average weight of *makuuchi* wrestlers for 2 kg. However, not all wrestlers from Mongolia and other nations are in *makuuchi* class at the time of data collection. Some of them are developing their bodies to have higher weights. Nevertheless, the averages are similar or greater than those of the wrestlers in the highest class. This shows that almost all the foreigners who become sumo wrestlers are tall and have great weights.

2. Preferred techniques

In the database of wrestlers who are currently active, the top three preferred techniques, or *kimarite*, are listed as percentage, for example, as for a *yokozuna* whose name is Hakuho, his 3 most used techniques are shown as percentages in the order, i.e, 1. *yorikiri* 22%, 2. *uwatenage* 19%, and 3. *uwatedashinage* 14%. Other techniques are shown altogether, as for the case of Hakuho, other techniques is 45 %, with the number one technique being awarded four points, number two-three points, number three-two points, and the others one point (but this is not counted in the table). The table below shows the ranking of the preferred techniques for senior wrestlers in *makuuchi* class (non-Japanese included), non-Japanese wrestlers for whom data is available, and Mongolian wrestlers, who represent the majority among international wrestlers.

Table 4

	Senior division （non-Japanese included)	Non-Japanese	Mongolian
Oshi dashi	125 (1)	14 (4)	9 (4)
Yori kiri	106 (2)	65 (1)	54 (1)
Hatakikomi	52 (3)	24 (2)	20 (2)
Uwatenage	22 (4)	18 (3)	15 (3)
Tsukiotoshi	16 (5)	6 (6)	6 (5)
Hikiotoshi	14 (6)	0 –	0 –
Tsukidashi	11 (7)	2 (9)	0 –
Okuridashi	11 (7)	3 (8)	3 (7)
Oshitaoshi	6 (8)	2 (9)	0
Kotenage	5 (9)	9 (5)	5 (6)
Sukuinage	4 (10)	0 –	0 –
Katasukashi	2 (11)	0 –	0 –
Uwatedashinage	2 (11)	5 (7)	5 (6)
Shitatenage	2 (11)	0 –	0 –

The ranking is indicated in brackets.

As for the techniques to beat opponents by wrestlers, currently, Nihon Sumo Kyokai has set out since 2001 that there are 82 techniques, or *kimarite*. There are also 5 methods of beating opponents, which are not regarded as *kimarite*. All the 82 techniques are divided into 6 groups, namely, (1) fundamental techniques, (2) techniques to throw (*nagete*), (3) techniques to cross or to grab opponent's leg (*kakete*), (4) techniques to swing opponent whilst twisting backward (*sorite*), (5) techniques to swing body aside (*hinerite*), and (6) special techniques. As for fundamental techniques, they are divided into 7 types. These techniques are most used by wrestlers. Thus, they are called 'fundamental techniques'. However, in this paper, techniques in two from seven types are discussed, namely, *oshidashi* and *yorikiri* because these two techniques have the highest scores in Table 4. In addition, from the statistics of all the sumo matches (around 3,600 match's) in 12 official tournaments from January 2015 to November 2016, collected by JAPAGRA website[3], these two techniques have the highest scores as well.

As for *oshidashi*, it is from the most basic technique of sumo wrestling or oshi which means 'to push'. A sumo wrestler uses his to palms to push his opponent, with elbows bent and kept by his torso and his knees bent in order to keep center of gravity in a low position and to ensure stability while moving forward. The *oshi* technique is commonly used with t*suk*i technique or to use palms of stretched arms or each palm at a time for many times, to thrusting opponent's body. It can be roughly said that a wrestler who uses his palms to plus his opponent away is a wrestler who attacked with pushing techniques (*tsuki-oshizumo*) without using the technique to grab opponents' silk belt (*mawashi*), which is the uniform of all sumos, in order to swing the opponent. Thus, *oshidashi* technique is to push palms onto body sides, areas underneath armpits, chest or neck of an opponent and to push the opponent out of the ring. While pushing the opponent, the wrestler who attacked barely touches the opponent's belt.

As for *yorikiri* technique, it is from *yori* gesture which is to use one or two hands to grip the opponent's belt and to pull the opponent forward forcibly in order to make the opponent lose balance (from the image, it is apparent that the pulling wrestler will bend his knees in order to become lower and more stable than the opponent.) After gripping the opponent's belt firmly, the gripping one will walk forward and force the opponent over the edge of the ring. In case where two wrestlers can grab each other's belt with two hands, it is called *yotsuzumo*. Principally, one will have the hand that they are good with. In case of *yorikiri*, the way to win is to use the hand that the wrestler is good with to firmly hold the belt, lean to body to that side, and push. This technique is used when the bodies of the two wrestlers are firmly close against each other; thus, the wrestler that can use his body with greater balance or to have strong arms and gripping hands, and the lower part of the body to move forward consistently or rapidly will win.

Masuoka & Hanasaka (1978: 318-319), who studied on written evidence relevant to sumo wrestling from the past to the present, has compared the fundamental techniques of sumo wrestling, which are thrusting (*tsuki*), grabbing and pulling (*yori*) and pushing (*oshi*) that palm pushing is the use of hands, not the full use of all parts of the body.

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[3] 「大相撲がもっと楽しくなる決まり手ランキング2017」 https://jp-infographics.jp/culture/%E5%A4%A7%E7%9B%B8%E6%92%B2%E3%81%8C%E3%82%82%E3%81%A3%E3%81%A8%E6%A5%BD%E3%81%97%E3%81%8F%E3%81%AA%E3%82%8B%E6%B1%BA%E3%81%BE%E3%82%8A%E6%89%8B%E3%83%A9%E3%83%B3%E3%82%AD%E3%83%B3%E3%82%B020.html

It will be effective only when the wrestler walked forward forcibly and rapidly until the opponent cannot stabilize himself. To grab and pull relies on the strength of torso more than the gripping hands. The wrestler with greater height and weight will have advantage over the inferior opponent. As for *oshi*, it is the technique that uses the entire body such as hands and body in the balance manner. It is the most effective technique in using the strength of all body parts for fighting. Thus, a wrestler with small body and short torso should use pushing (*oshi*) technique, a tall wrestler with long arms should use palm pushing (*tsuki*) technique and the one with big body should use grabbing and pulling (*yori*) technique.

Even though Masuoka & Hanasaka said so, considering the results from nowadays sumo matches, one can see that not only do wrestlers with small bodies who are good at *oshidashi* technique but wrestlers with gigantic bodies and heavy weights, such as Gagamaru, a Georgian Sumo wrestler with 186 cm height and 212 kg weight (who is now in *jūryô* class), for 46% have also won with *oshidashi* technique. Furthermore, Akebono, a former wrestler from Hawaii, who has been the 64th *yokozuna*, always won with *tsuki-oshizumo* technique or the technique to push with palms and body because his arm length of 230 cm and strength from 230 kg weight like another former Hawaiian Sumo wrestler or Konishiki who had 187 cm height and 285 kg weight. However, the cases of Akebono and Konishiki have also been concurrent with Masuoka & Hanasaka's ideas of using arms to push (*tsuki*) because both of them used their long arms to push opponents away from themselves, especially Konishiki who has created a great story in the history of Sumo when the fought the 58th *yokozuna* who was a small Japanese wrestler with one of the greatest records, whose name is Chiyonofuji, with 183 cm height and just 126 kg weight in their very first fight in the tournament in Autumn of 1984 when Konishiki, who was in a much lower rank, could push Chiyonofuji out of the ring within few seconds.

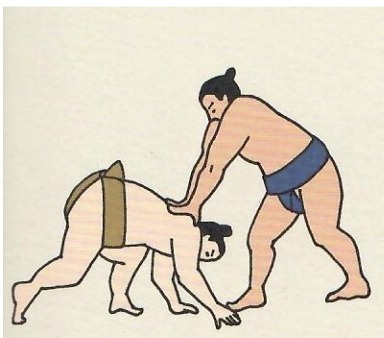
As for *yorikiri* which is a technique for wrestlers with big bodies, based on profiles of modern wrestlers, Masuoka & Hanasaka's remarks may not always be true. For instance, Chiyonofuji, who has been mentioned before, was good at *yorikiri* technique. In addition, formerly famous *yokozunas* such as Kitanoumi (179 cm. 170 kg), Takanohana (185 cm, 161 kg), Asashoryu (184 cm. 154 kg), and Hakuho (192 cm, 154 kg) were also good at yorikiri technique. However, except Hakuho whose height is over 190 cm, such wrestlers had heights and weights that were around the averages. What they had might be strong body torsos from muscles, which might have been a reason why they became *yokozunas*.

From the information discussed here, it can be said that at present, *oshidashi* is a technique that wrestlers with long arms and heavy weights (with high coalition force) prefer. Meanwhile, *yorikiri* is a technique that most wrestlers can use without any limit in term of body size provided that such wrestlers must have torso strength in order to pull the opponents' bodies forward, making the opponents lose their balance and hindering them from using their force.

Information from JAPAGRA website shows that *yorikiri* technique is mostly used or 32.4% or one-third, whilst *oshidashi* is the secondly mostly used or 20.9%, followed by the *hatakikomi* technique that comes in the third place. *Hatakikomi* is to quickly shift away from the hand that the opponent uses for pushing (*tsuki*) while slapping down on the opponent's shoulder or back to make the opponent lose his balance. From this information, it is apparent that current wrestlers use *yorikiri* and *oshidashi* as main techniques more than a half of all other techniques combined together, but *yorikiri* is used most often until it is said to be the commonest technique that is used for beating opponents.

Picture 1. *yorikiri*

Picture 2. *Oshidashi*



Picture 3. *hatakikomi*

From *The Perfect Guide to Sumo*

However, from Table 4, it is apparent that wrestlers in *makuuchi* class have earned the scores from *oshidashi* technique rather than *yorikiri* although the scores from the two techniques are not much different from each other. Even though *yorikiri* is used more often, when statistics of all wrestlers of all classes are considered, as in JAPAGRA website, when individually considering each of those in *makuuchi* class, who are the top and have developed their bodies to the fullest extent, one can see that the number of wrestlers who have won with *oshidashi* is greater. This can be construed that wrestlers in *makuuchi* has gigantic bodies with long arms and great coalition forces; hence, this technique can be used effectively in a fight. If the sumo theory by Masuoka & Hanasaka is considered, one can see that the body pushing (*oshi*) is the most effective technique because it uses all the forces from all parts of the body and wrestlers with small bodies and short torsos should use this technique. Thus, it is possible that wrestlers nowadays use their bodies in the balanced way like original technique. However, considering the bodies of wrestlers nowadays, which tend to have greater and greater averages, I, the author, deem that the reason for the use of *oshidashi* technique should be the former, which is that Sumo wrestlers' bodies tend to be bigger and bigger and the coalition forces during a flight is great until the win-loss result can be seen without the wrestlers' need to grip each other's belt. However, *oshidashi* technique requires stable lower part of the body that does not trip over while moving forward and the opponent swinging his body to avoid being pushed. To have stable lower body part, a wrestler must be trained in the original methods called *shiko* which is to stand with legs spread from each other, raise one leg up high and put the leg down and bend all the legs, and then, repeat the entire process with the other leg raised up high; and *teppô* or to use palms to push a wood column in the training site with two elbows kept close to body, legs bent lower and weight put on the hip on the side of the hand that is stretched out to push. These fundamental training techniques seem to be boring but it a wrestler practices them over and over again, he will use his arms and legs in a balanced way and will avoid injury. Thus, he will be able to fight and earn higher and higher ranks in the continuous manner. Thus, these training techniques are wisdoms that wrestlers in the past have passed on to wrestlers nowadays. In addition, these training techniques can partly help wrestlers use their gigantic bodies effectively.

However, information from Table 4 shows that non-Japanese wrestlers most of which are Mongolian ones are proficient in *yorikiri* technique more than *oshidashi* because the total score of *yorikiri* comes in the first place, followed by the score of *hatakikomi* technique in the second place, the score of *uwatenage* technique (to throw the opponent with the arm that is over an arm of the opponent whilst both wrestlers are grabbing each other's belt with two hands) in the third place, and the score of *oshidashi* in the fourth place. These statistics reveal that non-japanese wrestlers, especially the Mongolian ones, have strong torsos and hands to make strong gripping. At the same time, the techniques in second and third places show that non-Japanese wrestlers, especially Mongolian ones, can use their bodies in differently ways including to move bodies to avoid opponent and to use hands to throw. The techniques to throw by Mongolian wrestlers are not limited to *uwatenage* only but also include *kotenage* and *uwate-dashinage*. To stay close to the opponent and grab and throw him is a fundamental technique of Mongolian Sumo wrestling called 'bokh'. Noguchi (2010) pointed out that, as a group of nomad to raise cattle in an aide desert, Mongolian boys are accustomed to holding and swinging their animals such as baby horses and lambs. In addition, almost all Mongolian sumo wrestlers have had experienced in Mongolian sumo wrestling before. Thus, it can be assumed that the skills to hold and throwing acquired from their lives have been applied to sumo wrestling.

As for *hatakikomi* technique, even though it is in the third place for wrestlers in *makuuchi* class, most of which are the Japanese, the use rate is lower than the use by non-Japanese wrestlers, especially the Mongolian. It is partly because *hatakikomi* is not the direct action, but it is to turn the body to avoid the opponent in the hasty manner, which is a good strategy for wrestlers with small bodies and great levels of agility to beat opponents with much bigger bodies, bit is not a technique that wrestlers with big bodies like, which is partly because of the body sizes that do not allow agile movement. The other main reason is that the Japanese deem that this technique is 'undignified' because it avoids direct fight. Especially for wrestlers in high ranks, this technique should not be used. Nevertheless, non-Japanese wrestlers have mindsets that are different from Japanese ones because they tend to use this technique. Even Mongolian wrestlers who are *yokozunas* such as Asashoryu (retired already) and Hakuho are always critiqued for using this technique, especially Hakuho, who had avoided his opponent since the very first second of a fight until his opponent lost his balance and walked out of the ring, making Hakuho win his 36th championship in 2016, but the audiences booed him a lot and Sumo critics critiqued that he did not deserve *yokozuna* status because the Japanese want high ranking wrestlers to win with his skills without being critiqued that they want to win (for the money reward) without caring about means to win. However, in the other perspective, to make spontaneous and fast decision to avoid the opponent can be a skill to use the bodies that the Mongolian have acquired from their experiences that are different from the Japanese'.

Conclusions

The number of non-Japanese professional sumo wrestlers is currently less than ten per cent of the total number, yet considering the fact that they come from all over the world, we can say that the internationalization of sumo is moving forward. Among these, those who have results worthy of record, such as particularly impressive bodies and number of wins, are less than half, a situation which shows how difficult it is to advance in the world of sumo. But those who do advance have bodies which are larger than the average for *makuuchi class*, and they are of Mongolian origin. These Mongolian wrestlers seem to have fully adopted the standards imposed by the Japanese tradition, from the classical *ôichô* topknot to the body form that is considered ideal, to the use of the most common *kimarite* (preferred by more than half of the wrestlers). In such a meaning, viewed on the bases of external appearances, such Mongolian wrestlers have also conserved the *ôsumo* tradition or the tradition of professional sumo.

However, based on fighting techniques, non-Japanese wrestlers, especially Mongolian ones which are in the greatest number of all, use techniques that are different from others in *makuuchi* class, most of which are the Japanese, because apart from *yorikiri* technique, non-Japanese wrestlers are also good at using their bodies in different ways such as to throw and to move bodies to avoid opponents. Such techniques are not just to push by palms (*tsuki*) and to push by bodies (*oshi*) and to pull opponents forward (*hiku*) in order to make them lose their balance, which can be said to be the linear movement of Japanese wrestlers. Techniques of Mongolian wrestlers are the movements in more diversified directions, showing that not only have they strong torsos and stable lower parts of their bodies but they also have agility and strong arms that they can use for throwing their opponents. It is hypothesized that they have acquired such skills from hard training on sumo wrestling in Japanese style combined with the experiences in living in Mongolia and Mongolian sumo wrestling or *bokh*.

Even though statistical information shown in this paper cannot prove whether or not the heights and weights of wrestlers are correlated to the applied techniques, at least, it shows that non-Japanese wrestlers, especially Mongolian ones, tend to use techniques that are different from the ones used by Japanese wrestlers. The Sumo Association has just announced its acceptance for 12 new techniques (in addition to the 70 formerly existing techniques) around the end of 2000 in order to recognize new techniques that have not been able to be called with existing names. The addition of such techniques is certainly related to the different uses of bodies by non-Japanese wrestlers, whose roles have become significant in the society of professional sumo wrestling in Japan.

However, professional sumo wrestling tends to be in the dimension that is beyond a 'sport', considering the critiques about the dignity of the technique used by the aforementioned Mongolian *yokozuna* , which was not violating any rule. Had it been in the context of any other sport, victory should have been the ultimate goal; and if the victory is under the rules, the winner should not be negatively critiqued. Concerning this point, the field of professional sumo wrestling in Japan seems to be paradoxical.

Japanese sumo wrestling need not be changed in term of tradition such as hair style, outfit and ring because these things have been passed on to as the historical heritages and identities that make sumo sumo. However, if sumo has to be globalized and turned into real sport, all the people involving with the Sumo Association should question the unstandardized perspectives in the criticism on sumo wrestling styles and the opening for a diversity of styles and techniques that come with the presence of non-Japanese wrestlers. In addition, the limit of the roles of non-Japanese wrestlers should be given up.

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TO EXHIBIT OR NOT TO EXHIBIT: THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR AND JAPANESE WOODBLOCK PRINTS AT THE WORLD'S FAIRS OF 1876 AND 1878

Freya TERRYN[1]

Abstract: *Art policymaking in early Meiji Japan actively protected ancient art – such as paintings and sculptures – and promoted handicrafts – primarily ceramics, cloisonné, and lacquer ware – as industrial goods for export. Executed through serial events such as international and domestic art exhibitions, the Meiji government created a concept of art based on Western values. Within this state-made category of art, the popular art form of ukiyo-e, the Japanese traditional genre of woodblock printing, was excluded. While the Meiji government did not recognize the artistic and commercial value of ukiyo-e, woodblock prints, specifically of the Edo period, were being exported in great quantities to Europe due to international demand. In contrast, prints by Meiji period artists were not in vogue due to the common (mis)conception that all Meiji prints revealed strident coloration and non-traditional topics. Recent studies on Meiji prints remain cursory, as they fail to address this contrasting socio-political aspect of the production of Meiji prints. Similarly, research that attempts to reinstate Meiji artists into the history of ukiyo-e, devotes little to no attention to this aspect. Therefore, this paper aims to improve the understanding of Meiji prints through conducting a literary study on official documents related to the international exhibitions, clarifying why government officials ignored their current domestic production. Moreover, it intends to clarify the seemingly paradoxical production of woodblock prints for more than 30 years. In this case, the paradox refers to the contrasting viewpoints in the literature, in which the Meiji government did not recognize woodblock prints as art, whereas the international standards to which they aspired, revered Edo prints as art.*

Keywords: Japanese woodblock prints, ukiyo-e, nishiki-e, international expositions, Ministry of the Interior, shokusan kōgyō policy, Meiji government, japonisme, Philippe Burty, oshiegusa

Introduction

Ukiyo-e (浮世絵), the Japanese traditional genre of woodblock printing, held a captivating position over European taste in Japanese art during the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Being the epitome of the Japanese artistic expression for the West, the demand for woodblock prints – and printed books – rose significantly, resulting in their availability in Parisian shops by the early

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1860s (Evett 1988: xii, 4).[2] Not only could ukiyo-e be acquired at these shops, but they were simultaneously displayed in the Japanese section at international expositions. From the display of Sir Rutherford Alcock (1809-97) – Britain's first diplomatic envoy to Japan – at the Great London Exposition (London, 1862), through the selection of the Tokugawa government at the Exposition Universelle (Paris, 1867), and into the presentation of the newly established Meiji government at the Wiener Weltausstellung (Vienna, 1873), examples of Japanese woodblock prints were continuously exhibited with varying degrees.[3] This established framework of displaying examples of the printed art form, however, was quickly abandoned for all subsequent Japanese sections at international expositions, starting with the Centennial Exposition (Philadelphia, 1876) and the Exposition Universelle (Paris, 1878). The exhibition offices (博覧会事務局; *hakurankai jimukyoku*)[4] for these world's fairs were no longer subject to the instruction of the Great Council of State (太政官; *dajōkan*) – the precursor of the Japanese Cabinet (内閣; *naikaku*) – like the Japanese Imperial Commission for the Vienna exposition, but were established in the Ministry of the Interior (内務省; *naimushō*). This change in governmental departments entailed the promotion of a select set of exhibits in accordance with the main objectives of the *shokusan kōgyō* (殖産興業) policy – the promotion of industry and manufactures – of which the Ministry of the Interior was in charge of from 1873 until 1881 (Aso 2014: 21, Satō 2007: 26). As a result, the government prioritized the promotion of certain craft objects (工芸; *kōgei*) – such as porcelain, lacquerware, bronzes, cloisonné, and so on –, while preventing the outflow of ancient arts to the West (Aso 2014; Impey and Fairley 1995; Kitazawa 1989; Satō 2007).

[2] It is difficult to pinpoint the actual 'discovery' of Japanese woodblock prints in the West. In general, it is attributed to Félix Bracquemond (1833-1914) who supposedly discovered the Hokusai manga at the hands of the printer Auguste Delâtre (1822-1907) in 1856. However, this claim does not take into account the importation of these manga by Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) after his expulsion from Japan in 1829, nor does it take into account his usage of Hokusai's prints in his two monographs '*Nippon Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan*' (Leiden, 1832-1852) and '*Voyauge au Japon, execute pendant les années 1823 à 1830 de l'Empire japonais*' (Paris, 1838). See Lacambre 1988: 60-123.

[3] Alcock displayed works by Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾北斎) (1760-1849) and Andō Hiroshige (安藤広重)(1797-1858), while the Tokugawa government commissioned two ukiyo-e picture albums of fifty sheets each – the artists included Utagawa Sadahide(歌川貞秀) (1807-1879), Utagawa Toyokuni IV (四代歌川豊国) (1823-1880), Utagawa Yoshimune (歌川芳宗) (1817-1880), Ochiai Yoshiiku (落合芳幾)(1822-1866), Toyohara Kunichika (豊原国周) (1835-1900), and Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (月岡芳年) (1839-1892) among others – and the works displayed by the Meiji government in 1873 are discussed in section one of this paper.

[4] These exhibition offices did not only serve as a central site for planning and coordinating state investment in international expositions, but also for domestic expositions and for constructing the state's first national museum (Aso 2014: 23).

Within this state-defined category of art, the popular art form of ukiyo-e was excluded. It is argued that woodblock prints, which are identified as popular (民; *min*) art, were removed from fine art, which is identified as official (官; *kan*) art, as a consequence of the institutional spread of art[5] (Satō 2007: 70). This explanation, however, falls short of not only an in-depth depiction of the underlying forces at play in the disappearance of woodblock prints from international expositions, but also of an interpretation concerning the Western reception of their omission. Moreover, previous studies discussing Japan's participation in world's fairs directed their attention toward the presence and successes of craft objects, thereby taking little account of the fact that the Meiji government excluded woodblock prints from the Vienna exposition onwards (Itō 2008; Kuni 2005, 2010; Sato 1995, 2007; Yoshida 2004). Similarly, studies on Meiji period woodblock prints devote little to no attention to this aspect (Iwakiri 2009; Keene et al. 2001; Meech-Pekarik 1986; Till 2008). In contrast, inquiries that do mention the presence of *nishiki-e* – woodblock prints produced in a full-range of printed colors – at the 1873 exposition do not question their disappearance from the international scene (Evet 1982; Floyd 1983; Lacambre 1988; Nishikawa 2006). As exhibits at world's fairs disseminate the fundamental characteristics of the nation they are representing, this paper analyzes what prompted the Japanese commissions under the Ministry of the Interior to not display any woodblock prints. To this end, the first section overviews the prints exhibited at the 1873 exposition. The second section looks at the rationale behind the omission of woodblock prints by turning to official reports and catalogues of both Japanese commissions. In order to clarify how Western commentators interpreted the lack of woodblock prints, the third section turns its attention to annotations and reviews concerning the Japanese sections at Philadelphia and Paris. Doing so, this paper focuses on the international context in which the Meiji government did not recognize Edo or Meiji period prints as art, whereas the international standards to which they aspired, revered Edo prints as art. By analyzing the hitherto overlooked discourse of woodblock prints under the Ministry of the Interior, this paper attempts to shed new light on the Meiji period definition of Japanese woodblock prints and what could be interpreted as the beginning of the annotated dismissal of Meiji period prints.

[5] This entails for example the classification of different art forms, policies executed by the ministries in charge of the *shokusan kōgyō* policy, art education of the Ministry of Education, the establishment of art societies and schools, and so on.

Nishiki-e as a means of promoting the *shokusan kōgyō* policy

The Wiener Weltausstellung was the first international exposition in which the Meiji government participated, but it was also the last exposition that included a display of Japanese woodblock prints. Although their presence is confirmed by several official catalogues, it is difficult to arrive at a complete picture of the extent of the display as the directories do not elaborate on the total amount of prints, their designers, or why they were chosen to represent Japan at the Vienna exposition (Tōkyō Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 1997: 174; Wagener 1873a: 71; Wagener 1873b: 135). In the literature on woodblock prints of the 1873 exposition, there are only two studies that identified the exhibited *nishiki-e*. In her contribution, Evett (1982: 11) argued that woodblock prints by Kunichika, Kuniteru, Ikkei, Hiroshige II and III had been part of the Japanese display. In line with this finding, Floyd (1983: 115, 469) reported that *nishiki-e* by Kunichika, Kuniteru II, Ikkei, Hiroshige II and III were exhibited.[6] However, Evett and Floyds' assumptions warrant further investigation, as Fux' catalogue (1973: 27-58), which both accounts are referring to, suggests otherwise.[7] Although the previously mentioned artists are listed in his catalogue, they are part of the section dealing with Japan's background to the 1873 exposition and depicted matters related to the Yushima Seidō exhibition (湯島聖堂博覧会) organized under the auspices of the Ministry of Education in August 1872 (Fux 1973: 28-31). Furthermore, in contrast to listings that revealed their acquisition at the Vienna exposition[8], none of the *nishiki-e* listed in the catalogue revealed such information. In other words, Fux' catalogue fails to corroborate the previous assumptions made by Evett and Floyd, suggesting that those woodblock prints were never part of the display of the Japanese section. Moreover, a closer look at the Asian collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst (MAK; Austrian Museum

[6] Floyd, in contrast to Evett, succeeded in correctly identifying Kuniteru as Kuniteru II, as the first artist has been identified to have been active until the late 1850s, therefore seeming unlikely that any prints by Kuniteru would have been exhibited.

[7] Fux' catalogue was published alongside the exhibition 'Japan auf der Weltausstellung in Wien 1873' [Japan at the 1873 Vienna worlds' fair] (Vienna, July 26-September 2, 1973). When it comes to referencing, Floyd (1983: 115, 469) quoted both Evett and Fux, whereas Evett (1982: 129) based her claim on documentation found in Austrian museums that purchased Japanese items from the 1873 exposition. Although she failed to disclose these sources, it may be speculated that she formulated her list of woodblock prints based on Fux' catalogue, considering the considerable overlaps between both accounts.

[8] One of the two paintings by Toyohara Kunichika (豊原国周) (1835-1900), for example, was purchased at the Vienna exposition and houses in the Asian collection of the O□sterreichisches Museum fu□r Angewandte Kunst (MAK; Austrian Museum for Applied Arts) (Fux 1973: 55; Tōkyō Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 1997: 190) (inventory number MAL36). For a detailed description of the painting see Fux 1973: 55 and Hirayama Kobayashi 1994: 83.

for Applied Arts) reveals that a different selection of *nishiki-e* were exhibited, which is shown in Table 1.[9]

Artist	Title	Date seal	Collection
Kanō Yoshinobu (狩野良信) (1848-1919)	Tobacco at a glance (烟草一覧; *tabako ichiran*)	1872	MAK
Mizoguchi Gekkō (溝口月耕) (?-?)	Honeybee at a glance (蜜蜂一覧; *mitsubachi ichiran*)	1872	MAK
Nakajima Gyōzan (中島仰山) (1832-1914)	Cotton at a glance (草綿一覧; *kiwata ichiran*)	1872	MAK
	Kudzu fiber at a glance (葛布一覧; *kuzufu ichiran*)	1872	MAK
Suga Sohō (菅蒼圃) (?-?)	Collection of instruments for musical performance (音曲道具つくし; *ongyoku dōgu tsukushi*)	[no date seal]	MAK
	Collection of instruments for musical performance (音曲道具つくし; *ongyoku dōgu tsukushi*)	[no date seal]	MAK
Utagawa Kuniteru II (二代歌川国輝) (1830-1874)	Collection of all kinds of objects for entertainment (遊芸小間物道具尽; *yūgei komamono dogu tsukushi*)	[no date seal]	MAK
	Collection of items for daily use in the visitors room (座敷日用道具尽; *zashiki nichiyō dōgu tsukushi*)	[no date seal]	MAK
	Collection of agricultural tools (農業道具尽; *nōgyō dōgu tsukushi*)	[no date seal]	MAK
	[no title – depicts a collection of household items]	[no date seal]	MAK
Yamazaki Tōsen (山崎董詮) (1817-1893)	Manufacturing method of lacquerware at a glance (漆製法一覧; *urushi seihō ichiran*)	1872	MAK
	Plants for spinning at a glance (製糸草木一覧; *seishi sōmoku ichiran*)	1872	MAK
	Manufacturing method of hemp at a glance (苧麻製法一覧; *karamushi seihō ichiran*)	1872	MAK
	Manufacturing method of wax and candles at a glance (蠟製法一覧; *rōsoku seihō ichiran*)	1872	MAK

Table 1: confirmed *nishiki-e* displayed at the 1873 exposition listed in alphabetical order according to the artist's name.

Table 1 confirms that at least fourteen prints had been part of the Japanese section at the 1873 exposition. The selection of prints consists of four prints by the woodblock print designer Utagawa Kuniteru II, two

[9] I would like to express my gratitude towards, Dr. Johannes Wieninger, former curator of the Asian Art collection at the MAK, and Dr. Mio Wakita-Elis, current curator of the same collection, for confirming that the prints listed in Table 1 were exhibited and purchased at the Vienna exposition.

prints by Suga Sohō, a porcelain painter[10], and eight prints by varying artists.[11] The latter were part of a series entitled *oshiegusa* (教草) consisting of thirty-four prints published between 1872 and 1874 by the Museum Bureau (博物局; *hakubutsukyoku*) of the Ministry of Education (Fujisawa 2017a; Inoue 2011). Fujisawa (2017a: 88) indicated that the *oshiegusa* were produced not only to serve as educational material to instruct children about the Japanese traditional industries and their production processes, but also were employed to promote the export of domestic products overseas. As part of the preparations for the upcoming Vienna exposition, Tanaka Yoshio (田中芳男) (1838-1916) used the reports on Japan's domestic products as a basis to push forward the realization of the *oshiegusa* series (Fujisawa 2017a; Inoue 2011). It is interesting to note that Tanaka, who had been working for the Museum Bureau since its establishment in September 1871, was also assigned to the Vienna Exhibition Office at the end of November 1872, while remaining an attaché to the Ministry of Industry, which was in charge of the *shokusan kōgyō* policy between 1871 and 1873 (Satō 2007: 26; Wagener 1873). It should be noted that Sano Tsunetami (佐野常民) (1823-1902), who as vice-minister of Industry, had been appointed as the vice-president of the Vienna Exhibition Office. These circumstances support previous findings that the *oshiegusa* exhibited at the 1873 expositions were not displayed for their pictorial or aesthetic qualities, but to serve the aims of the *shokusan kōgyō* policy abroad.

The *oshiegusa* prints in question displayed at the Vienna exposition consist of examples from the original series published between 1872 and 1874.[12] The main, albeit paradoxical, characteristic of the entire series is that whereas it was published with the traditional printing techniques of *nishiki-e*, the Museum Bureau employed classical painters and lithograph artists – and not *nishiki-e* designers – for the compositions. Even Suga, who designed several prints for the 1873 exposition, is listed among the other artists that contributed to the *oshiegusa* series (Inoue 2011: 17).[13] The only artist who had experience with designing *nishiki-e* in Vienna's

[10] Suga was the head of the *Jiki Seizōsho* (磁器製造所) [manufactory for porcelain] that was attached to the Exhibition Office of the Vienna exposition.

[11] The inventory numbers for Kuniteru's, Suga's, and for the varying artists' prints are KI 15695-1 ~ 2, KI 15696-1 ~ 2, and HM 10765-1 ~ 8 respectively.

[12] As far as can be reliably established, the eight prints in the MAK collection are among the few surviving examples of the original series, as a fire in the Ministry of Education in 1875 resulted in reprints between June 1875 and 1876 with new woodblocks (Fujisawa 2017a; Inoue 2011). The latter reveal alterations in title boxes, design, lay-out, and coloration, of which well-preserved examples house today in the collection of the Edo Tokyo Museum (江戸東京博物館 *edō tōkyō hakubutsukan*) (inventory numbers 86300761-1 to 86300761-32).

[13] Other artists that contributed to the series who are not mentioned in Table 1 are Miyamoto Sanpei (宮本三平) (?-?) and Hattori Sessai (服部雪斎) (1807-?).

display was Kuniteru II, who is most known for his contributions to the series of 'full-color woodblock prints published by the Ministry of Education' (文部省発行錦絵) from 1873 onwards, of which he is the only identified artist in an oeuvre of 104 prints (Fujisawa 2017b; Inoue 2011).[14] Although Kuniteru II's prints displayed at the 1873 exposition do not reveal a date seal, his connection with the Ministry of the Interior would suggest that he may already have been employed by the ministry prior to the 1873 series to design those four prints for educational purposes and to be displayed at the Vienna exposition.

In the end, the woodcuts displayed at the Vienna exposition disclose that Meiji officials did not exhibit examples of their printed art form for aesthetic, but for educational and promotional reasons. On the one hand, their promotional function reflects the government's ambitious plans for transforming the domestic industries and stimulating economic growth, previously identified as the *shokusan kōgyō* policy (Aso 2014: 13). On the other hand, their educational role is intertwined with the institutional goal of domestic exhibitions and national museums, which is identified as 'mass education' and has a 'public function of advancing and broadening the people's knowledge' (Aso 2014: 15, 21). Doing so, these two incentives underscore the paradoxical identity of Meiji period prints. As will become evident in the following sections, this paradox refers to the contrasting viewpoints in the literature, in which the Meiji government did not recognize Edo or Meiji period woodblock prints as art, whereas the international standards to which they aspired, revered Edo prints as art.

The omission of *nishiki-e*

Japan's first forays on the international stage continued with its participation in the world's fairs of Philadelphia and Paris in 1876 and 1878 respectively. Preparations for both international expositions took place under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, which had been established by Ōkubo Toshimichi (大久保利通) (1830-1878) in November 1873 in order to spearhead the promotion of Japan's industrial production. As a result, this ministry came to be in charge of the execution of the *shokusan kōgyō* policy and its minister, Ōkubo, was appointed president of both exhibition offices (Hakurankai 1934: 22; Higure 1877: 29; Wagener 1876: 5-6). This deep-rooted connection between the policy and the exhibition offices manifested itself in both the outline of the goals to be obtained at each exhibition and in the selection of items to represent Japan abroad, such as the prioritization of

[14] The majority of the prints are lacking an artist's signature.

the promotion of craft objects, including porcelain, cloisonné, lacquerware, bronzes, and so on. Both commissions aimed to garner a high reputation amongst foreign countries and to increase the export of Japan in general, and of craft objects in particular (Hakurankai Kurabu 1934: 25, 85), all the while relying on the *onchizuroku* (温知図録) for the selection of designs and to trading companies for the exhibition and sale of craft objects. Here *onchizuroku* refers to a pre-determined selection of craft design sketches made by the Japanese government for the exhibition and promotion of craft objects, which were used not only for the international expositions of 1876 and 1878, but also for the National Industrial Exhibitions of 1877 and 1881 (Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1997: 13-15). Trading companies represented at each world's fair included the Kiriu Kosho Kuwaisha (起立工商会社), Shippō Gaisha (七宝会社), Kōransha (香蘭社), Hyōchiensha (瓢池園社), and Chaki Shōsha (茶器商社), which specialized in the manufacture and export of porcelain, cloisonné enamel, tea sets, silk, and so on (Wagener 1876: 6-12, 13-36; Catalogue de la Section Japonaise 1878: 1-38, 39-47). This preoccupation with craft objects originated in the desire to restore the image of Japanese craft objects to the standards and reputation of those of the Edo period, as "the opening of Japan had resulted in a general deterioration, Japanese artists going astray, and a lack of guidance to meet the demand of the foreign market" (Wagener 1876: 51).

In contrast to the government's determination to uplift craft objects for monetary gain and a favorable reputation abroad – which culminated in the supremacy of craft objects at the Japanese section of both world's fairs –, the Imperial Commissions only shipped off a finite number of items to represent the department of art.[15] It was within this department of art that the commissions were given the opportunity to display examples of their printed art form at both world's fairs. Yet, neither the class of wood engravings of the 1876 exhibition nor the class of prints and lithographs of the 1878 exposition respectively featured

[15] According to both the Japanese and English language official catalogue of the Japanese section at the 1876 exposition, Japan sent a total of 646 exhibits. More than one third contained craft objects for the department of manufactures – 242 to be exact – whereas 139 items were shipped off to Philadelphia to represent the fine arts of Japan. This is in stark contrast to the items exhibited at the 1878 exposition. Of the total 45 316 items shipped off, more than half of the exhibits belonged to the department of furniture and accessories, which held all the craft objects. The amount of objects to represent the fine arts were, according to the Japanese catalogue, zero, whereas the English catalogue had 22 listings. These numbers need to be interpreted with caution, as often only a selection of the exhibits was mentioned. In case of the 1876 exhibition, for example, the catalogue published by the United States Centennial Commission claims that Japan exhibited 3663 items, whereas Itō asserts that only 1966 items were on display. In regards to the 1878 exposition Itō confirms the high increase of Japanese exhibits. See Beikoku Hakurankai Jimukyoku 1876: 1-162; Bukkoku Hakurankai Jimukyoku 1880: 9; Catalogue de la Section Japonaise 1878: 1-2; Itō 2008: 7; United States Centennial Commission 1876: 4-5; Wagener 1876: 13-36.

any woodblock prints. Instead, the Government Printing Bureau had been put in charge of selecting items to represent the Japanese printed arts at both international expositions.[16] Established in the Ministry of Finance in 1871, this bureau was primarily in charge of designing and printing paper money, postage stamps, and revenue stamps.[17] As a result, woodblock prints were replaced with hollow and embossed galvanic plates, copper plates for government bonds and revenue stamps, as well as samples of stamps, wrappers for tobacco, postal cards, and so on (Wagener 1876: 28-29). As each commission was given the opportunity to revere Japanese woodblock prints as art, the omission of *nishiki-e* from both world's fairs attests to the fact that Japan did not consider its domestic woodblock print production as art. Although the rationale behind the exclusion of *nishiki-e* from the Japanese sections was never explicitly formulated, it can be found in their official reports in published catalogues and articles. In overall two explanations are formulated. First of all, a prerequisite was created for Japanese art objects to be considered as fine art by both Imperial Commissions. The 1876 Commission[18], outlined the Japanese fine arts as follows:

> From the beginning of the 17th century until to-day, Japan has enjoyed in continual peace, interrupted only by insignificant disturbances. This, of course, has been most favorable to the development of art, to the display of all the faculties of the people, and to the manifestations of the real national character. Science, fine arts, poetry, and music have gradually become the favorite occupation of the upper classes, who encouraged industrial art by giving plenty of work to the artisans, whose finest creations date from this period. (Wagener 1876: 99)

In other words, masterpieces of the fine arts of Japan are defined by and confined to being created in the Edo period. This implies that all subsequent creations of the Meiji period cannot be considered fine art or be equal to the masterpieces of the Edo period, as the opening of Japan to the West had jeopardized the environment in which the Edo era's masterpieces were created, namely, a governmentally nurtured climate. It is also clear from the following statement that Maeda Masana (前田正名) (1850-1921), the commissioner-general of the 1878 exposition, endorsed the Philadelphia Commission's discussion on fine arts:

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[16] In case of the 1876 exposition this bureau featured its exhibits in the class of 'line engravings', whereas for the 1878 exposition they were listed under the class of 'prints and lithographs'.

[17] Its appellation changed throughout the years: in 1871 it was called the Shiheiryō (紙幣寮), in 1877 it was renamed to Shiheikyoku (紙幣局), and in 1878 it changed to Ōgurashō Insatsukyoku (大蔵省印刷局). Today it is known as the National Printing Bureau (国立印刷局; *kokuritsu insatsukyoku*).

[18] It should be noted that it was Gottfried Wagener who – as a foreign advisor (御雇外国人; *oyatoi gaikokujin*) to the Department for Promotion of Industry (勧業寮 *kangyōryō*), which was directly in charge of the *shokusan kōgyō* policy – compiled the English catalogue and its descriptive notes (Wagener 1944: 385; Satō 2004: 7).

> Earlier we spoke of the flourishing state of Yedo (sic) during the time when the provincial government was in the hands of daimyos.[19] It is our duty to expand a little and to give some more details about it. Under this regime, which cultivated the strength and prosperity of our country, all the lords, without exception, took care of all that could contribute to the general well-being, and all the arts flourished at the same time ... Public education, the fine arts, etcetera, everything was at that time in a very flourishing and very advanced state. Scholars and artists, entirely [devoted] to their tasks and considering only their duty, produced masterpieces. ... If art is now very advanced in Japan, it is largely to this period that we are indebted for this progress. The paintings or all kinds of works of art were then commissioned by the government or by the lords. These works, whatever they were, were always executed by their makers in the most selfless way. In order to recognize the service rendered by talented artists to the state and the arts, the artists and their family, received from father to son a fixed treatment by the government. Thus, sheltered from the misery and needs of life, the artist could devote himself exclusively to the noble occupations of his art. Thus art was flourishing and progressing. We still have masterpieces of all kinds, marvelous objects of incomparable finish, which could be impossible for modern art and industry, we will not say to go beyond, but even to match. It was at this time that money, gain, profit was not, as it is today, the main if not the only motive for many jobs. Maintained by the government or by the daimyos who paid their expenses and gave them pensions, the artists worked only for the sake of their art and in the sole thought of given birth to masterpieces. (Maeda 1878: 128-129)

Maeda described in more details the prerequisite for Japanese art to be considered as fine art, namely that art can only be created in an environment which puts no emphasis on profit, but that supports the arts by commissioning its creators. Providing artists with a stipend, results in the artists being able to completely devote themselves to the creation of their work and the birth of so-called masterpieces. Such masterpieces were, according to Maeda, created during the Edo period, as under the Tokugawa rule artists were commissioned by both the government and daimyos. In contrast, the modern arts and industries of today – or in other words of the Meiji period – can never create masterpieces, as the support by the Tokugawa government is gone, resulting in artists being preoccupied with money, gain, and profit.[20]

This prerequisite on the Japanese fine arts had four major implications. First of all, works created by Meiji period artists could not be considered as art. Secondly, all subsequent created works could never

[19] The provincial government to which Maeda refers to is the one of the Edo period, when Japan was under rule of the Tokugawa shogunate and its 300 regional daimyo.

[20] The Meiji government did come to exercise some control on the Japanese art scene through, for example, national industrial exhibitions (内国勧業博覧会; *naikoku kangyō hakurankai*) – which can be interpreted as a forum to prepare for Japan's participation in upcoming international expositions – and domestic competitive exhibitions of painting (内国絵画共進会; *naikoku kaiga kyōshinkai*).

match or go beyond the so-called masterpieces of the Edo period. Thirdly, unless art works were created in a governmentally commissioned and supported environment, Japanese art had an expiration date. And finally, the entire woodblock print production was discarded. Not only could the Edo period prints not be revered as fine art – as the their production underwent several episodes of censorship imposed by the Tokugawa government[21] – , but the Meiji period woodblock prints could not be ranked among Japanese fine art – as their designers were preoccupied with money, gain, and profit. Considering the production process of *nishiki-e* – which can be defined as a mass-produced product created by several artisans and funded by a publisher, who is always preoccupied with returning his investment in the project – woodblock prints, in the eyes of the Imperial Commission, could not be identified as Japanese fine art and could not be exhibited in the fine arts' department.

A second explanation behind the lack of woodblock prints at the 1876 exposition can be found in the descriptive notes on the classes of engravings and lithography in the department of art, which bears the following statement on *nishiki-e*:

> The drawings and sketches of good painters have been frequently reproduced by printing from wood blocks, a process which was briefly described under classes 259-260.[22] As the colors are applied to the wood block with a brush (in a manner similar to painting), when graduated tints are required, the Japanese chromo-xylographer, as we may call him, is able to produce graduations of a degree of fineness, which it would be quite impossible to produce by the mere mechanical application of the roller. The colors are mixed with a paste made of rice, and occasionally a small quantity of plum-vinegar is added, which is said to be necessary to enhance certain colors. The sheets are of small folio size, larger pictures being generally printed upon three sheets pasted together. The Japanese name for these colored pictures is "Nishiki". Line engraving on copper have also been made since many years, and lately to a great extent in the government printing office. (Wagener 1876: 101-102)

The above description by the 1876 Commission claims that the Japanese printed art form only reproduced artworks by famous painters, and thus did not contribute any original artwork to the art scene.

[21] The Tokugawa government executed three distinct periods of censorship in an attempt to control the production of *nishiki-e* and printed books: the Kyōhō reforms of the early 1720s, the Kansei reforms of the 1790s, and the Tenpō reforms of 1841-43. Punishments differed between fines, confiscation and destruction of the printing blocks and copies, to house arrest and jail time. For more details on ukiyo-e and censorship see Thompson 2005: 318-322.

[22] This process was described under the classes 25-260 of '*paper, blank books, etc.*' in the department of manufactures as follows: "*Printing is done by merely rubbing the back of a sheet of paper laid on the printing block, with a flat rubber covered with one of the smooth dried bud scales which, like a sheath, surround the lower joints of a full grown bamboo stem. Here again, the absorbing paper fibers is quite essential for the success of the process of printing.*" See Wagener 1876: 86.

Although it is not explicitly stated why they included remarks on the woodblock print production, considering the fact that no prints were actually exhibited, the above mindset can be interpreted as the second explanation behind the lack of woodblock prints. It is also worth noticing that all the praise for *nishiki-e* was addressed to the printer, his techniques, and materials. This is in stark contrast with the information retrieved from woodblock prints – which mentions only the name of the artists and the publisher, while occasionally the name of the woodblock cutter appears –, as the name of the printer is generally never known.

***Nishiki-e* and foreign perceptions**

Official reports by both commissions reaffirmed the reader that *nishiki-e*, which were not produced in the governmentally supported environment of the Edo period and only reproduced existing artworks by good painters, did not belong in the department of fine art. In hindsight, Meiji officials failed to recognize the artistic and economic potential of the Japanese prints, as they were attaining a strong foothold in major European cities such as Paris and London. Japanese woodblock prints – especially those by Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾北斎) (1760-1849) and Andō Hiroshige (安藤広重) (1797-1858) – had been an inspiration for facsimile reproductions in numerous publications since 1818 onwards and had exercised – alongside other Japanese trinkets – an influence on the works of Paris-based artists (Berger 1993: 21-65, 66-87; Breuer 2010: 67-107; Lacambre 1988: 60-123; Lambourne 2011 [2005]: 30-51).[23] Given the swift rise to popularity of woodblock prints in the West, how did reviewers of the Japanese sections clarify why woodblock prints were not part of the Japanese cultural and artistic offensive at both world's fairs? Despite the lack of written accounts discussing the exclusion of woodblock prints at the 1876 exhibition, two French accounts discussed the matter in regards to the Paris exhibition. One account, co-authored by Clovis Lamarre (1836-?)[24] and Adalbert Frout de Fontpertuis (1825-87)[25] discussed the matter as follows:

> Class 5 (engravings and lithographs) offers us only hollow galvanic plates used in the manufacture of paper money. They interest the financier more

[23] This influence is evident in the display of such trinkets, garments, and woodblock prints in paintings of the 1860s and 1870s by artists such as James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), Alfred Stevens (1823-1906), James Tissot (1836-1902), and Édouard Manet (1832-1883).

[24] Lamarre had a '*Doctorat ès lettres*' (Ph.D. in literature) and was in charge of multiple reviews on exhibiting countries at the 1878 exposition such as Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, the Netherlands, Russia, South and Central America, the United States, Belgium, United Kingdom, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, British India, Sweden, Norway, Persia, Siam, Cambodia, Italy, and Spain.

[25] Fontpertuis was a journalist who had written on countries such as British India and the United States before and collaborated with Lamarre not only for the review of Japan and China, but also for British India, Persia, Siam, and Cambodia.

> than the artist, who would have probably preferred some specimens of the art which Japan had been exercising for a long time before Finiguerra[26] endowed it in the West. He will console himself when he learns from Sir Bousquet that this art has produced nothing but for vague, monotonous, and inappropriate woodcuts, which serve as illustrations to novels, to little popular treatises, and caricatures, sometimes spiritual by the subject, rarely by the execution, which one sells for a few centimes after having them coarsely illuminated. As an execution and as an artistic feeling, these prints 'do not go beyond the *imageries d'Épinal*', and that is perhaps why the Japanese, who are very patriotic, did not show them to us. (Lamarre and Fontpertuis 1878: 76-77)

It is clear from the above statement that Lamarre and Fontpertuis questioned why the Japanese display featured hollow galvanic plates for the use of paper money in the department of Art instead of examples of their longtime established printed artform. They lamented the display as such exhibits could not pique the interest of the artist visiting the Japanese section, but only of the financier. Regarding the lack of woodblock prints, Lamarre and Fontpertuis referred to the comments of Georges Bousquet (1845-1937), a French legal scholar who had been employed as a foreign advisor (御雇外国人; *oyatoi gaikokujin*) by the Japanese government between 1872 and 1876. Upon his return he compiled his observations and opinions in two-volume publication entitled '*Le Japon de nos jours et les échelles de l'extrême orient*' [Japan nowadays and the scale of the Far East]. Lamarre and Fontpertuis, who both had no experience reviewing Japan in general, or its arts in particular, cited Bousquet's travelers account verbatim: "Japanese woodblock prints did not go beyond *imageries d'Épinal* when it comes to their execution and artistic feeling" (Bousquet 1877: 178). Here, *imageries d'Épinal* refers to the popular color print trade founded in the French town Épinal by Jean-Charles Pellerin (1756-1836). Sold in the 19th century, topics ranged from religious subjects, through depictions of the French revolution, to imagery portraying everyday life and popular stories. The Japanese prints to which Bousquet is referring to – vague, monotonous, inappropriate woodcuts that are coarsely illuminated – are most likely Meiji period woodblock and not Edo prints.[27] While the first were discarded by Western collectors for their strident coloration – usage of Western aniline dyes –, the latter would quickly approach canonicity from the 1880s onwards. By drawing a parallel between Meiji period woodblock prints and French Épinal prints, Bousquet – and subsequently Lamarre and Fontpertuis – grasped why the Meiji officials did not exhibit any *nishiki-e*: such a popular art form reminiscent of its

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[26] The invention of engraving as a printing technique has been ascribed to Maso Finiguerra (1426-64).
[27] The usage of 'inappropriate' might also refer to erotic prints (春画 *shunga*).

French equivalent would never be deemed worthy of representing the Japanese fine arts abroad.

The second account differed from Lamarre and Fontpertuis' description as it was a review by Philippe Burty (1830-1890) in a periodical dedicated to the history of ancient and modern art. Burty was not only an established art critic, he had coined the term *japonisme* in 1872, acquired Japanese albums by Hokusai at a very early stage, and had even lent eight prints from Hokusai's manga to the 1867 Paris world's fair (Berger 1993, Floyd 1983). His review was compliant to the previously discussed account, although, being a connoisseur and collector of Japanese woodblock prints, Burty made a clear distinction between woodblock prints of the Edo and Meiji periods:

> Printing had been known in Japan from the 12th century onwards. In the middle of the 18th century, color printing and embossing with engraved woodblocks, which is successively applied as our chromolithographic stones, reached perfection of which only the sight and the study of originals can give the idea. These prints resemble no more the violent illuminations that are sold today, than a color print of Debucourt resembling a 'canard d'Épinal'. They are, moreover, in their country, as rare as those of Debucourt here. (Burty 1878: 264)

Burty's assessment on the lack of Japanese woodblock prints constituted of comparing the Meiji prints – here identified as the contemporary violent illuminations – to Épinal prints, whereas Edo prints – here coined as original prints – were revered to be the equivalent of prints by Philibert-Louis Debucourt (1755-1832), a French painter and engraver. His evaluation demonstrates the early stages in which Western connoisseurs only perceived Edo prints as art – which would come to full bloom in the 1880s and 1890s –, whereas Meiji officials discarded all woodblock prints. As Floyd (1883: 123) points out, "prints described as equivalents of Épinal prints were unlikely to have been received as 'serious' works of fine art by the Parisian elite considering the hierarchal and highly stratified French art world". Bousquet, who most likely only witnessed contemporary prints during his stay in Japan, analyzed the prints from this viewpoint, which revered paintings and sculptures as the highest form of art. Burty, on the other hand, who as an avid collector of woodblock prints had given Hokusai an exceptionally high praise in 1869[28], discarded Meiji prints for their garish colors while praising prints in style of Hokusai and earlier

[28] Burty advocated that "Hokusai has the same strength as Daumier combined with a genius for observation, that was truly subtle, and an imagination that was truly poetique" (Burty 1869 cited in Weisburg 1980: 115). Honoré Daumier (1808-1879) was a French printmaker, painter, sculptor, and caricaturist, who produced satires of contemporary political figures, paintings and drawings concerning everyday life, and has been designated as a master of pictorial storytelling (Reif 2000: 1651).

masters. The latter, which Burty assumed to be even rare in Japan, must have stemmed from such prints being available to only a limited group of Parisians, considering their small representation in catalogues of private and public auctions of Japanese art in the 1860s and 1870s (Floyd 1983: 32-33).

It should also be noted that Burty owned a disproportionate number of prints by nineteenth century artists such as Utagawa Kunisada (歌川国貞) (1786-1865), Utagawa Kuniyoshi (歌川国芳) (1797-1861), Utagawa Sadahide (歌川貞秀) (1807-c.1878/79), and their followers (Burty 1872: 60; Floyd 1983: 144). Alongside his infatuation with Hokusai, this selection of prints may be a possible explanation for his disapproval of late Edo and Meiji period prints alongside their comparison with the French Épinal prints. This analogy, which both accounts employed, seems to indicate that for Bousquet it was crucial to describe the prints he had seen in Japan, while for Burty it was crucial to establish a clear difference between Edo and Meiji period woodblock prints.

Conclusion

The present paper examined the dismissal of Japanese woodblock prints from the international expositions of 1876 and 1878. Although woodblock prints had been exhibited at the Vienna exposition in 1873, the *nishiki-e* in question did not conform to the prints that were gaining a strong foothold in the European art scene. In contrast to the treasured landscape prints by Hokusai and Hiroshige, the Vienna Commission opted for the display of *nishiki-e* revealing production processes of domestic products, agricultural tools, traditional musical instruments, and daily household objects. These Meiji prints strayed with their myriad of explanatory text and usage of bright reds – Western aniline dyes which contributed to the discarding of Meiji prints – far from the traditional landscape sceneries bearing soft hues. Furthermore, the employment of mainly painters to design woodblock prints as educational material by the Ministry of Education and the link with the ministry in charge of the *shokusan kōgyō* policy – through Tanaka and Sano – indicates that the displayed woodblock prints were not elected for their pictorial or aesthetic qualities, but to promote the Japanese industries and their domestic products abroad by employing the Japanese woodblock print medium as an educational and promotional material.

The preoccupation of the 1876 and 1878 commissions with the promotion and export of Japanese craft objects resulted not only in the presentation of a small selection of art objects, but also in the absence of woodblock prints in the fine arts' department. Official reports and catalogues published by both commissions confirmed that their rationale was, on the one hand, founded in a prerequisite for Japanese art objects to be considered as fine art; namely that art only could be created in the governmentally supported environment of the Edo period. As a result, neither the woodblock print production of the Edo period – as it testified against several episodes of governmentally implied censorship – or the Meiji period – as their designers were claimed to be preoccupied with money, gain, and profit – could be identified as fine art. On the other hand, the assertion that prints only reproduced existing drawings by good painters, gave way to the understanding that Japanese prints did not produce any original work. Given the above argumentation, the 1876 and 1878 Commissions did not exhibit any examples of their printed art form. Instead, the Government Printing Bureau had been entrusted to represent the classes of wood engravings and prints and lithographs in the fine arts' department at the 1876 and 1878 exposition respectively. Replaced by hollow and embossed galvanic plates, copper plates for government bonds, and samples of tobacco, postal card, and stamps, Japanese woodblock prints disappeared from the display of international expositions.

Although the 1873 Commission had exhibited a select number of prints to introduce Japan's production processes and domestic products, the lack of *nishiki-e* at the subsequent international expositions suggests that Japanese prints had been deemed unfit of representing the nation at international forums or that the commissions failed to see any profitable gain in its display. These results confirm the view that "Japan's administrators were already prejudiced against ukiyo-e – especially that which catered to popular audiences – not only because it went against imported notions of arts, but also because of its uncomfortable associations with theater, sexuality, irreverence, and above all the 'low' humor of the common classes, which was naturally often made at the expense of elite authority" (Foxwell 2007: 32). In retrospect, an appreciation for its domestic woodblock print production – and primarily the revered masters of the Edo period – would only follow in Japan at the end of the Meiji and the beginning of the Taisho periods (Segi 1985: 174). Inching ventures were undertaken by Kobayashi Bunshichi (小林文七) (1861-1923) in 1892, 1897, and 1898, when he organized ukiyo-e exhibitions – although they focused on paintings, as opposed to prints (Koyama-Richard 2001: 568; Oikawa 2005: 381). For the first exhibition Hayashi Tadamasa (林忠正) (1853-1906), the Paris-based ukiyo-e dealer and collector, lamented the outflow of ukiyo-e in the introduction to the catalogue and advocated for the appreciation of Japanese prints in its country of production (Oikawa 2005: 381).

Despite Meiji officials removing the popular art form from the Japanese display at international expositions of 1876 and 1878, annotations on the 1878 exposition reveal two Western interpretations behind its omission. It concerns the accounts of Georges Bousquet – quoted in Lamarre and Fontpertuis' review – and of Philippe Burty, which both employed the comparison with a domestic equivalent, the French Épinal prints, to explain why the Meiji officials did not include examples of their longtime established printed art form. Residing to the French popular color print trade, Bousquet, who had been employed by the Japanese government between 1872 and 1876, concluded that all Japanese woodblock prints should not be exhibited as they resembled the French prints in terms of execution and artistic feeling. Burty, on the other hand, who as an art critic and collector favored prints in the style of Hokusai's school, elevated the Edo period woodcuts to the level of Debucourt's prints, while advocating the prevailing view that Meiji prints should not be exhibited because of their affinity to the lurid coloration of Épinal prints. The practice of referring to the French print production cannot be ascribed to either Bousquet or Burty, as the French poet Charles Baudelaire (1821-67) noted the resemblance between both print productions already in 1861. In his correspondence to Arsène Houssaye (1815-96) he diverted to the analogy to describe a lot of Japanese trinkets he had bought as "images d' Épinal du Japon" [Épinal prints from Japan] (cited in Berger 1993: 16 and Lacambre 1980: 48). Whereas Baudelaire did not employ the comparison to discard the entire or a part of the Japanese woodblock print production, the usage of the analogy suggests that finding a domestic equivalent was crucial to interpret the Japanese prints as soon as they appeared in Western cities and shops.

Nevertheless, Burty's account can be interpreted as one of the literary precursors of the dismissal of late Edo and Meiji period woodcuts, which would be popularized by the canonical works of Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908) and Laurence Binyon (1869-1943) in 1896 and 1906 respectively. Fenollosa and Binyon established a paradigm for all subsequent historical surveys on Japanese woodblock prints; namely a cyclic model to describe its history from its origin, through a period of growth and culmination, to its inevitable period of decay, which is predominantly situated in the beginning of the nineteenth century, followed by a miraculous short-lived revival between 1830 and 1840 through the landscape prints of Hokusai and Hiroshige (Bell 2004: 1-48). In this light, the comparison with the French domestic print production, Épinal prints, did not aid the reception of contemporary prints in the West, but stimulated the discrepancy between Edo prints and Meiji prints. In conclusion, as previous sources had overlooked Burty's critical assessment on Japanese woodblock prints at the time of the 1878 exposition (Floyd 1983; Lacambre 1980, 1983, 1988; Weisburg 1980, 1993), these findings add to the interpretation of the reception of and written discourses on Japanese woodblock prints in an international setting. Yet, further research on the usage of the parallel between Japanese and Western woodcuts in such accounts discussing Japanese arts in general and *nishiki-e* in particular, could lead to more insight into the discarding of late Edo and Meiji period woodblock prints.

Illustrations

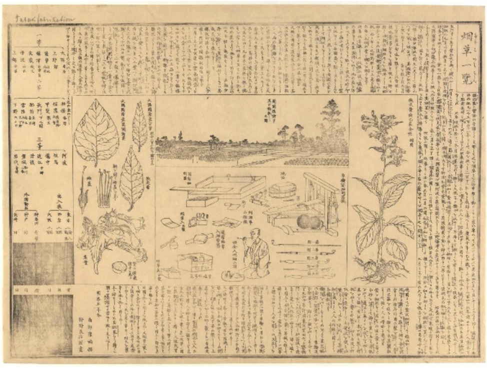

Figure 1: Kanō Yoshinobu. Tobacco at a glance. 1872. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: HM 10765-5. Photograph: © MAK.

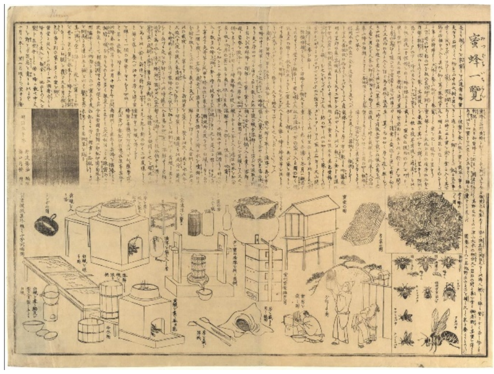

Figure 2: Mizoguchi Gekkō. Honeybee at a glance. 1872. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: HM 10765-1. Photograph: © MAK.

Figure 3: Nakajima Gyōzan. Cotton at a glance. 1872. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: HM 10765-3. Photograph: © MAK.

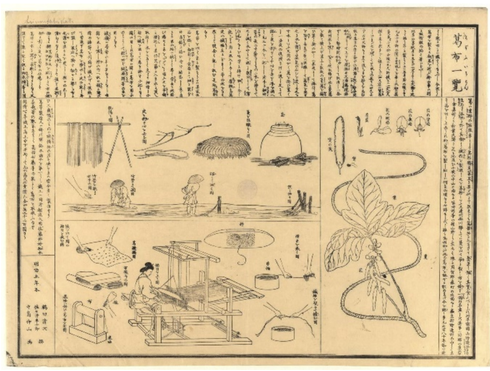

Figure 4: Nakajima Gyōzan. Kudzu fiber at a glance. 1872. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: HM 10765-7. Photograph: ©MAK.

Figure 5: Suga Sohō. Collection of instruments for musical performance. Date of publication unknown. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: KI 15696-1. Photograph: © MAK.

Figure 6: Suga Sohō. Collection of instruments for musical performance. Date of publication unknown. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: KI 15696-2. Photograph: © MAK.

Figure 7: Utagawa Kuniteru II. Collection of all kinds of objects for entertainment. Date of publication unknown. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: KI 15695-1. Photograph: © MAK.

Figure 8: Utagawa Kuniteru II. Collection of items for daily use in the visitors room. Date of publication unknown. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: KI 15695-3. Photograph: © MAK.

Figure 9: Utagawa Kuniteru II. Collection of agricultural tools. Date of publication unknown. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: KI 15695-4. Photograph: © MAK.

Figure 10: Utagawa Kuniteru II. No title. Date of publication unknown. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: KI 15695-2. Photograph: © MAK.

Figure 11: Yamazaki Tōsen. Manufacturing method of lacquerware at a glance. 1872. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: HM 10765-2. Photograph: © MAK.

Figure 12: Yamazaki Tōsen. Plants for spinning at a glance. 1872. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: HM 10765-4. Photograph: © MAK.

Figure 13: Yamazaki Tōsen. Manufacturing method of hemp at a glance. 1872. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: HM 10765-6. Photograph: © MAK.

Figure 14: Yamazaki Tōsen. Manufacturing method of wax and candles at a glance. 1872. Asian Collection of the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst: HM 10765-8. Photograph: © MA

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TITLE：RESEARCH NOTE; HISTORY OF JAPANESE *KAMAIRICHA* [PAN-FIRED TEA] AND LOCAL PRODUCING KAMAIRICHA-MAKING METHOD IN JAPAN

***Ayano HIROBE*[1]**

Abstract: *This research presents an introduction to kamairicha, a rare pan-fired method of processing green tea in certain regions of Japan. A brief overview of the history and types of tea in Japan is followed by an in-depth description of kamairicha, including a review of historical records, an analysis of the amounts and areas of production, a chronicling of the various growing and processing techniques, and a description of daily cultural aspects surrounding the growing, processing, and consumption of kamairicha.*
Research methods include an investigation into historical and current records as well as field interviews with local people who are directly involved in the producing, processing, and consumption of kamairicha. It is hoped that by examining collecting and analyzing this information will reveal similarities and differences in how kamairicha is produced, processed, and consumed in various areas, which in turn will deepen understanding of this rare tea culture.

Keywords: *tea culture, history of Japanese local tea, production of kamairicha, diversity of Japanese tea, yamacha [wild tea]*

Introduction

What is *kamairicha*?

The term *kamairicha* is comprised of three Chinese characters "釜炒茶". The first character "釜" refers to a iron pan. The second character "炒" means firing. The last character "茶" refers to tea. Most modern green tea processing methods in Japan halt oxidation by first steaming the fresh tea leaves directly after harvest. However, *kamairicha* employs a pan-firing method to halt the naturally occurring oxidation process. *Kamairicha* is produced in rural, mountainous regions of Japan, mostly by members of the older generations for household consumption. They are trying to keep this rare tradition of *kamairicha* processing alive, passing down their knowledge and skills to the next generation.

History of tea culture in Japan

Tea had first been introduced to Japan from the Tang dynasty in China in the 7th century. It was brought by the Buddhist monks, Saichō,

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Kūkai, Eichū, among others. At that time, the main tea-drinking custom of China was powdered tea which was mixed with boiled water. It was used for Zen training and special imperial occasions as well. The tea-drinking custom in the Tang dynasty involved whisking powdered tea with bamboo whisks. This was introduced to Japan by the high priest-monk, Yōsai, who, in his famous book, *Kissa Yōjōki*, told of the health benefits of tea.

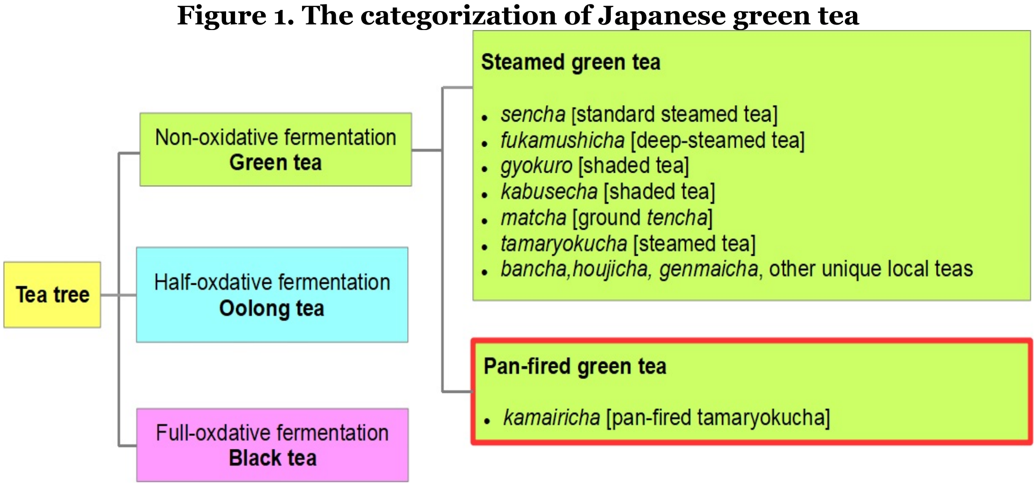
This was followed by a new tea custom coming from the Ming dynasty to Japan in the 15th century. Rather than being powdered and whisked, this style involved pan-firing tea leaves and using a teapot to infuse the tea. The tea made by this method was underlie *kamairicha*. It was spread in Japan through temples.

Later, tea farmers of Ujitawara, Kyoto, such as Nagatani Sōen, developed a new steaming method to make *sencha*, which became popular among Japanese tea makers and was eventually exported from Japan to other countries. Gradually the *kamairicha* style fell out of favor. Despite its long history, today only few people know about this rare method of preparing and consuming tea.

Categorization of tea types

The many varieties of tea can be categorized into 3 main types depending on how the tea leaves are processed after harvesting. (See Figure 1.) For green tea heat is applied to stop oxidation of the tea leaves. Oolong tea uses half-oxidative fermentation, and black tea requires full-oxidative fermentation. Due to changing levels of oxidative fermentation of these varying methods, the color, texture, taste, and other aspects of the brewed teas differ.

Figure 1. The categorization of Japanese green tea



(based on a reference by Japan Tea Central Public Interest Incorporated Association,and the NPO Nihoncha Instructor Association, 2017,7)

The modern Japanese green tea process usually includes steaming fresh tea leaves after the harvest to halt oxidation, rolling the tea leaves to be formed into a needle-like shape, and drying them. This is the most common method of production in Japan.

On the other hand, the *kamairicha* [pan-fired tea] production is just a small amount today. *Nihon Chagyō Chūō Kai*[Japan Tea Central Public Interest Incorporated Association] says that the production of *kamairicha* is less than 1 percent of all green tea in Japan. It uses a hot iron pan to stop tea leaves from oxidizing after the harvest. In general, *matcha* [ground *tencha*] is popular among tea lovers and health-conscious people in other countries. However, if you look deeper into Japanese tea culture, you will discover a variety of other aspects. You will not only find *matcha*, but also other types of tea that local Japanese people make and drink daily.

The Difference between steamed and pan-fired green tea in appearance and flavors

Appearance

The shape of tea leaves after processing is different. Typical steamed green tea consumed in Japan is called *sencha*. Due to the steamed and final rolling tea production method, its shape is a needle-like form, as shown in figure 3. On the other hand, the comparatively rare *kamairicha* is produced by the pan-fired production method. It forms into a curled shape, as shown in figure 4.

Figure 3. *Sencha* [steamed green tea]

Figure 4. *kamairicha* [pan-fired green tea]

Flavors

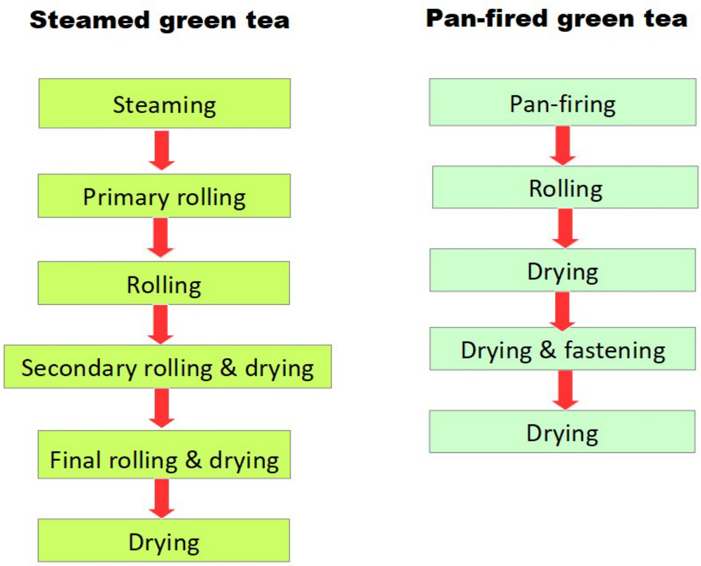
The aroma and taste of these 2 teas are different. *Sencha* has a refreshing aroma and little bit of bitterness. On the other hand, *kamairicha* has a unique lightly roasted aroma, called *kamaka,* and less bitterness.

To summarize, due to the different tea-making process, the shape of the tea leaves, and the flavor and taste of the tea is different.

Difference in Production Methods between Steamed and Pan-Fired green tea

As indicates in Figure 5, production methods for steamed and pan-fired green tea are distinctly different. Notably, the critically important first step differs. One must either decide to steam or pan-fire the fresh tea leaves to stop oxidation and thus prevent fermentation.

Figure 5. The production methods of steamed and pan-fired green tea in Japan



The popular *sencha* steamed tea production method is as follows: First the fresh leaves are immediately steamed after harvesting. Secondly the tea leaves are rolled roughly while drying. Then, they are rolled and rubbed harder. The next step is secondary rolling and drying. Afterwards the tea leaves undergo the final rolling and drying to the tea leaves take on the twisted needle-like form. Finally, the tea leaves are dried well to remove any excessive moisture.

In comparison, the *kamairicha* pan-fired production method: For *kamairicha*, the fresh leaves are first put in a hot iron pan, then rolled. Later, they are dried repeatedly. Due to using the pan, the shape of the tea leaves are curled.

Overview of former research on *kamairicha*

There are several books written about *kamairicha*, which comprise a historical record. 茶疏[*Chaso*] , written by Xǔ cì shū, describes the manufacturing method of *kamairicha* in the Ming Dynasty of China. The basic process was as follows:

1. The tea leaves are put in a hot pan.
2. They are fired in the pan and wooden sticks are used to stir. The leaves are dried in the pan from low heat to high heat.
3. When a scent emerges, the tea leaves are scooped with a fan and put in a basket. The tea leaves are dried and let to cool. [Nunome and Nakamura, 1976]

Nōgyō Zensho [The Encyclopedia of Agriculture Vol. 7] written by Miyazaki, Yasusada in 1697 contributed to the development of agricultural productivity in Edo period. This book records the various manufacturing methods of high-quality tea at that time. In the section, "Types of Four Trees," a Chinese production method for *Tang* tea, which used an iron pot, was described. The Basic process: Basic process:

1. An iron pot was set at an inclination to make pan-fired tea.
2. After the fresh leaves are fired in the pot, they are massaged on a straw mat.
3. The tea leaves are put in the pot again. They are stroked, and repeatedly rubbed further on the straw mat.
4. It seems that tea leaves were fired and dried with a low heat. [Nōsangyoson bunka kyokai, 2008]

Furthermore, there are several studies have been conducted on the method of production of *kamairicha*. Most studies are based on historical, industrial, and folklore research methods. The local tea researcher, Nakamura has been studied about daily tea culture in Asia, and he defines *kamairicha* as one of daily teas, called “*bancha*”. (Nakamura, 2017, 50-51, 58-59) *Bancha* is usually thought as a low-quality tea. However, it was produced in different regions, so that tea-making methods, tastes and flavors are various. *Kamairicha* is one of the local teas which are called *bancha*, and it developed as a different tea culture from tea ceremony.

According to Tanisaka’s study, “Folklore of tea for private use” (2004), she mentions that *kamairicha* for home consumption is produced especially in the mountain areas of Kyushu, Shikoku, and Kinki regions of Japan.

History of *kamairicha* in Kyushu

As previously stated, *kamairicha* is today mainly produced in Kyushu, where it's long history can be traced back to the 15th century when it was introduced from China during the Ming Dynasty. Two distinct manufacturing methods can be found in this region. The *Ureshino* manufacturing method, found in Saga and Nagasaki prefectures, involves placing fresh tea leaves in a hot iron pan set at an inclination of 30 to 40 degrees. In contrast, the *Aoyagi* manufacturing method, from Miyazaki and Kumamoto prefectures, sets the pan parallel to the heat source.

According to the book, "Ureshino-cho shi" [The history of Ureshino-cho] (Ureshino City, Saga Prefecture, 1979), in 1440 Chinese potters moved to Hirado, Nagasaki prefecture. They brought the tea-making method from China. It is said that they planted the tea for private use. After that, it was said that *Korēmin* came to Ureshino with the Nanjing pan from China and introduced the Chinese style of pan-fired tea in 1657. Yoshimura Shinbei who emigrated from Shiraishi Nango of Hizen Kishima-gun to Ureshino, improved and industrialized the tea production method. (Ureshino-chō shi, 1980).

Moreover, Higashi Sonogi-chō, from Nagasaki Prefecture in the neighboring town is also a tea production area today. There is a story that Kawajiri Tōta in the Sonogi region, looked for tea species from Uji, Kyoto, and he cultivated a wildness to grow tea in Sonogi. (Higashi Sonogi Kyōikuiinkai, 1999, 341)

In Kumamoto and Miyazaki Prefectures, when they made tea, they used wild tea plants, called *yamacha*, that grows in mountainous areas. In Kumamoto prefecture, there is a history that the lord of Higo Kumamoto domain, Kato Kiyomasa, brought engineers such as potters from Korea, after he visited there on a dispatch. He made them live in the Mamihara region. At that time, they were making *kamairicha* in their country, and this production method was passed down to locals in Kumamoto prefecture. (Hosokawa, 1984).

In Miyazaki prefecture, *yamacha* in the northwest mountains was mainly used to produce tea. It is said that people have been drinking *yamacha* for ages. Also, this tea was used as a contribution and a tax on the former clan. There were two types of teas which were introduced to be produced in the Miyakonojō area. One tea was *kamairicha* made by using *yamacha* and the other one was *sencha* which was introduced from Uji, Kyoto and Shizuoka. After the Meiji period, these two production methods spread out across Miyazaki prefecture. (Miyazaki tea promotion meeting, 2007)

The areas of *kamairicha* production

According to the statistics from *Nihon Chagyō Chūō Kai*, the production amount of industrial *kamairicha* produced in Japan in 2017 was about 242 tons. Total Japanese green tea including *kamairicha* was 80,206 tons. Therefore, it comprised less than 1 percent of the total Japanese green tea for that year.

Table 1 and Figure 2 show the specific amount and areas of *kamairicha* production.

Table 1. The amount of *kamairicha* production by area (based on the data of *Nihon Chagyō Chūō Kai*, 2018)

Area	Amount (2017)
Saga prefecture	89t
Nagasaki prefecture	4t
Miyazaki prefecture	94t
Kumamoto prefecture	14t
Ōita prefecture	40t
Shizuoka prefecture	1t
Total kamairicha	242t
Total Japanese green tea	80,206t

Figure 2. The map of the production area of *kamairicha*

Commercially produced *kamairicha* comes mainly the Kyushu area and to a lesser extent, Shikoku and a few other areas of Western Japan. The amount of industrially produced *kamairicha* is reported for statistics, but the amount produced for private use is unknown. Because this information is not officially documented by the government, investigation and recording of non-commercial *kamairicha* could prove informative.

Field research

Research methods

Research for this project was based on folklore study methods. It involved visiting local people who still produce *kamairicha* today and collecting data about their methods and equipment used to make *kamairicha*. Additionally, inquiries were made into their daily tea consumption habits.

Specific topics of investigation included: techniques to grow tea plants along with other crops involved in their daily life; the production calendar; methods of tea manufacture; manufacturing tools; food culture; customs; and rituals. During the field interviews, I respected the rights of the interviewees to remain anonymous or to refuse to answer certain questions. Therefore, with regard to the survey items, the amount of information provided by the interviewees varies.

Focus was placed on the following three questions:

1. How are you (or other local people) currently making *kamairicha* for household consumption?

2. Are there any similarities and differences between the local areas?

3. How do you drink *kamairicha* in daily life?

After collecting field research data, referencing other studies, and accessing other historical resources, I considered the similarities and differences of *kamairicha* in local areas of Japan.

Research area

To discover the *kamairicha* for private use (that is, not for commercial use), I asked some tea research center and also local people to introduce the people who still make or used to make hand-made *kamairicha*. Data was gathered from: Tōhō village, Fukuoka prefecture; Hirado city, Nagasaki prefecture; Nishimera village, Saito city, Miyazaki prefecture; Ōtoyo town, Kōchi prefecture; Higashiiya, Tokushima prefecture; Yoshika town, Shimane prefecture; Totsukawa village, Nara prefecture.

17 examples were collected and have been categorized into 3 types of production methods as shown in Table 2. It describes the division of the processes methods in to three categories.

Table.2 Classification of the *kamairicha*-making methods

Category	Production Methods
A	Pan-firing fresh leaves by a big iron pan set at a slant→Rolling leaves→Rolling & drying→Final drying
B	Pan-firing fresh leaves by a big iron pan in parallel→Rolling leaves→Rolling & drying→Final drying
C	Pan-firing fresh leaves by a small pan→Rolling leaves→Drying in sun→Final drying in the pan

Seventeen interviews were performed with local people. The results are shown in Table 3.

Table.3 Specific examples of production methods of *kamairicha* for house consumption

Example	Area	Method	Tool	Research year
1	Tōhō, Fukuoka pref.	B	Pan Wooden firing stick Bamboo rolling sheet handmade dryer	2017
2	Tōhō, Fukuoka pref.	B	Pan Wooden firing stick Bamboo rolling sheet	2017
3	Hirado city, Nagasaki pref.	A	Pan Wooden firing stick Rolling cannabis bag	2010
4	Hirado city, Nagasaki pref.	A	Pan Wooden firing stick Rolling sheet	2010
5	Nishimera village, Miyazaki pref.	B	Pan Wooden firing stick Rolling machine Drying machine	2015
6	Nishimera village, Miyazaki pref.	B	Pan Wooden firing stick Rolling Banboo sheet	2015
7	Nishimera village, Miyazaki pref.	B	Pan Wooden firing stick Rolling bamboo sheet Drying machine	2015
8	Nishimera village, Miyazaki pref.	B	Pan Wooden firing stick Rolling bamboo sheet	2015
9	Nishimera village, Miyazaki pref.	B	Pan Wooden firing stick Rolling bamboo sheet	2015
10	Nishimera village, Miyazaki pref.	B	Pan Rolling bamboo sheet Rolling machine	2015
11	Nishimera village, Miyazaki pref.	B	Pan-firing machine Rolling machine Drying machine	2015

12	Saito city, Miyazaki pref.	B	Pan-firing machine Rolling machine Drying machine	2015
13	Otoyo town, Kochi pref.	C	Pan Wooden firing spoon Straw mat	2014
14	Higashiiya, Tokushima pref.	C	Pan Wooden firing stick Rolling bamboo box	2015
15	Yoshika town, Shimane pref.	C	Pan Wooden firing stick Rolling bamboo box	2018
16	Yoshika town, Shimane pref.	C	Pan Wooden firing stick Rolling bamboo box	2018
17	Totsukawa village, Nara pref.	C	small pan Rush mat	2013

Detailed reports

The following is a further breakdown of the details about kamairicha for private use from Table 3.

***Kamairicha* method A【Example 3】**

Area: Hirado city, Nagasaki

Interviewee: Anonymous woman

- **How tea is processed**

The woman makes *kamairicha* with her family every spring. She has tea trees near her house and picks fresh leaves, like in figure 6. Then she puts them into a hot iron pan. (Figure 7)She uses wooden sticks to fire them to stop the oxidative fermentation of leaves.(Figure 8) After firing the tea leaves, she massages the tea leaves on the *dongorosu* [cannabis bag] by hand.(Figure 9)

The process of firing and rolling leaves is divided into 3 parts. Then finishing this process, she gathers the leaves and returns them back into the pan to dry. After the final dry, the fire under the pan is extinguished and the leaves are left as is to dry properly. When the tea leaves are easily disintegrated, it is completed.

Figure 6. The fresh tea leaves

Figure 7. The pan to make *kamairicha*

Figure 8. The wooden stickfor firing leaves

Figure 9. The bag for rolling leaves

Kamairicha **method B【Example 5】**
Area: Nishimera village, Miyazaki prefecture
Interviewee: Mr and Mrs. Kuroki (b. 1927 and 1933)

- **Life story of the informant**

Mr. Kuroki used to work in the *kamairicha* factory in Takewara, Nishimera village. (Now the factory was closed). There was a custom to make *kamairicha* in this region, and local people had a role to make tea overnight. They made *kamairicha* from April to May.

One interesting point in hearing this family's story is other ways they use the pan. They also use it for making *konnyaku* [jelly made from devil's-tongue starch] and miso [fermented soybean paste].

A second noteworthy point is the use of "burn agriculture". Often in mountainous regions there is a lack of flatland suitable for cultivation, so the local are forced to grow crops on the mountains, clearing the land with a burn technique. He said, "When I burned the mountain, trees were come out from the ground naturally." I believe was referring to the fact that the tea trees seemed to spontaneously appear. However, this story was not unusual and I heard it frequently as I researched about tea in other mountains, especially the area of burn agriculture. The likely explanation is that members of a previous generation had planted tea trees seedlings in the mountains and then for various reasons, the hillsides had been abandoned and returned to a wild state. Since tea trees have a long life and being able to withstand the fires from the burn technique, they were already there, ready to thrive. The tea grown in the mountains is referred to as *yamacha*.

- **How tea is processed**

Currently, Mr. and Mrs. Kuroki and their son's family make *kamairicha* every spring, from the end of April to the beginning of May. They pick the tea leaves together and make *kamairicha* for 1 or 2 days. This tea is only made for private use and they drink it all a year.

In the manufacturing process, the fresh tea leaves are put in an iron pan (diameter of about 61 cm, depth of about 19 cm), heated with gas, and stirred using the wooden sticks. (Figure 10, and 11) After a few minutes, steam rises, and the aroma of tea leaves comes out. His son's wife says, "The aroma of making *kamairicha* is good, while stirring the tea leaves."

After the moisture of the tea leaves decreases, they are taken out from the pan and put in a small rolling machine to rub them.(Figure 12) Originally, they used to roll the tea leaves on a bamboo sheet (*ebira*, knitted bamboo) by hand. However, it required a lot of work, so they started to use the rolling machine to reduce the heavy burden.

After finishing rolling the tea leaves, they are spread on the wooden-framed mesh. Then they are put on a handmade drying shelf to dry well.(Figure 13) The charcoal is used as the heat source, and the temperature is adjusted by regulating the air flow at the upper part of the dryer. After this main drying process is completed, the final drying begins. This is a role for Mrs. Kuroki, and she dries the tea leaves in the pan by hand.

Figure 10. The wooden sticks for firing the tea leaves

Figure 11. Firing the tea leaves

Figure 12. The small rolling machine

Figure 13. Handmade dryer

***Kamairicha* method B【Example12】**

Area：Shiromi, Saito city, Miyazaki prefecture

Interviewee: Mr. and Mrs. Kuroki (b. 1931 and 1981)

- **Life story of the informant**

It is said that this region's tea was high quality. At one time there was a factory and that produced *kamairicha*. A pan was used in the process and the tea was sold as far away as Shizuoka prefecture. This region won Miyazaki prefecture's tea competition for three consecutive years.

Mr. Kuroki, along with one friend, are the only people who still make *kamairicha* in Shiromi. It is for private consumption only. As in the previous case, they also used *yamacha* from the hillsides of burn agriculture. They picked the tea leaves by hand.

One curious story is a school holiday called "tea picking holiday." During this season of spring tea, children helped farmers pick the tea leaves. Also, his wife says that she learned how to make steamed tea using a method different than previously discussed. Here, a *Jyotan* [a tool for drying the steamed tea], shapes the tea into long needles.

- **How tea is processed**

Currently, Mr. Kuroki uses machines to make *kamairicha* for only private use. The manufacturing tool was purchased from the Shiiba agricultural machine store, in the Yunomae town, Kumamoto prefecture. This machine has been used for about 10 years. He has his own organic tea field near his house. He uses a picking machine for the harvest and picks about 30kg of the fresh leaves.

The manufacturing process is as follows. First, the fresh tea leaves are rough fired with leaf striking. Second, rolled, and third they are dried by charcoal fire. Forth they are middle dried, then finally dried.

Figure 14. Mr. Kuroki's tea field

Figure 15. Kuroki's homemade kamairicha

Kamairicha method C【Example 5】

Area: Ōtoyo town, Kōchi prefecture
Interviewee: anonymous woman (b. 1940)

- **Life story of the informant**

A woman and her husband (b.1945) make *kamairicha* every spring. He began plating 450 tea trees after his retirement. The tea seeds have naturally dropped off the tree, so the number of tea trees in their field has increased.(Figure 17)

- **How tea is processed**

At first, they picked the tea leaves by hand, but now they pick the tea leaves by using a cutting machine. It takes 30 minutes to pick them. When the weather is sunny, they make *kamairicha* using a large pan. First, the tea leaves are put in the hot pan and fired with a wooden long spoon. Next, the tea leaves are massaged on a *mushiro* (a straw mat) and then spread over a net and left to dry in the sun. If the weather is nice, it takes two days for drying. After drying, the tea leaves are placed in the house and left to rest, followed by a final drying in the sun. Finally, they are stored in tea cans.(Figure 18)

Figure 17. The tea field

Figure 18. Homemade *kamairicha*

Kamairicha **method C【Example 6】**

Area: Higashiiya, Miyoshi city, Tokushima prefecture
Interviewee: Mr. and Mrs. Yamanishi (b.1934), Mr. Inamori Masahiko

- **Life story of the informant**

Mr. and Mrs. Yamanishi make kamairicha for private use. Recently, however, the owner of a local shop became interested in their homemade *kamairicha* to sell as a product. Mr. Inamori, the owner of the shop, "Nokochi LIFE SHARE COTTAGE" moved to this region from Tokyo was surprised at its flavor and wanted to share this unique taste, along with the traditions that go into making it. that had been passed down from the elderly in the Higashiiya region. He began selling their tea and also created a workshop for making this tea with local people. Currently he is selling the tea on the website.

- **How tea is processed**

Mr. Yamanishi learned the production method from his grandmother while helping her make tea. It is customary to make homemade tea at every house in this region. The period of making tea is around May. In order to finish making tea in a day, the tea leaves are picked by hand in the morning. Then, the tea leaves are put in a hot pan, called *kōra*. They are fired with wooden sticks. The size of the pan is 42.5 cm in diameter and 10 cm in depth. The length of sticks for firing tea is about 58 to 67 cm. The work of firing the tea leaves is woman's job. Usually, the pan is set in the corner of the hut, and Nara, chestnut, and oak are used for firewood.

After firing the tea leaves, the next process is rolling the tea leaves by hand. This is a man's job because it requires a lot of power. Mr. Yamanishi wears rubber gloves so as not to get burned from the heat of leaves. The tea leaves are rolled in the *moro* (a tool for bamboo box).

Then, the tea leaves are dried in the sun. When the moisture of the tea leaves has been reduced, they are rolled again, and dried in the sun. After drying well, they are stored in the bags and cans.

- **Tea-drinking style**

The Yamanishi family members roast the tea leaves in a pan before adding them to a kettle full of boiling water. They use local water that flows from a nearby 1200 meter mountain. Before drinking themselves, a ritual is performed in which the tea is first served tea to ancestors. Normally, the tea seems to be drunk during farming work and daily meals.

Figure 19. Firing the tea leaves in the pan

Figure 20. Rubbing the tea leaves

Figure 21. After rubbing the tea leaves

Figure 22. Boiled tea with the kettle

Kamairicha **method C【Example 17】**

Area: Totsukawa village, Nara prefecture
Interviewee: anonymous couples (birth years are unclear)

- **Life story of the informant**

The couples learned the production method while they were helping their parents.

The tea trees were planted from the young seedlings and also included natural grown tea trees from the fallen seeds. In this village, there were tea trees in the mountains and some of them are *yamacha*.

- **How tea is processed**

In the beginning of May, during the national holiday period called Golden Week, the tea leaves are picked by hand. They are fired in the iron pan and stirred until the moisture is eliminated. Next, the tea leaves are rubbed on a rush mat by hand. When rubbing the tea leaves, the hands become encrusted with a black residue, due to the tea incrustation. After that, the tea leaves are dried in the sun. Then, they are rolled two or three times until the tea leaves are dry. Finally they are dried in the sun. After finishing the drying process, they are stored in a rice bag.

- **Tea-drinking style**

When they drink tea, they roast the tea leaves in a small pan, and put a handful of the them into the kettle and boil it. (Figure 23, 24)

In Nara prefecture, there is a custom to have *Chagayu* [rice porridge which is cooked using tea instead of water and added a bit of salt]. The elderly often cook it because they can eat it easily. Some potatoes and sweet potatoes also may be added to *Chagayu*.

Figure 23. Homemade *kamairicha*

Figure 24. The color of infused *kamairicha*

Conclusion

These field notes have illuminated many tea-making methods found throughout local areas of Japan. A brief analysis of the similarities and difference may prove useful for a fuller understanding of *kamairicha* production, as well as serve as a road map for further inquiry.

Production Tools

Two similarities were found in the production tools used and how they were employed.

Before conducting the research, I had thought that the pan used to make *kamairicha* was a very special tool. However, for people who make *kamairicha* for private use, the pan is for general cooking as well. Because the standard life of Japan has greatly improved tea production methods have been modernized, this local way of life takes us back to an older Japanese lifestyle. For these families, making their own *kamairicha* every year was a routine task. Therefore, this pan was often used for a variety of household tasks, including cooking *miso*, *tofu*, and other locally prepared foods. Making tea is simply part of their life, rather than a special occurrence that requires specialized equipment.

A similarity can be found in the use of wooden sticks or *shamoji* [wooden big spoon] to stir the fresh tea leaves. Some families use wooden sticks which are made from tea trees or hardwoods. They are homemade tools so they fit users' hands when stirring the fresh tea leaves.

One notable difference between the regions involved the tools for rolling and rubbing. For example, the researched regions in Miyazaki and Fukuoka prefectures use a bamboo mat, whereas the regions in Tokushima, and Shimane prefecture use a bamboo box. The other areas, in Nagasaki, Kōchi, and Nara prefectures, use a rush mat, straw mat, and hemp bag.

The Tea Production Process

First, for the most common method of producing *kamairicha*, the iron pan was set horizontally. In the past, it was set horizontally in the Japanese kitchen space, called *doma*. The pan was used for cooking as well.

The difference in the drying method involved whether the tea leaves were dried using a pan or the sun. The difference is significant because the method used will influence the taste of the tea. *Kamairicha* dried in a pan made has a refreshing and light taste with a roasted flavor. The color of the infused tea is light yellow. Kyushu area tends to use this method. *Kamairicha* made by the latter method has a sweetness with a flavor of the sun. The color of the infused tea is brown, due to slow drying in the sun. Shikoku areas and Nara prefecture tend to use this method. This method was also reported in Wakayama from Tanisaka's research. (Tanisaka, 2004)

Tea preparation and consumption

The study shows that there are two styles of tea-drinking customs in local areas. One uses a teapot and boiled water to infuse *kamairicha*.

The other one is uses boiling sun-dried *kamairicha* in the kettle. Sometimes the sun-dried *kamairicha* is used for rice porridge.

Local people who have the former tea-drinking custom tend to eat pickles when they have tea, especially in the mountainous areas of Kyushu. Usually, Japanese tea is served with *wagashi* [Japanese sweets which are made from sweet beans]. However, they seemed to prefer having tea with salty pickles during breaks of work, even though they serve it for customers.

Further research

Continuing with this research, further investigation is required to trace and clarify the location and distribution route of the production tools, including the pan, to discover the original introductory route from China. Additional examples should be gathered to reveal the tendency of taste and aroma with food culture in local based on the two drying methods. Finally, it seems necessary to analyze the intersection of food and culture, such as tea customs in daily life.

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