

JAPAN STUDIES REVIEW

Volume Nineteen
2015

Interdisciplinary Studies of Modern Japan

Steven Heine
Editor

Editorial Board

John A. Tucker, East Carolina University
Yumiko Hulvey, University of Florida
Matthew Marr, Florida International University
Ann Wehmeyer, University of Florida
Hitomi Yoshio, Florida International University

Copy and Production

María Sol Echarren
Rebecca Richko
Ian Verhine
Kimberly Zwez

JAPAN STUDIES REVIEW
VOLUME NINETEEN
2015

A publication of Florida International University
and the Southern Japan Seminar

CONTENTS

Editor's Introduction	i
Re: Subscriptions, Submissions, and Comments	ii
ARTICLES	
Going Postal: Empire Building through Miniature Messages on German and Japanese Stamps <i>Fabian Bauwens</i>	3
Old, New, Borrowed, and Blue: Hiroshi Senju's Waterfall Paintings as Intersections of Innovation <i>Peter L. Doeblér</i>	37
Delightfully Sauced: Wine Manga and the Japanese Sommelier's Rise to the Top of the French Wine World <i>Jason Christopher Jones</i>	55
"Fairness" and Japanese Government Subsidies for Sickness Insurances <i>Yoneyuki Sugita</i>	85
ESSAYS	
A "Brief Era of Experimentation": How the Early Meiji Political Debates Shaped Japanese Political Terminology <i>Bradly Hammond</i>	117
The Night Crane: Nun Abutsu's <i>Yoru No Tsuru</i> Introduced, Translated, and Annotated <i>Eric Esteban</i>	135

BOOK REVIEWS

Scream from the Shadows: The Women's Liberation Movement in Japan

By Setsu Shigematsu

Reviewed by Julia C. Bullock 169

Critical Buddhism: Engaging with Modern Japanese Buddhist Thought

By James Mark Shields

Reviewed by Steven Heine 172

Banzai Babe Ruth: Baseball, Espionage, & Assassination During the 1934 Tour of Japan

By Robert K. Fitts

Reviewed by Daniel A. Métraux 175

Supreme Commander: MacArthur's Triumph in Japan

By Seymour Morris

Reviewed by Daniel A. Métraux 177

CONTRIBUTORS/EDITORS

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Welcome to the nineteenth volume of the *Japan Studies Review* (JSR), an annual peer-reviewed journal sponsored by the Asian Studies Program at Florida International University Seminar. *JSR* remains an outlet for publications related to Southern Japan Seminar events that encourages submissions from a wide range of scholars in the field.

In "Going Postal: Empire Building through Miniature Messages on German and Japanese Stamps," Fabian Bauwens offers a comparison of Japanese and German depictions of political space displayed on postage stamps past World War II. Next, Peter L. Doebler provides a comparison of paintings by the modern Japanese artist Hiroshi Senju and the transitions from tradition to innovation in relation to art history in "Old, New, Borrowed, and Blue: Hiroshi Senju's Waterfall Paintings as Intersections of Innovation." Jason Jones's "Delightfully Sourced: Wine Manga and the Japanese Sommelier's Rise to the Top of the French Wine World" offers a cultural and socioeconomic study of Joh Araki's works on wine manga and how the sommelier functions as a cultural steward that parallels the wine boom in Japan. Yoneyuki Sugita's "'Fairness' and Japanese Government Subsidies for Sickness Insurances" examines the disputes subsidies regarding the Japanese sickness insurance from the first Health Insurance law enacted in 1922 to the Advisory Council Recommendation in 1950.

There are two essays in this issue. Bradley Hammond carefully examines specific Japanese political terminology that emerged during the early Meiji period, highlighting how these terms became standardized amidst the political debates of the 1870s and 1880s. Eric Esteban provides a detailed explanation and annotated translation with a historical and literary outlook of Nun Abutsu's epistolary work, *Yoru no tsuru* (*The Night Crane*), a poetic treatise (*karon*) in a genre largely dominated by men.

For book reviews, Julia C. Bullock comments the radical feminist movement in Japan during the 1960s through the study of *ūman ribu* as explained in the book *Scream from the Shadows: The Women's Liberation Movement in Japan* by Setsu Shigematsu. Steven Heine reviews the ideals as well as the global impact of an approach termed Critical Buddhism within a philosophical and sociopolitical standpoint, as described by James Mark Shields in *Critical Buddhism: Engaging with Modern Japanese Buddhist Thought*. Daniel A. Métraux reviews Robert K. Fitts's *Banzai Babe Ruth: Baseball, Espionage, & Assassination During the 1934 Tour of Japan* to explore the perspective of baseball as "soft-power diplomacy" and the history of this American sport during the 1930s. The final review by Métraux examines the life of General Douglas MacArthur as one of the most controversial characters in American history as described in Seymour Morris's book, *Supreme Commander: MacArthur's Triumph in Japan*.

This year's *Japan Studies Review* is supported by the Japan Foundation Institutional Support Grant for a collaborative project called The South Florida Partnership in Japanese Studies (SFPJS) Housed at Florida International University.

FIU Asian Studies Program greatly appreciates their contribution.

Re: Submissions, Subscriptions, and Comments

Submissions for publication, whether articles, essays, translations or book reviews, should be made in electronic formats, preferably Word for Windows via email attachment (please inquire about other formats). The editor and members of the editorial board will referee all submissions.

Annual subscriptions are \$35.00 (US). Please send a check or money order payable to *Florida International University* to:

c/o Steven Heine, Professor of Religious Studies and History
Director of the Asian Studies Program
Florida International University
Modesto A. Maidique Campus, SIPA 505
Miami, FL 33199

Professor Heine's office number is 305-348-1914. Submissions for publication should be sent to asian@fiu.edu.

Visit our website at <http://asian.fiu.edu/jsr>. PDF versions of past volumes are available online.

All comments and feedback on the publications appearing in *Japan Studies Review* are welcome.

ISSN:

1550-0713

Articles

**GOING POSTAL:
EMPIRE BUILDING THROUGH MINIATURE MESSAGES ON
GERMAN AND JAPANESE STAMPS**

*Fabian Bauwens
Johns Hopkins University*

Overview

Starting in the late nineteenth century postage stamps increasingly served as a business card of the state internally and externally. The Japanese and German idea of their respective political space thus was expressed through the mundane medium of postal stamps. As with other territorial currencies, images on postal stamps help shape the image of the nation to its people and the public abroad. Despite a striking number of similarities between Germany and Japan in its nation-building and consolidation process, the story their respective state building elites propagate through postal stamps is very different. The comparison of German and Japanese postal depictions of political space serves as an argument that governing elites engineer the image of the nation internally and externally through the proliferation of miniature message on banal objects, such as stamps. Furthermore, this comparison serves to illustrate how Anderson's "official nationalism" via said objects can distort historical fact in favor of nationalist fiction through the propagation of one image of the nation's political space.

This paper builds on Jack Child's work on political significance of stamps, literature on the visual depiction of political space, and Eric Helleiner's work on territorial currencies.¹ Postage stamps are mundane micro-historical artifacts that rapidly went beyond their primary purpose of mailing. Through repetition and widespread use, they serve to frame perceptions of the nation, its symbols and policies domestically and abroad. For the purpose of this paper, postage stamps are approached as primary sources. For both countries the period examined will be extended past

¹ Jack Child, *Miniature Messages: The Semiotics and Politics of Latin American Postage Stamps* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Eric Helleiner, *The Making of National Money: Territorial Currencies in Historical Perspective* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009).

WWII to point out some interesting continuities and differences despite the end of imperial ambitions in 1945.

Introduction

This article is based on the following three assumptions: Stamps can be approached as primary source materials for research on state and elite sanctioned “official” nationalism; stamps are also considered as modern territorial currencies; and they are to be viewed as examples of what Michael Billig termed “banal nationalism.”² Banal nationalism compared to nationalism proposes “...to cover the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced. It is argued that these habits are not removed from everyday life, as some observers have supposed. Daily, the nation is indicated, or ‘flagged,’ in the lives of the citizenry. Nationalism, far from being an intermittent mood in established nations, is the endemic condition.”³ Jan Penrose connects the term to the emission of banknotes and stamps by national governments as examples of banal nationalism:

When members of nation states use this money, [Penrose refers here to previous study on currency but adds stamps later] they help reify their imagined community by trusting the value of ‘their’ money and by identifying with the images of the nation-state that it promotes... Similarly, when people use ‘foreign’ currencies, differences and boundaries between nation-states are marked and reified at the same time as the legitimacy of specific states and the global system of nation-states is subtly reinforced. These practices of using money are banal because they become so normalized through daily repetition that they tend to be overlooked by those who enact them. They are also banal because the national

² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 1983); Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995); Jan Penrose, "Designing the Nation. Banknotes, Banal Nationalism and Alternative Conceptions of the State," *Political Geography* 30.8 (2011), pp. 429–440.

³ Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, p. 6.

emblems and images that grace this money go largely unnoticed in commercial transactions because most people never stop to think about either historical recentness of territorial currencies or the ideological functions that they fulfill.⁴

In addition, echoing Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, Tramell writes: "Stamps are in fact extraordinary social objects that reveal [...] the near universal human striving to remain in touch with people physically removed from our immediate presence."⁵ Just like banknotes and coins or other objects, stamps also help to preserve imagined communities not just in space but also over time—in the sense that they bridge several generations and embody the *immortal* aspect of the nation. Consequently, I argue that postage stamps can be put in the same category as coins and banknotes as "territorial currencies."⁶ There are, however, a number of differences that make stamps an even more interesting research material to study banal nationalism than other types of territorial currencies. First, there is the larger variety of stamps. Types of coinage and banknotes are usually replaced after having been in circulation for a longer period of time to have some stability in financial transactions.⁷ Postage stamps on the other hand are printed in a wide range of styles, unlike commemorative coins; commemorative stamps are more frequently used for postal transactions instead of simply being bought by collectors. The larger variety—commemorative issues in particular—create the opportunity for governments to depict more images defining and reproducing the nation.

⁴ Penrose, "Designing the Nation," pp. 429–430.

⁵ Jack Tramell, "Examining Postage Stamps as Visual Cultural Markers" in *Winton M. Blount Postal History Symposium: "Stamps and the Mail: Imagery, Icons, & Identity"* (2010), pp. 69–74, Smithsonian National Postal Museum; Also cf. Marcia Pointon, "Money and Nationalism," in G. Cubitt ed., *Imagining Nations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 229–254.

⁶ Cf. Helleiner, *The Making of National Money* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009); Penrose, "Designing the Nation," pp. 429–440.

⁷ Obvious exceptions that come to mind are rapid inflation, emergency issues, or issues prompted by a radical regime change.

Second, the primary use of stamps is to ensure communication by mail.⁸ Stamps can already be understood as being implicitly part of the messages that are exchanged between postage stamp users, such as the holiday stamps used during holiday season, or stamps commemorating events related to the person or organization that is sending mail. Particularly, sending mail abroad provides an additional means to propagate the image of the nation externally. Unlike other territorial currencies, the primary use of stamps extends beyond the borders of the state as payment for postal communication with foreign recipients. Third, stamps do not retain their value; however, just like coinage and banknotes, they are considered treasured collectables that ensure the banal reproduction of the nation through collectors.

The focus of this study will be on both definitive and commemorative stamps, as these are the major categories of stamps that were primarily printed during the period examined.⁹ Both types are still the predominant types of stamps emitted by national governments. The main difference is that definitive stamps are usually printed as part of a series with a similar design over an extended period of time, whereas commemoratives are sometimes printed in the form of a series and printed once. The design of commemoratives, as the name implies, is also tailored towards the celebration of specific events, places, or persons, whereas definitives often include images of national heraldry, symbols and text.

⁸ Udo Jung, "Germany through Stamps," *Die Unterrichtspraxis/Teaching German* 14/2 (1981), pp. 246–259; Donald M. Reid, "The Symbolism of Postage Stamps: A Source for the Historian," *Journal of Contemporary History* 19/2 (1984), pp. 223–249; Douglas Frewer, "Japanese Postage Stamps as Social Agents: Some Anthropological Perspectives," *Japan Forum* 14/1 (2002), pp. 1–19; Child, *Miniature Messages* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Phil Deans and Hugo Dobson, "Introduction: East Asian Postage Stamps as Socio-Political Artefacts," *East Asia* 22/2 (2005), pp. 3–7; Hugo Dobson, "Japanese Postage Stamps: Propaganda and Decision Making," *Japan Forum* 14/1 (2002), pp. 21–39.

⁹ Child, *Miniature Messages* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009). Japanese stamps encompass even more distinct categories than just commemoratives and definitives: other categories are the national parks issues started in 1936, and holiday and a separate category of holiday and New Year's stamps.

Regime changes may in part explain the changing or continuity of images on postal stamps, yet this would only explain part of the equation. Regime change may to an extent explain discontinuing symbols or forbidden ones. From a formalistic point of view one could argue that—unlike Japan—Germany was a monarchy, then a democratic republic, and eventually a fascist dictatorship, and therefore change in how political space on stamps was depicted could be explained as a mere function of this change. De facto, however, it is more historically accurate to argue that regime change in Germany and Japan (from autocratic monarchy, to broad democracy, to fascist regime) ran mostly parallel. Meiji autocracy mirrored Wilhelmine autocracy, both short-lived Taishō liberal democracy mirrored Weimar democracy, and Imperial Rule Assistance Association (IRAA) statist government and militarist support resembled Nazi-Germany. The national narratives on German and Japanese stamps, however, differ greatly from each other.

Meiji Japan and Wilhelmine Germany 1871–1912/18

Both Wilhelmine Germany and Meiji Japan were constructs of former feudal political elites, elites that preferred autocratic rule to full-fledged popular sovereignty.¹⁰ For both cases, national unification entailed a series of diplomatic and belligerent maneuvers, necessary to consolidate this unification. The struggle of a latecomer to define itself among the group of great powers can be retraced to depictions of the nation on stamps of the early imperialist era in both countries. However, the significant difference is how the political space is portrayed as part of this external assertion. In the German case, the struggle for self-assertion to the outside world is more strongly connected to a struggle of internal self-assertion and legitimization. The German Empire itself came about as the result of political bargaining between its constituent states and monarchs. While this unification was in essence top-down, it is important to point to the intermediate tier that would give the new German state a proto-federalist characteristic. Imperial stamps reflected this unification yet stamps had been around as products of the predecessor states since the late 1840s.

¹⁰ Hagen Schulze, *The Course of German Nationalism: From Frederick the Great to Bismarck 1763–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Masao Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963).

Although a postal system had been developed earlier, the usage of stamps was novel as part of a modern Western style postal system, which in return was an integral part of Japan's Meiji restoration process. As Maclachlan writes:

In post-1868 Japan, state and postal modernization occurred more or less simultaneously, thus enabling the postal network to assume a wide range of tasks relating to state expansion and consolidation. This arrangement was further facilitated by the network's historical legacy of centralization and close association with state authorities. In short, Japan's postal system was especially active politically—as much an agent of economic, social, and political modernization as a result of those processes.¹¹

The imagery on stamps can therefore be seen as part of state-consolidation and nation building under Meiji rule. Unlike the German case, where unification had only been controversial in some areas like Bavaria, internal legitimacy of early Meiji Japan was contested not only politically but also on the battlefield, yet it bore no philatelist results.

The earliest Japanese stamps illustrate the Meiji government's strife for external acknowledgement. For example, initially the characters used on definitives are exclusively in *kanji*, from 1872 onward; however, English language, Arabic numerals, and Roman script gradually become more prevalent.¹² At first, only the nominal values are spelled in roman script: "20 Sen," etc. As of 1876 with the so-called "Kōban" series, the line "Imperial Japanese Post" or "Japanese Empire Post" is added to each stamp (Figure 1). The same line is also used on the very first commemorative stamps issued by the Japanese postal services. The primary event that is

¹¹ Patricia L. Maclachlan, *The People's Post Office: The History and Politics of the Japanese Postal System, 1871–2010* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 31–32.

¹² Japan Philatelic Society Foundation ed., *Sakura 2011 Catalogue of Japanese Stamps*. Other new non-European states often opted for the addition of text in Western language, usually English or French. Postal emissions of the Korean empire between 1895 and 1910 bore French text whereas Egypt shifted from French to English.

commemorated was the silver wedding of Emperor Meiji (Mutsuhito), issued on March 9, 1894. As with all Japanese stamps, the emperor himself is not depicted, but instead of the regular smaller chrysanthemum emblem, the latter is featured central in this stamp. The occasion of the issue is not only written in Japanese but also in English: "Imperial Wedding 25 Anniversary."¹³



Figure 1. The 12 Sen "Kōban" series¹⁴



Figure 2. Silver Wedding (1894); Sino-Japanese war (1896)

The second of the above-mentioned changes commemorates Japan's victory in the first Sino-Japanese war of 1895. The four stamps issued in 1896 to memorialize this event depict Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa and Prince Arisugawa, both belonging to branches of the imperial family, with Prince Kitashirakawa representing the Imperial

¹³ Ibid., C 1.

¹⁴ Image of the *Aachener Krone* Edition Winkler-Hermaden, "Neuer Kronen-Atlas Impressionen aus dem Band," (accessed July 2012, <http://www.edition-wh.at/kronen-atlas/kronen-atlas-impressionen.php>). All other images as listed in Japan Philatelic Society Foundation ed., *Sakura 2011 Catalogue of Japanese Stamps* and Michel ed., *Deutschland Spezial Katalog 2011, Vol I-II*.

Japanese Army (IJA) and Prince Arisugawa representing the Japanese Naval forces (Figure 2).¹⁵ What is interesting about these four issues is how they subtly mark a turning point in Japanese history.¹⁶ These were the first Japanese stamps illustrating people, both drawn in Western style uniforms and groomed facial hair. These issues would also be the last to bare English writing until after WWII. The celebration of military victories and colonial empire became one of the continuous themes of commemoratives until the end of WWII.¹⁷ The initial usage of English text as well as the Western depiction of members of the imperial family illustrate how the Japanese government was concerned with portraying political space and Japanese nationhood for an external audience. Gradually, the focus of postal emissions was directed towards the internal perception of nationhood. The dropping of English text, Arabic numerals, and to a lesser extent, Western style dress, could thus be interpreted as a precursor to a general trend of policies aimed at emphasizing the Asiatic tradition as opposed to Western influence on Japanese society.

A very intriguing case were the ¥5 and ¥10 high value definitive issues of 1908/14 showing Empress Jingū-kōgō (Figure 3).¹⁸ The image used for both stamps is the same as the one used for a banknote issued in 1881.¹⁹ Empress Jingū was a legendary figure in Japanese history living about 1800 years ago. The Jingū on the stamps looks very Western/Victorian and modern. An Italian artist working for a German printing company did the artwork, which illustrates the interplay between the Japan of the present and ancient Japan, but also between Western and

¹⁵ Scott, *World Stamp Catalogue* 4, O-J, 2009: A-32-3. Kitashirakawa died from illness after the capture of Taiwan and was subsequently elevated to a *kami*—a personified deity—under state Shinto.

¹⁶ Japan Philatelic Society Foundation ed., *Sakura 2011 Catalogue of Japanese Stamps*, C 3–6.

¹⁷ Cf. Frewer, "Japanese Postage Stamps as Social Agents," pp. 1–19.

¹⁸ Japan Philatelic Society Foundation, ed., *Sakura 2011 Catalogue of Japanese Stamps* 231/32 (2011), pp. 119–122.

¹⁹ Melanie Trede, "Banknote Design as a Battlefield of Gender Politics and National Representation in Meiji Japan," in Doris Croissant, Catherine Vance, et al., eds., *Performing "Nation": Gender Politics in Literature, Theater, and the Visual Arts of China and Japan, 1880–1940* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2008), pp. 55–104.

Japanese aesthetics. A 1924 issue (printed until 1937) of the definitive high values of ¥5 and ¥10 also includes Jingū, but the image was created by a Japanese artist, thus attributing a more Japanese aesthetic style.²⁰ Jingū was the first woman ever drawn on Japanese currency, and until present day, only three women have been depicted on banknotes. With the exception of a factory girl in the 2nd Shōwa definitive series of 1942–46 (Figure 3), no other women have been illustrated on Japanese stamps until after WWII.²¹ The choice for Jingū as a national symbol on the highest definitive values thus requires some explanation.



Figure 3. Empress Jingū Kōgo (1908/14); Empress Jingū Kōgo (1924/37); 2nd Shōwa Series Factory Girl (1942–46)

As previously mentioned, emperors were not portrayed at all on stamps because of resistance from the Imperial Household “Kunai-chō.” Dobson writes on symbols representing the Imperial Household:

... the Meiji government issued the first Japanese postage stamps carrying two dragons which symbolized the Emperor—a symbol which was also used on the first currency issued by the Meiji government. This was a technique adopted from China where the direct representation of the Emperor was frowned upon in favour of a symbolic rendering known as the rhetoric of concealment (*tokai no shuji*). Thus, the mythical dragon,

²⁰ Japan Philatelic Society Foundation. *Sakura 2011 Catalogue of Japanese Stamps* 2010: Nos. 209–12.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 237, 244.

the *kirin*, or the male phoenix, the *hoo*, were favored (Uemura 1996: 104-5). Both animals were regarded as symbolizing good luck and joy which beautified the Emperor. Another mark used to symbolize the Imperial family was the chrysanthemum, which soon appeared on postage stamps in 1872 as part of the Meiji government's policy of asserting the position of the Emperor and was not removed until Japan's defeat in the Second World War and the Occupation.²²

For high definitive values, the above-mentioned chrysanthemum emblem was retained yet a less abstract reference to the Imperial House was added by using the image of Empress Jingū. Why was the image of Empress Jingū accepted by the Imperial Household despite her imperial lineage? Ever since the expansion of neo-Confucian thought, in particular during the Edo period, Jingū's imperial status has been contested making her somewhat more human instead of divine. The ambiguity between the human and divine origin, on the one hand symbolizing ancient Japan, yet on the other hand being ambiguous enough to be depicted on banal objects like stamps, made her an ideal choice for the high value stamps. In this capacity, Jingū as depicted on stamps could be interpreted as serving as a proxy for Amaterasu-ōmikami or the imperial family.²³ Distance between the god-like emperor and his subjects was maintained even with regard to postal emissions.

After the start of the twentieth century, in tandem with the disappearance of Western writing, the depictions on Japanese stamps become increasingly more Asian or non-Western. What is remarkable is how gradual this process occurs despite tremendous changes and crises in Japanese political and social life encompassing Taishō democracy, and the early Shōwa period. The autocratic statist Meiji era (1868–1912) is followed by the liberal Taishō era (1912–1926) and the fascist early Shōwa period (1926–1945). However, the classification of regime changes as parallel with the ruling monarch is misleading, as the transition from one

²² Dobson, "Japanese Postage Stamps: Propaganda and Decision Making," p. 28.

²³ Trede, "Banknote Design as a Battlefield of Gender Politics and National Representation in Meiji Japan," pp. 63–64.

phase to the next was gradual and often convoluted. Even the military coup attempt of 1936 can only be understood as part of a series of events leading to increased military and de facto one party rule. After 1936, the usage of roman script for the value is dropped as well, a change that will survive until present day. It should be noted that the reason for the survival of the abolition of Western script for value notation—especially with regard to post WWII stamps—may not be entirely grounded in attempts to root out Westernness, yet also as the practical result of inflation since the Yen subdivision of Sen had gone out of use.²⁴



Figure 4. German Empire high values, celebrating the empire (1900-1917); “Aachener Krone”

The postal history of the early imperial period in Germany is similar to that of Japan, yet postal emissions in this period are characterized by more signs of instability and lack of imperial consolidation than in Japan. The separate German states foregoing the empire had already been issuing stamps as early as 1849.²⁵ Unlike imperial Japan, imperial Germany did not issue any commemorative stamps, although some higher definitive values could be seen as pseudo commemoratives like the highest definitive

²⁴ An older subdivision of the Yen, the *Rin* had lost its purpose shortly after the introduction of stamps in Japan. By the early 1940s, the 厘5(*Rin*) stamps were discontinued. An Edo period subdivision *Mon* was only used in the first definitive stamps series in 1871.

²⁵ Michel ed., *Deutschland Spezial Katalog 2011, Vol I-II* (Munich: Schwaneberger Verlag GMBH, 2011).

values of two, three and five marks issued from 1900 until 1917 depicting celebrations of the empire (Figure 4).²⁶

Despite the imperial era in Germany being the most consistent with regard to continuity of depictions of national symbols, it still appears to have been much less congruent and continuous than Meiji and early Taishō Japan. Unlike the continuity of the state embodied by the always present and clear representation of state sovereignty by using the chrysanthemum emblem of the imperial family, such a symbol is inconstantly present during German Wilhelmine imperial age, and in most cases, not even as a central feature but a mere detail instead. Although one could expect that the most prevalent symbol would be the eagle, in fact, the symbol most consistently reproduced and present on German issues is the imperial crown.²⁷ The eagle, oak, and oak leaf are all three symbols of German nationhood, yet they are in themselves not symbolic of the empire, let alone the reigning imperial dynasty.

The only icon of imperial sovereignty that is present in nearly all imperial issues—either centrally featured or as a mere detail—is the imperial crown also called *Aachener Krone*.²⁸ Although adopted as an official national symbol in October 1871, the crown in fact never existed. The various depictions of the crown, however, do closely resemble the crown of the Holy Roman emperors. The age of the original crown is unclear, yet estimates put its origin between the ninth and twelfth century AD, thereby making it one of the oldest symbols of German nationalism. This crown was last worn by a Habsburg monarch in 1806 until Napoleon dissolved the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation.²⁹ After the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, and subsequent failures to create a greater German state (including the Austrian lands) the crown was

²⁶ Ibid., Nos. 64–66 and variations.

²⁷ In the first few years, German stamps would feature an imperial eagle yet the only symbol part of that eagle-image to be continuously reproduced was the *Aachener Krone*.

²⁸ Paul D. Van Wie, *Image, History and Politics—The Coinage of Modern Europe* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1999), pp. 27–31; For more background cf.: Schulze, *The Course of German Nationalism—From Frederick the Great to Bismarck, 1763–1867*.

²⁹ Van Wie, *Image, History and Politics—The Coinage of Modern Europe*, pp. 27–31.

kept at the Hofburg in Vienna. Contrary to the Japanese chrysanthemum it is far less predominant and in some cases reduced to a detail, giving much more importance to alternative national symbols like variations on the imperial eagle and the new age deity Germania.³⁰ Whereas Japan had a clear symbol representing the ruling monarch while at the same time incarnating the nation it appears that the elites responsible for the design of German postage stamps were engaging in identity shopping.

The other symbols present on German stamps during the imperial age are variations of the imperial eagle and the Germania. The eagle exists in two large subcategories, one with a large and one with a small breast shield. The most popular German stamp of the imperial age, however, is found in the so-called Germania series: From 1900 until the first years of the Republic (1922), a fictitious female deity Germania comparable to the French Marianne or Lady Liberty symbolizes the German state (Figure 5).³¹ Originally, the stamp design was not popular and received as kitsch; however, it gradually became acceptable and even popular due to its rather uncontroversial nature in the sense of de-emphasizing the dominance of Prussia and the protestant states. Nevertheless, two of the largest kingdoms, Bavaria and Wuerttemberg continued to keep their own postal authority, printing their own stamps until the early years of the Weimar Republic, thus illustrating the division between the North and South inherent in the empire. One of the reasons for the popularity of the Germania series was not only the relatively long period throughout which this stamp type was used (twenty-two years) but also the rather neutral uncontroversial content.³² Unlike the imperial eagle, the Germania issues do not contain a direct link to the Kingdom of Prussia or the imperial house of Hohenzollern. Instead, a Valkyrie-like female figure wearing the fictitious imperial crown is depicted. Unlike the Japanese semi-mythical figure of Empress Jingū, for over 20 years, the image of Germany abroad and at home on postal stamps was that of a figure that never existed. In many of the German postal offices abroad—China, Morocco, Turkey—the same Germania series was used with overprints indicating location and currency. German occupation-issues

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Heinz Hilmer, "Ein Bild ging um die Welt," *Archiv fuer deutsche Postgeschichte* 1 (1975), pp. 96–106.

³² Ibid.

during WWI for Belgium, France, Poland, and Romania, were also predominantly overprinted Germania stamps.



Figure 5. “Germania” variations for domestic and foreign postal offices

Given the absence of overly ostentatious symbols referring to the Prussian imperial dynasty, and dominance of rather neutral allegorical images, it can be surmised that representations of the nation on German imperial stamps were far more focused on forging internal cohesion and less on gaining external acknowledgement when compared to Japanese stamps of the same era. A minor exception to this was the shift in what was written on stamps as of 1902. From 1871 to 1902, the inscription on stamps only provided the value in Arabic numerals, the currency and the term “Reichspost” (imperial postage). The name of the country was not mentioned until 1902 when “Reichspost” was replaced with the term “Deutsches Reich” (German realm/empire). At the advent of the introduction of stamps, it was common for issuing states to ignore mentioning the country name on the stamp as its primary use was internal communication; a slow increase of postal traffic abroad may have triggered the indication of the country name. It was only gradually that the name was added often when a clearly identifiable national symbol abroad was

possible. Instead of using the country name on stamps, Great Britain to this day opts for the image of the reigning monarch's head instead. Using the image of the reigning monarch was a widespread alternative to using other national symbols; Germany and Japan were notable exceptions.³³

There are two common explanations as to why this did not happen in Wilhelmine Germany. One is anecdotal and probably based on fiction, while the other one is more plausible. The first account is that emperor Wilhelm II was presented with the idea of having him portrayed on stamps but declined the offer because it would mean people would stamp his head while licking his backside.³⁴ This explanation is most likely part of the Berlin folklore of that period, which contained a number of stories around the monarch's flamboyant personality. The more plausible explanation is that the Prussian (and Protestant) emperor was still not fully recognized by many of his subjects, even in officially Prussian yet predominantly Roman Catholic areas like the Rhineland, and he did not want to provoke the neighboring kings and royals unnecessarily.³⁵ An additional reason explaining the need for neutrality was the planned integration of the Bavarian and Württemberg postal services.³⁶ The higher values of German imperial coinage depicted the local state monarch on the obverse and national eagle on the reverse.³⁷ This made it possible that the imperial eagle with the Hohenzollern shield—emblem of the Prussian royal house—on its breast was less contested as the national symbol because the image of the local monarch was featured on the obverse. Postal stamps, however, only have one side available for images and as such, a pragmatic solution as for the imperial coinage was not possible.

From 1900 until the end of WWI, the high value of two marks depicted an allegoric image celebrating unity between northern and

³³ The Japanese government briefly considers depicting the emperor on stamps after WWII yet rejects the idea (Dobson 2005).

³⁴ "Kaiser Wilhelm II," Philadelphia Das Lexikon der Philatelie (accessed March 2012, http://www.philapedia.de/index.php/Kaiser_Wilhelm_II).

³⁵ Unlike monarchs of the other German states, Wilhelm was King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany at the same time.

³⁶ Hilmer, "Ein Bild ging um die Welt," p. 101; Michael Jäschke, *100 Jahre Germania*, (Dessau: Lantelme, 1999).

³⁷ Van Wie, *Image, History and Politics—The Coinage of Modern Europe*, pp. 27–28.

southern German states, suggesting that four decades after the founding of the empire it was still necessary to stress unity among German states.³⁸ Briefly stated, the external depiction of German political space was influenced by a significant lack of internal cohesion. The existence of postage stamps of predecessor states like Bavaria, Prussia, Hamburg, and others, as well as the schism between those in favor of a greater Germany (Germany and Austria) and smaller Germany made “forgetting banal nationalism” of the past and “remembering banal nationalism” of the present difficult.³⁹ It would be inaccurate to argue that all German states preceding the second German Empire were modern nation-states. Some, like Prussia were; others, mostly small states, could be seen as states that, according to Spruyt, were merely “mimicking” the modern nation state in its outer reproductions like coinage and postal stamps while also continuing to display characteristics of feudal states.⁴⁰

In contrast, the Japanese people did not have a history of *Kleinstaaterei* (small-state-ism) since Meiji Japan as a modern nation-state abruptly replaced the semi-feudal Shogunate state. As such, the illiterate Japanese people unlike the German population did not remember any type of modern state, but instead had to get used to the concept of a modern state to begin with. The rapid transformation of Japan into a modern nation-state was much more invasive and dramatic for Japanese subjects than the creation of the German empire had been for the German public. The feudal allegiances to Shogunate clans and local lords were replaced by a centralized state; the only element that remained the same was the symbol of the emperor, whereas the link between the Hohenzollern dynasty and the Holy Roman Emperors was faint at best. Creating some sense of continuity with the past without focusing on the emperor was thus almost impossible. Remembering banal nationalism, with regard to depiction of political space on stamps became the emblem of the emperor symbolized by the chrysanthemum emblem. This is also a difference in how Germany and Japan became modern nation states. In the German case, the imperial house of Hohenzollern and its faux-pre-modern symbols were reluctantly accepted

³⁸ Michel ed., *Deutschland Spezial Katalog 2011, Vol I–II*, No. 64 and variations.

³⁹ Billig, *Banal Nationalism*.

⁴⁰ Cf. Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

and did not form the glue keeping the empire together; the *modern* German nation had in part already formed before statehood had. In the Japanese case, the imperial house and its pre-modern symbols were the most important element creating a sense of a modern national belonging among the population, whereas the state created the modern conception of state-belonging. Territorial currencies like stamps thus enabled the Meiji rulers to fuse the pre-modern idea of the Emperor with the modern idea of the Japanese nation-state.

Japanese and German imperialist postal emissions for colonies and occupied territories during the early imperialist area differed even more from each other than the domestic issues. Japan did not issue any specific colonial issues for its Korean, Taiwanese and other colonies; instead the local postal services were amalgamated into the Japanese postal office and the area was annexed. This process was facilitated by the fact that Japan's colonies were mostly adjacent to Japan. In contrast, Germany did supply specific colonial issues for its overseas territories.⁴¹ All of Germany's colonies were far away from the motherland; its closest territories were located in Central-Africa but some as far away as the middle of the Pacific Ocean. The contrast between German colonial and domestic stamps could not have been greater. Whereas a connection with the imperial house was avoided for domestic stamps, this connection was very ostentatiously depicted on colonial stamps. As of 1900 all German colonial stamps bore the image of the imperial yacht HMS Hohenzollern, hinting to the personal colonial ambitions of Wilhelm II and the imperial navy (Figure 12). Colonies were unimportant to the majority of the German population until their loss was used for propagandistic goals after WWI.

The First Democratic Experiment: Weimar Republic and Taishō Japan

The Taishō era—similar to the Weimar experiment in Germany—was a relatively brief period of liberalism that eventually ended in part because of a series of internal and external economic and political crises. Ideologically speaking, the Taishō era could be argued to extend beyond the passing of the Taishō emperor into the early years of Shōwa rule as the

⁴¹ Given the scope of this article, this topic is addressed briefly. Both countries used domestic stamps—often with over-prints indicating the location—for national post offices abroad; Germany had for example a wide network of post offices ranging from Istanbul to Beijing.

change of regime happened more gradually than in Germany. The Taishō era lasted from 1912 until 1926; Weimar from 1919 until 1933. In both cases, autocratic pseudo parliamentary rule was briefly replaced with a democratic experiment for fourteen years. The end of Taishō democracy happened incrementally with the creation of the so called “peace preservation law” of 1925 retracting individual freedoms aimed at leftist political opposition of the government, and culminated in the appointment of military heads of government as of 1932.⁴² Weimar Germany saw an increase of parliamentary power moving away from autocratic rule that, despite equal male suffrage, had characterized the imperial governments. What both countries had in common were strong anti-democratic conservative elites with an aversion to communist and leftist parties. Ironically, while civil liberties were infringed, the suffrage increased. In both nations, extra-parliamentary military leaders would become appointed as heads of government eventually culminating in one-party rule and extreme nationalistic ideology.

For both countries, the biggest crisis during this period occurred in 1923, which was mirrored in postal emissions. Germany suffered hyperinflation originating from the inability to pay its war debt and accelerated by a crippled economy; most of the postal issues during this year were numeral definitive issues reaching the record value of 50 billion marks (Figure 6).⁴³ In Japan, the big Kanto earthquake was a natural catastrophe that bore significant political and economic consequences. For days during the chaotic aftermath of the earthquake, ethnic minorities and political opposition became a target resulting in the murders of thousands of Japanese subjects, in particular Koreans and leftist politicians. Most victims were killed at the hands of mobs but the Japanese police and army murdered many political opposition leaders.⁴⁴ An emergency series of definitives was issued the same year, featuring no scalloped edges and

⁴² James L. McClain, *Japan, A Modern History* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2010). A number of military Chancellors also led the Weimar Republic in the years leading up to the Nazi takeover.

⁴³ Michel ed., *Deutschland Spezial Katalog 2011, Vol I–II*, No. 330.

⁴⁴ Sonia Ryang, "The Great Kanto Earthquake and the Massacre of Koreans in 1923: Notes on Japan's Modern National Sovereignty," *Anthropological Quarterly* 76 (2003), pp. 733–744.

printed on inferior paper.⁴⁵ The new definitive high values of ¥5 and ¥10 stamps issued in 1924 until 1937 once again bore the image of Empress Jingū as the 1908/14 issue did (Figure 3).⁴⁶ The earthquake had destroyed the printing plates of the old Jingū image and the new design was significantly more Asiatic in its appearance than the previous Italian design of a westernized Jingū.



Figure 6. German 50 billion mark hyper-inflation stamp (1923); Kanto earthquake emergency issue (1923); German issues Weimar Republic; Presidential series 410-22/435-7/454/465-6 (1928–32); 1000 year celebration Rhineland 372-4 (1925); End of Rhineland Occupation 444-5 (June 30, 1930)

⁴⁵ Japan Philatelic Society Foundation ed., *Sakura 2011 Catalogue of Japanese Stamps*, Nos. 200–8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Nos. 209–12.



Figure 7. Enthronement Emperor Yoshihito C12 (1915); Silver Wedding Emperor Yoshihito C38 (1925); 2nd Census C52-3 (1930)

The first stamps of the Weimar republic were the last of the Germania series and circulated until 1922, four years after the proclamation of the republic.⁴⁷ For the remainder of the Weimar era the commemorative and definitive designs on German stamps were rather politically uncontroversial; most issues included depictions of composers, artists, famous buildings and images of both presidents (the Social democrat Ebert and conservative Hindenburg).⁴⁸ An exception, if any, were the versions commemorating the millennial of the Rhineland in 1925 and those memorializing the end of the Rhineland occupation by Franco-Belgian troops in 1930 (Figure 6).⁴⁹ The purpose of both series was to emphasize the Rhineland area as an integral part of a sovereign German state through postal depiction of German political space.

⁴⁷ Michel ed., *Deutschland Spezial Katalog 2011, Vol I-II*, Nos. 197–8.

⁴⁸ Ibid. Presidential series 1927: Nos. 403–406; Presidential series 1928–1932: 410–422, 435–437, 454; Hindenburg medallions 1932: 465–466, 467–473.

⁴⁹ Ibid., Nos. 372–4, 444–5.



Figure 8. Crown Prince Hirohito visit to Taiwan C37 (1923); Military Review Russo-Japanese War C9-10 (1906); Fall of Singapore C85-6 (1942); 1st Anniversary of the “Greater East Asia War” C92-3 (1942); Definitive 2nd Shōwa series stamp, map of Japanese realm 255/6 (1942–5); Definitive 1st and 2nd Shōwa series Admiral Nogi (1937–45)

The images on Japanese stamps of the same period are undoubtedly more nationalistic than their German counterparts, except when compared to late Meiji and early Shōwa emissions. The type of topics covered during this era in Japan include several variations on celebrating the Empire: such as the enthronement of Emperor Taishō (Yoshihito), the silver wedding of Emperor Taishō, and the enthronement of Emperor Shōwa (Hirohito) (Figure 7).⁵⁰ Other stamps of that period allude to Japan's colonial empire in a secondary fashion: depiction of flags on the 50th anniversary of postal services emission, and crown prince Hirohito's visit to Taiwan, and the second census issue showing the map of Japan and its dependencies (Figure 8).⁵¹

Nazi Germany and Militarist Japan

For both countries, this period is marked by imperial expansion, wars of aggression, and reclusion from the international community and international security organizations. In the German case, it appears as if there were indications that the Weimar system that lacked support internally and externally might be destined for this path, albeit not necessarily in its most extreme form like Nazism. In the case of Japan, imperial ambitions and warfare became significantly greater, yet were not a break with the past. Although the political atmosphere of the Meiji (1868–1912), Taishō (1912–1926), and Early Shōwa eras (1926–1945) were considerably different to the point where one could speak of regime changes, the logic of Japan's foreign policy remained the same, a fact that is mirrored by the depiction of Japanese political space on stamps. Despite failing to establish a military and a de facto fascist dictatorship in the 1930s, military supported take-over of government did not happen in 1940. However, the Japanese variant of *Realpolitik*: “Strong army, rich country” [“Enrich the country, strengthen the military”] appears to be an uninterrupted theme throughout Japan's postal history from the 1890s until 1945.⁵² Japan did not become militarist in 1940; it had been militarist ever since the Meiji era. The

⁵⁰ Japan Philatelic Society Foundation ed., *Sakura 2011 Catalogue of Japanese Stamps*, Nos. C 38–41, C 46–9.

⁵¹ Ibid., Nos. C 28–31, C 36–7, C 52–3.

⁵² Cf. Richard Samuels, *“Rich Country, Strong Army”: National Security and the Technological Transformation of Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

narrative of a militarist take-over was a myth that conservative politicians used to revert responsibility from themselves and the Emperor.⁵³ In this illustration of Japan on postal stamps, it is furthered evidenced by several examples of skirmishes and attempts at imperial expansion, that despite the internationalist Meiji and liberal Taishō eras, imperial expansion and military aggression had been an integral part of Japanese foreign policy—long before the establishment of Manchukuo in 1931, the bombing of Shanghai in 1932, the Marco Polo bridge incident and war with China in 1937, and even Pearl Harbor in 1941. The brief period of supposed Japanese *internationalism* signified by Japan's participation in WWII and membership of the League of Nations was at best secondary to imperialist ambitions and probably more of a means to that end. This continuity is mirrored in Japan's postal emissions. In particular, when analyzing the postal emissions from the Meiji era until 1945, the only thematic change that occurred was that Japan's adversaries and scope of military aggression changed. Instead of a focus on its weaker regional neighbors China and Russia, attention shifted towards the British and Dutch colonial empire, as well as the US influence in the region or from the East to the West (Figure 8).

Frewer argues that the depictions on Shōwa emissions from 1937 onward clearly indicated the regime change that had taken place when compared to post war Shōwa emissions, or as he puts it: "However, Japan's issues were relatively few (less than twenty) [Frewer writes about commemoratives] until the 1930s when her stamp designs became a tool for promoting government ideology."⁵⁴ However, there are three reasons in which Frewer falls short in this claim. First, the number of issues emitted in earlier decades was not that much lower.⁵⁵ Second, when taking into

⁵³ The consecutive wars with China in 1895, and Russia 1905, the annexation of Korea, the participation in the First World War and subsequent administration of former German territories as of 1914, the assassination of Manchurian warlords and targeted destabilization of the region in 1928, all happened long before the transformation of Japan into a military backed one-party regime.

⁵⁴ Frewer, "Japanese Postage Stamps as Social Agents," p. 3.

⁵⁵ Japan emitted 27 commemorative stamps or series of stamps before 1937; Ten commemorative stamps or series of stamps are emitted between 1937–1945

account the emission of national parks stamps (counting as a separate stamp category in Japanese philately yet considered commemorative from a Western perspective) the number of peaceful issues in the period of 1937-1945 is far higher than the previous decades. Third, and most important, when compared to the earlier Meiji, Taishō, and early Shōwa eras, this difference of promoting government ideology of military conquest and empire is subtle at best. In fact, it is striking how continuous and similar issues are with regard to topical variation for all eras preceding 1945. As mentioned previously, depictions demonstrating Japan's imperial ambitions were put on postal stamps as of 1896.⁵⁶

Other images celebrating Japan's colonial empire in East Asia are featured on several occasions well before one could speak of the full establishment of a militarist regime. Good examples for this are the emissions for the 1906 military review for Japan's triumph over Russia in 1905, the Crown Prince Hirohito's visit to Taiwan in 1923, the second census in 1930 depicting Japan, Korea, the Kwantung peninsula, and Taiwan as one (Figure 8).⁵⁷ In addition, the shift away from Western script dates from much earlier than the late 1930s, although targeted anti-Western and Pan-Oriental propaganda will become much more predominant in the late 1930s. Despite a significant regime change in the late thirties, political crisis, and an attempted military coup d'état, the depiction of the nation on Japanese stamps changes very subtly during this period. The general theme of depicting the nation remains focused on "Strong army, rich country."

The subtle changes that did take place with regard to the depiction of political space centered around the changed aim of Japanese imperial ambitions as of 1941 selling the war as "The greater East Asia war" after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Two emissions stress this shift in Japan's ambition in the region: one is commemorating the fall of Singapore in 1942, one glorifying the first anniversary "The greater East Asia war" in 1942 depicting tanks in Bataan and the attack on Pearl Harbor.⁵⁸ The definitive issues printed as of 1937 include a number of stamps that also emphasize

⁵⁶ Japan Philatelic Society Foundation ed., *Sakura 2011 Catalogue of Japanese Stamps*, p. 16.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Nos. C 9–10, C 36–7, C 52–3.

⁵⁸ Ibid., Nos. C 85–6, C 92–3.

Japanese imperialist ambitions like the images of military leaders, fighter planes, and fighter pilots.⁵⁹



Figure 9. Golden Bird 2600th anniversary Imperial Calendar C79 (1940); 10th Anniversary of Manchukuo C87-90 (1942)

Although some of the images were discontinued after the US occupation of Japan commences in 1945—notably the most obvious

⁵⁹ Ibid., Nos. 236–7, 223, 225, 231, 255–6, 259, 260.

militarist emissions—many of the other definitives remain in circulation or their motives are reprinted in future definitive series unless explicitly forbidden by SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers).⁶⁰ The best illustration of attempting to connect Japan's mythical past with the present during this period is the issue commemorating the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese imperial calendar in 1940. The depicted images include an imperial golden bird, carps, shrines and Mt. Fuji (Figure 9).

The most overt propagandistic issue is the 1942 tenth anniversary of Manchukuo issue. The stamps glorify the ideal and propagated image of Manchukuo as a place of ethnic harmony despite a very different reality (Figure 9).⁶¹ Regardless of the prevalence of anti-Chinese racism in Japanese society and in particular the IJA forces in China, the official narrative conveyed to the Japanese public—and to a lesser extent to the population of Manchukuo and China—through books, movies, posters, and postage stamps was one of racial harmony.⁶² Here you find a deliberate obfuscation of reality by the Japanese government hiding the reality of Japanese rule over Manchuria and instead painting a peaceful harmonic image in line with the continuity of Japan's history.

Unlike the Japanese emissions of 1937–1945 designed to obscure discordance, the emissions of the third Reich 1933–1945 are a much better barometer of regime change. The gradual consolidation of Nazi rule and escalation of the regime's political objectives can be very well illustrated by looking at how different stamp issues—commemoratives in particular—were designed. The first emissions connect with the last ones of the Weimar republic and even create certain continuity between both regimes, like the Hindenburg definitives printed between 1932 and 1934 (Figure 10).⁶³

⁶⁰ Ralph J. D. Braibanti, "State and Religion in Japan," *Far Eastern Review* 16/16 (1947), pp. 185–187; Hugo Dobson, "The Stamp of Approval: Decision-Making Process and Policies in Japan and the UK," *East Asia* 22/2 (2005), pp. 56–76.

⁶¹ Japan Philatelic Society Foundation ed., *Sakura 2011 Catalogue of Japanese Stamps*; Shin'ichi Yamamuro, *Manchuria under Japanese Domination* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

⁶² Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931–1945* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁶³ Michel ed., *Deutschland Spezial Katalog 2011, Vol I–II*; including the commemorative Hindenburg's mourning issue until 1935.

However, the number of ideologically laden, militaristic issues grows exponentially from that point on.⁶⁴ The first clear reference to Nazism comes with the 1934 airmail issue; an eagle is drawn on the background of a globe with a swastika as a sun behind it. The 1930s issues feature a number of politically motivated images as the one of the airmail stamps celebrating, for example: the return of the Saarland, Army, Hitlerjugend, Party rallies, SA and Hitler's birthday. (Figure 10) With the beginning of the war the number of issues referring to the Nazi party increase dramatically portraying militaristic and nationalistic ideologies that border on utopian.



Figure 10. Hindenburg medallion type stamp, various occupation issues 467-73/482-98/512-28/548-53/+ (1932–1945); Airmail 529-39 (1934); Return of the Saar 565-68 (1935); Hitlerjugend 584-5 (1935); Hitler's 48th birthday 650 (1937)

⁶⁴ Frederick Lauritzen, "Propaganda Art in the Stamps of the Third Reich," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 10 (1988), pp. 62–79.



Figure 11. First issue with Latin instead of Gothic script 764-7 (Spring 1941); First issue with inscription “Grossdeutsches Reich” instead of “Deutsches Reich” 862 (Fall 1943); Volkssturm 908 (1945); SA and SS 909-10 (1945)

There are also a number of other systematic changes like the shift from gothic script to Latin script as of 1941.⁶⁵ As of 1944 the country name on stamps is changed from “Deutsches Reich” (German empire) into *Grossdeutsches Reich* (Greater German empire); signifying the ever more grandiose ambitions of the government as the borders of this empire are already threatened by foreign armies (Figure 11). The last three commemorative issues celebrate the Nazi party’s armed branches of the Volkssturm, SA, and SS.⁶⁶ The depiction of political space for both post-

⁶⁵ Silvia Hartmann, *Fraktur oder Antiqua. Der Schriftstreit von 1881 bis 1941* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998); Friedrich Beck, “Schwabacher Judenlettern—Schriftverruf im Dritten Reich,” in Botho Brachmann ed., *Die Kunst des Vernetzens. Festschrift fuer wolfgang Hempel* (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2006), pp. 251–269.

⁶⁶ Michel ed., *Deutschland Spezial Katalog 2011, Vol I–II*.

1940 Japan and Nazi-Germany serves merely as propaganda, distorting historical fact in favor of a nationalistic narrative. The way in which this is done, however, differs significantly. Japanese wartime postal stamp images perfectly connect with the previous narrative depicting modern Japan as the result of a harmonious evolution of the Japanese nation over the past three millennia; the present is closely tied to the past. The depiction of political space on postage stamps increasingly developed a-temporal characteristics, especially in the case of Nazi-Germany (a-temporal in the sense that there is no direct link with the immediate present). Unlike the Japanese issues of 1942 the depiction of army formations or military vehicles lack a clear connection to specific battles or timeframes. The images on Nazi postage stamps depict bombastic ideals of what the state aspires to be in an unspecified future, which at the same time also attempts to hint at past and present.

With regard to the WWII occupation issues, there was another significant difference between Japan and Germany. Despite racism towards the populations of occupied areas being wide-spread among both occupation regimes, the Japanese issues are often framed as an attempt to depict the occupation as liberation from Western powers, especially after the propagation of the concept of the “Greater Asian War” (against the West) following the attack on Pearl Harbor. German issues for occupied territories, on the other hand, were not at all concerned with the liberation of the occupied populations, with the exception of German-speaking areas that were however amalgamated into the Reich and its postal network.



Figure 12. German colonial stamps depicting HMS Hohenzollern for Kiautschou (Jiaozhou China), German East Africa, and Samoa



Figure 13. Japanese Constitution C102 (1947); Wedding Crown Prince Akihito C292 (1959); Emperor and Empress Visit to U.S. C709 (1975)

Allied Occupation

After the war, the occupying forces decreed limitations on what can and cannot be depicted on postal emissions. The new SCAP (Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Japan) influenced constitution is commemorated with the issuing of two stamps, that given its content, could be seen as revolutionary compared to earlier issues (Figure 13). As Mackie explains:

Two postage stamps were issued in May 1947 in commemoration of the promulgation of the new constitution. In the foreground of one stamp, we can see a woman holding a baby. She is dressed like a farming woman in Japanese dress with scarf on her head. To the left of the frame, we can see the distinctive shape of the diet building... the placing of the woman in the same frame as the Diet building suggests a new form of legitimacy—indeed, we could refer to this as

governmental belonging. Her presence there is naturalized, there is no ridiculing of her claims to political legitimacy, and no emphasis on her sexuality. She is no longer seen as 'out of place.' By contrasting this visual representation with those of the 1920s and 1930s, we can see that discourses of gender, national belonging and governmental belonging are specific to particular times and places.⁶⁷

For Japanese postal standards, this is a dramatic change since the 1930s that gradually pushed women out of the public and into the private sphere. It also reflects the foreign influence in Japanese politics until 1952 as the inclusion of women into political life in part originated from SCAP advisory committee on drafting the constitution.⁶⁸ Unlike German issues, the national symbol of the previous regime was also depicted on both issues thereby preserving continuity of the nation. The chrysanthemum is featured on top of both of the above-mentioned stamps. Ironically, it is the last time the chrysanthemum emblem is featured regularly as the allies restricted its use in 1948.⁶⁹ The only time it reappears on post-1947 issues is in direct reference to an event related to the imperial family like the nomination of then Crown Prince Akihito in 1952 or the wedding of the same in 1959 or visits of the emperor to foreign countries and the like (Figure 13).⁷⁰ The Hinomaru—rising sun/sun disk flag—reappears in 1951 on an issue commemorating the signing of the peace treaty.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Vera Mackie, "Picturing political space in 1920s and 1930s Japan," in Sandra Wilson, ed., *Nation and Nationalism in Japan* (Psychology Press, 2002), pp. 53–54.

⁶⁸ John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. W.W. (New York: Norton & Company, 1999).

⁶⁹ Hugo Dobson, "The Stamp of Approval: Decision-Making Process and Policies in Japan and the UK," p. 60. Willard Woodward, *The Allied Occupation of Japan 1945–1952 and Japanese Religions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972).

⁷⁰ Japan Philatelic Society Foundation ed., *Sakura 2011 Catalogue of Japanese Stamps*, pp. 21, 30, 34.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In the immediate period after WWII, German postal authorities were governed by the allied occupation forces. Local post authorities had been installed and gradually integrated in regional and national networks between 1945 and 1949. Nazi symbols like the swastika were prohibited in Germany after the war and it is not surprising that they did not reappear. Although not explicitly forbidden, other national symbols like the eagle or oak leaf would not reappear for years. The postal issues emitted under allied occupation—with the exception of the Soviet sector—are unusually neutral from a political point of view, a trend that continued after West German authorities took over. The images depict trades, buildings and numerals yet no images that could be deemed politically controversial. The GDR is the exception; similar to Nazi postage stamps the images had a strong ideological content. In Japan, certain national symbols like the Yasukuni shrine were forbidden by SCAP, whereas other symbols like the national flag Hinomaru were not forbidden but temporarily restricted.⁷² Unlike the German case, it was possible for the Japanese government—in particular after 1952—to reuse symbols that had been used by the imperialist government before and foster continuity in the depiction of the nation over time.

Concluding Remarks

The use of banal objects in the retelling of national history is a fascinating topic that should remind us how even the most insignificant aspects of our lives are relics of a shared history, however that history may be influenced. Postage stamps tell us how countries' rulers want that country to be perceived internally and externally. This analysis revealed how political space was imagined in pre-1945 Germany and Japan, and despite striking similarities in nation-building and consolidation processes, the way political space was depicted from above was very different. The almost parallel regime evolution in Germany and Japan notwithstanding, there is no such similarity discernible when comparing the images on postage stamps of both nations. The absence of change, the repetition of the same themes, and the almost static depiction of the nation on Japanese stamps conflicts with pre-1945 Japan's tumultuous, and at times, chaotic

⁷² Woodward, *The Allied Occupation of Japan 1945–1952 and Japanese Religions*, pp. 157–180; Dobson, "The Stamp of Approval: Decision-Making Process and Policies in Japan and the UK."

history. Depictions on German stamps are marked by the uncertainty of the state of the nation. Early images are sterile culminating in the proliferation of kitschy Germania. Later images—in particular Nazi-stamps of the early 1940s—appear to have lost their connection with the present, instead focusing on a utopian future. In both cases, the way in which political space is drawn is marginally connected to historical fact; instead, history is used to feed a specific logic of depicting the nation. It is remarkable how one can retell the histories and historical differences between two (similar but dissimilar) nations through intentionally framed stamps in order to generate a specific image of a nation; as a result, it is worth noticing how powerfully imbued mundane items like stamps are in tracing national history.

**OLD, NEW, BORROWED, AND BLUE:
HIROSHI SENJU'S WATERFALL PAINTINGS AS
INTERSECTIONS OF INNOVATION**

Peter L. Doeblér
Dayton Art Institute

"I come before you to remind you of your childhood. No, not of yours, but rather of all that ever was childhood. For it should be possible to awaken memories that are not yours, memories that are older than you."

Rainer Maria Rilke

"The Louvre is a book where we learn to read. But we should not be content to keep the formulae of our illustrious predecessors. Let us leave them so as to study beautiful nature and search to express it according to our personal temperament. Time and reflection gradually modify vision, and at last comprehension comes."

Paul Cézanne

Two works of art cannot be more separate in time and space than the Hall of Bulls in the caves of Lascaux and a waterfall painting by the contemporary Japanese artist Hiroshi Senju¹ (Figure 1). One is among the earliest paintings known to us, cloistered in dark caves in rural, southern France. The other is cosmopolitan and international, created in a bright New York studio and exhibited in a gallery in Beverly Hills. It is so new the paint has barely dried.

The two paintings, however, generate a similar resonance. Lascaux has a freshness that feels it could have been lifted from any sidewalk where children experiment with chalk. Meanwhile, Senju conjures a primality that plumbs depths as deep as Lascaux. Both enchant us with the wonder of *nature* as well as the mystery of *art*, that ancient yet ever-new human

¹ Author's note: I will use the English name order for Hiroshi Senju since he works extensively in New York City and among the art world his name is regularly presented in that order. For other Japanese names, I will use the traditional Japanese order.

impulse to take natural materials and create a product that reflects on what it means to be a human in this world.

This similarity between Lascaux and Senju is hardly arbitrary. Senju, speaking of the airbrush technique he uses to create the waterfall's mist, references the prehistoric cave painters who "blew pigment...to render something as immaterial as the breathing of bison."² Such a statement is a perfect example of what is characteristic of Senju: he is very adept at negotiating intersections, creating points of transition. He borrows from the old to create the new, uses the modern to transform tradition. Indeed, thinking of Senju's various waterfall paintings in terms of the intersections they create can elucidate, in part, the peculiar attraction of his work.



Figure 1. Hiroshi Senju, *Imagination of Silence*, 2007, acrylics on hemp paper, Philadelphia, Shofuso Japanese House³

² Michaël Amy, "The Waterfall Paintings in Contemporary Japanese Art Historical Context," in Rachel Baum and Michaël Amy, eds., *Hiroshi Senju* (Milan; New York: Skira, 2009), p. 19.

³ Photo Credit: Peter L. Doeblér, June 4, 2014. Reproduced with permission from the Shofuso Japanese House.

In what follows, the focus will be centered on Senju's own subject, the waterfall, as a metaphor to unpack the various intersections at play in his paintings. This analysis will elaborate on how Senju transitions from tradition to innovation in many ways, including the content of his paintings, the materials and techniques he uses, the artistic form his paintings take, the exhibition spaces his works reside in, his view of creativity, and his relation to art history.⁴

Content: Intersection of Nature and Human – Transition to a New Landscape

A waterfall is essentially an intersection of two basic elements: water crashing into rock. In art, a similar aspect occurs when nature crashes into the artist. This experience has shaped Senju's choice of content for his paintings: "...over time, I found that the landscape was the most interesting subject matter. I never get tired of waterfalls, because I find them beautiful."⁵ Such a concern with nature and beauty aligns Senju with more traditional approaches to art in contrast to much contemporary art that deals with the sensational, scandalous, or self-centered.

Senju's traditional approach to art also includes his idea of art as a reliable means of direct communication with others. Indeed, the desire to communicate with others is one of the reasons Senju takes nature and the waterfall as his subject matter:

I would like to paint a motif that has universal appeal to people...This is the beauty of nature, and having nature as a theme for my paintings because everybody can relate to it in some way. It completes my idea for art in a way. Through my works, the audience will think about their roots, as if the painting were a mirror to their memories. This shared memory defines art as a power to break any boundaries between people....⁶

⁴ While it is possible to consider other instances of intersections, I have chosen these six examples since together they nicely cover four essential elements of any aesthetic analysis: the artist, artwork, audience, and social-historical context.

⁵ "Hiroshi Senju," *Asian Art Newspaper*, January 2009.

⁶ "Hiroshi Senju," *OWN* 1 (2007), p. 53.

One could read this as a retrogressive, naïve view of art as a simple copying of nature, appealing to viewers by “looking really real,” but one glance at Senju’s waterfalls shows this is not the case. Something more complex is going on.

To better understand Senju’s comment, it is useful to compare him with earlier landscape painters such as the Hudson River School painter Frederic Edwin Church (Figure 2). As Church scholar Gerald Carr notes: “The nineteenth-century was an age of exploration, and Church was an avid participant in it. The enclosing concept was geography...A practiced eyewitness and analyst, he took viewers of his works to places he’d been, and sights he’d seen. But Church interpreted as well as transcribed those places and sights.”⁷ From a colonizer’s perspective, it was an age of discovering new and exotic places and the artist could report back to the people at home what was on the frontier. Painting functioned as a kind of photo-journalism. But as Carr’s comment indicates, this realistic painting of nature was never purely objective, rather it was conditioned by religious and political aspirations. Barbara Novak speaks of it as the “Christianized sublime,” a discourse that wove moral, religious, and naturalistic strands into a new vocation for the artist: to show the presence of God in America’s unique landscape, a presence that proved America was a chosen and blessed people.⁸

Nowhere in America’s untamed nature did this blending of religion, politics, and art come together better than Niagara Falls, the subject of many nineteenth-century landscape paintings, including Church’s magnificent version. As Thomas Cole, Church’s teacher and fellow painter, exclaimed, “And Niagara! That wonder of the world!—where the sublime and beautiful are bound together in an indissoluble chain.”⁹ Such an

⁷ Gerald L. Carr, *Frederic Edwin Church: Romantic Landscapes and Seascapes* (New York: Adelson Galleries, 2007), pp. 71–72.

⁸ See Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825–1875*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 14, 33.

⁹ Quoted in New York Historical Society, Linda S. Ferber, *The Hudson River School: Nature and American Vision* (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2009), p. 122. A sermon from 1859 was even more grandiloquent, comparing Niagara to the very throne room of God: “John of Patmos must have had some such material visions before him when he wrote the Book of

outburst of wonder in the face of nature echoes Senju's encomium celebrating the beauty of the waterfall. However, by comparing Senju's waterfalls with nineteenth-century paintings of Niagara Falls such as Church's, key differences appear. Church's contains land and sky that act as foreground and background markers, creating limits that contain the falls and frame them for a controlled view from the outside. The presence of land, along with the title of the painting, indicates that this is an image of a geographic place, Niagara Falls. There are also temporal markers through the use of color: it is not winter and it is daytime. Finally, there are minute buildings that not only give a sense of scale but also indicate a conscious human presence.



Figure 2. Frederic Edwin Church, *Niagara*, oil on canvas, 101.6 x 229.9 cm, 1857, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Corcoran Collection¹⁰

the Apocalypse. There are many things at Niagara that recall the imagery of that book; the rainbows round about the throne, the trains of angels, the clouds of incense, the gates and walls of the celestial city, the great angel clothed with a cloud, and a rainbow upon his head, and his face as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire, and at the sound of his speech seven thunders uttering their voices.” Quoted in Gerald L. Carr, *Frederic Edwin Church: Romantic Landscapes and Seascapes* (New York: Adelson Galleries, 2007), p. 57.

¹⁰ Photo Credit: Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington.

In Senju's waterfalls all of these contextual guides are removed. There are no people, the waterfall is not connected to a particular place, and there is no indication of day or night, summer or winter. There are no framing devices either, rather the waterfall cascades from the very edge of the surface. And most importantly, as critic Rachel Baum notes, we do not see Senju's waterfall from the outside, as in typical perspective paintings like Church's, "from a separate space or through a frame or a lens. Rather, Senju immerses consciousness itself in the natural world as a complementary energy, synchronized with the forces of water and wind."¹¹ Instead of observation, Senju's waterfall landscapes elicit participation, not erasing nature or the viewer but drawing the two together, blurring the line that separates mind and matter.

While much of the appeal of nineteenth-century landscape painting was the representation of uncharted natural locations (Church himself explored and painted from South America to Petra to the Arctic), today these places are well known to us, perhaps too well known. What Senju does is guide us to an even more uncharted place, somewhere beyond the purely objective natural world, deeper into the human that perceives this world. Senju alludes to this when he says, "It is extremely hard to show the beauty and greatness of nature, so even if I would try millions of ways to describe the waterfalls in my paintings, I would end up erasing as many times to reach the perfection. My waterfalls definitely represent my individuality, and nobody could imitate them and nobody can teach me how to paint waterfalls, except nature and the waterfall itself."¹² Senju's choice of the waterfall as a subject for painting is to depict the beauty of the natural waterfall, but also to express the complexity the artist faces in trying to give form to individual sensual perception and internal feeling before nature. It is as if the artist is the rock continually pounded by the waterfall of nature and made smoother and smoother until, as Cézanne says, "comprehension comes." Trying to give expression to this, then, determines Senju's choice of materials and the techniques he uses.

¹¹ Rachel Baum, "Variations on Themes: Hiroshi Senju's Explorations of Nature," in Rachel Baum and Michaël Amy, eds., *Hiroshi Senju* (Milan; New York: Skira, 2009), p. 9.

¹² "Hiroshi Senju," *OWN*, p. 53.

Technique: Intersection of Old and New – Transition to a New Style

In the waterfall's movement there is both continuity and change. As the water makes the transition from above to below, following the natural course of gravity, some of the water will continue towards the sea and some will evaporate as mist. Likewise, Senju's choice of materials maintains continuity with tradition but his technique transforms these in new ways.

Senju works in *Nihonga*, or traditional Japanese painting. While the tradition extends back for hundreds of years, the designation *Nihonga* only appeared in the nineteenth-century to contrast art done with traditional materials and techniques from art done with Western means.¹³ In Senju's case this includes pigments obtained from natural materials such as crushed shells which are then mixed with animal glue as a binder and are applied to traditional Japanese mulberry paper. However, his use of this traditional art is mostly pragmatic; for Senju natural pigments are simply more brilliant than artificial ones and Japanese paper "just has no equivalent."¹⁴

Where Senju departs from the tradition is particularly in brushwork, or lack of it. While he does use a brush for the bowling-ball-smooth black ink background, the rest of the painting consists of pouring white paint down the surface from the top and then airbrushing the surface. While surprising, this is not unprecedented in traditional Japanese art where there is a technique called *tarashi-komi* that is exactly this: paint is dripped onto the still-wet surface, allowing for the unexpected or the accidental; the paint itself finishes the painting.¹⁵ What is unique is the extent to which Senju employs this technique to the point where the image is almost entirely composed this way, rather than being a unique highlight. Furthermore, this technique allows for easy repetition yet with infinite variations, something Senju explores by repeatedly painting waterfalls, in some sense creating one continuous waterfall.

¹³ Progressively this distinction between *Nihonga* and *Yōga* (Western painting) took on polemical overtones. See Ellen P. Conant, *Nihonga: Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting, 1868–1968* (Boston: Weatherhill, 1996), p. 14.

¹⁴ "Hiroshi Senju," *Asian Art Newspaper*.

¹⁵ See Fritz van Briessen, *The Way of the Brush: Painting Techniques of China and Japan* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1999), pp. 122–123.

This combination of dripping and blowing mirrors the actual structure of a waterfall, using gravity and air to create an image that blurs the line between mimesis and reality. One sees a literal waterfall of paint that changes into the image of a waterfall more real than typical attempts to paint a “real” waterfall. We feel the impression before us was not so much painted but rather conjured up. As Rachel Baum says, “What Senju has done is perform a primal alchemy, transforming earth, in the form of ground natural pigments, into water and air.”¹⁶

Again, a comparison with an American artist is instructive, in this case Jackson Pollock. Pollock famously challenged the typical Western conception of painting by putting his canvas on the floor and dripping paint. Speaking of his method he said, “I need the resistance of a hard surface. On the floor I am more at ease. I feel nearer, more part of the painting, since this way I can walk around it, work from the four sides and literally be *in* the painting.”¹⁷ The materials, synthetic paint and canvas, contrast with Senju, but also the overall effect of the dripping technique.¹⁸ Whereas Senju leaves much up to chance by pouring vertically, since the paint can take different paths downward and be absorbed into the wet ink, Pollock, working horizontally, always has control of where his drips are going. Of course, the most outstanding difference is that Senju’s painting is representational and Pollock’s is totally abstract.

Here Pollock’s need for a hard surface is important: in his paintings there is a tension, almost a fight that is visible in the overall rigidity of the final work, a net that restrains any significant form from appearing. In contrast, Senju’s waterfall appears effortless, almost weightless, so one is inclined to think, this is due to his *cooperation* with the force of gravity.¹⁹ This then leads one to ask how these materials and the technique are employed to create the image of the waterfall.

¹⁶ Baum, “Variations on Themes,” p. 9.

¹⁷ Jackson Pollock, “Two Statements,” in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, eds., *Art in Theory 1900–2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 571.

¹⁸ But it should be noted that in his continued exploration of the waterfall Senju has made use of synthetic paints with striking results.

¹⁹ However, the distinction between the two should not be rigidly maintained. Pollock himself considered his paintings as transitional to another kind of painting: “I believe the easel picture to be a dying form, and

Composition: Intersection of Shape and Color – Transition to a New Motion

The waterfall, at its most basic form, is an intersection of lines, vertical meets horizontal, which then creates the dynamic space and energy of the waterfall. Likewise, Senju uses his unique materials and technique to form a composition of vibrant, moving space through his use of line. This is evident by looking closer at a particular work (Figure 2). Here, Senju makes use of his monochrome palette to shape four basic lines: two strong, two soft. First, the white foam and the black water form a low horizontal line across the bottom. Second is the waterfall, a white vertical streaked with black that divides the canvas right down the middle. The softer lines are two diagonals appearing at the point where the white of the waterfall mist meets the black void around it. They run up from the lower sides and meet at an imaginary point in the middle of the painting at the top.

These few lines form the basic shapes of the painting, the long, black rectangle at the bottom, the white triangle of foam and mist, the white vertical rectangle of the waterfall itself and the large black rectangle that sits above the waterline and behind the waterfall. The simple shapes, with their contrasting colors, then, create the four planes of the painting, the two planes of white floating behind and before the black. Furthermore, these planes are complemented by the brushwork, the front and back an effortlessly smooth black contrasted with the long, vertical, dripping strokes of the waterfall and the staccato splash-splashes of white that summon the diaphanous mist.

The colors, lines, shapes, and planes, then, combine to generate rhythmic motions of in and out, the outer black planes pressing in on the equally resistant white, and up and down, the triangle of mist ascending to meet in the upper middle of the waterfall which is counterbalanced with the downward movement of the vertical white strip that crashes in an incandescent flash of enlightenment at the point where sea and sky meet. This multi-direction movement absorbs the viewer and, rather than leading the eye to rest and focus on one particular place, lets it constantly shift and

the tendency of modern feeling is towards the wall picture or mural. I believe the time is not yet ripe for a *full* transition from easel to mural. The pictures I contemplate painting would constitute a halfway state, and an attempt to point out the direction of the future, without arriving there completely." Pollock, "Two Statements," p. 571.

renew itself, neither rising too high nor descending too low, but simply floating.

Senju's waterfalls, then, create a highly interactive visual experience. However, they also go beyond only the visual to involve the whole body. The works, in large part, cannot be separated from the physical spaces they occupy and in which they are encountered. Therefore, one must next consider how Senju's paintings cross the intersection of private and public spaces.

Exhibition Spaces: Intersection of Private and Public – Transition to a New Place

A waterfall is the most dramatic reminder of what the river is doing: moving from a higher to a lower place. It highlights this by being an explicit site of transition. Likewise, the spaces where Senju's works are displayed are places of transition and intersections. On the one hand, there are his paintings on Japanese sliding doors in traditional private settings, such as the Shofuso House outside Philadelphia, and the Daitokuji-Jukoin Betsuin Temple in Shizuoka Prefecture, Japan. Here, the point of transition is the doorway, the meeting between rooms. On the other hand, there are the public works Senju has carried out such as the installations at the Tokyo Grand Hyatt Hotel or the Tokyo Haneda Airport where the works participate in large sites of transition, places meant for the goings and returnings of travel.

Across this spectrum, one can see another way that Senju works at the intersection of tradition and the modern, innovating both. Both the form and the content of his waterfall paintings are flexible enough to work in traditional spaces and sizes, such as the sliding doors, but they fit equally well the modern demand for large artworks, both in the art world of the museum and other public spaces. And his waterfalls paradoxically make traditional settings such as a temple feel strikingly modern and infuse technologically buzzing public spaces with a serene beauty that makes transit through the urban landscape feel at one with the nature it has displaced.

Senju's projects of rooms with surrounding paintings in comparison with the Rothko Chapel is another example of a traditional space modernized. However, as with Pollock, what contrasts with Senju is the absence of any representational content. Mark Rothko's advocates, such as Dominique de Menil, count this as one of his greatest virtues because images "have become intolerable to all of us today... We are cluttered with

images, and only abstract art can bring us to the threshold of the divine...As [Rothko] worked on the Chapel...his colors became darker and darker, as if he were bringing us to the threshold of transcendence, the mystery of the cosmos, the tragic mystery of our perishable condition. The silence of God, the unbearable silence of God.”²⁰

Perhaps Rothko evokes a sort of negative presence by means of its absence, but it all feels sort of half-baked, “bringing us to the threshold of transcendence,” but leaving us there, hat in hand to wait like some Samuel Beckett character, the present broken from a past and facing a tentative future, giving the chapel the chill of a mortuary, a timeless terminus.²¹ But if time seems to have been abolished in Rothko, it is taken up by Senju as a key element in his understanding of the creative act.

Creativity: Intersection of Memory and Imagination – Transition to a New Time

Ceaselessly flowing yet remaining the same, the waterfall is often used as a metaphor for the passage of time, the present intersection of a past moving into a future. The theme of time, particularly memory and imagination, is central to Senju’s view of art, particularly the way the artist’s memory and imagination interacts with the viewer’s.

“When I think of the definition of art, I find it is a way to communicate our imagination to other people. In other words, conveying our feeling to someone who wouldn’t readily understand us, this is art.”²² Working with his own memories of the waterfalls in nature that he has

²⁰ Dominique de Menil, et al. *The Rothko Chapel: Writings on Art and the Threshold of the Divine* (Houston: Rothko Chapel, 2010), pp. 18–22.

²¹ Such an extreme statement is not to deny Rothko’s brilliance, rather it is meant to highlight Senju’s accomplishment. While I believe it is a useful comparison, Rothko’s own words are a needed caution: “A picture lives by companionship, expanding and quickening in the eyes of the sensitive observer. It dies by the same token. It is therefore risky to send it out into the world. How often it must be impaired by the eyes of the unfeeling and the cruelty of the impotent.” Quoted in de Menil, *The Rothko Chapel*, p. 17.

²² “Interview: Hiroshi Senju,” J-Collabo.com (accessed May 05, 2012, <http://j-collabo.com/interviews/hiroshi-senju/>).

studied,²³ Senju uses his imagination to give form to his inner vision and feeling in the hope of truly achieving a work that can embody this and present it to the viewer. This is how he measures success: “When you successfully translate your imagination into your art, you have a masterpiece.”²⁴

When Senju’s vision intersects with the vision of the individual viewer through the meeting place of the finished work, the viewer’s imagination is activated and points them back to their own memories, completing a relational circle. As quoted already, “Through my works, the audience will think about their roots, as if the painting were a mirror to their memories. This *shared* memory defines art as a power to break any boundaries between people....”²⁵

It is the fact that Senju’s waterfalls are at the same time figurative and abstract that allows for the fruitful interplay of imagination and memory. Since the paintings are clearly waterfalls, there is something for the viewer to “hold onto” in contrast to Pollack or Rothko. But since they do not aim to depict any precise waterfall in current space and time, say Niagara Falls, the viewer has freedom to make the waterfall more personal. To quote Senju again, “I find art very important, but even more important is to enrich your imagination. I do not go out to the waterfall and paint on site. My waterfall paintings are very much figurative, however, at the same time they are very abstract. Personally, I feel that I may have gone beyond the abstract or the figurative. I am indeed painting a waterfall, but which waterfall am I painting?”²⁶ It is here that we can perhaps locate Senju’s greatest innovation of the modern through his use of tradition.

Art History: Intersection of Figurative and Abstract – Transition to a New Art

The moment before the waterfall, the water is one, united in the river. Afterwards, the waterfall is the same. In between, the water disperses

²³ While Senju’s paintings are clearly not of specific, natural waterfalls, he studies first-hand waterfalls across the globe, from Hawaii to the Amazon, and makes use of photographs for his paintings. See Michaël Amy, “The *Waterfall* Paintings,” pp. 15, 20.

²⁴ “Hiroshi Senju,” *OWN*, p. 53.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 53, italics mine.

²⁶ “Hiroshi Senju,” *Asian Art Newspaper*.

into many particulars, and this cycle is repeated continuously. Art history has also shuttled between the one and the many, the abstract and the figurative, the beautiful and the ugly. But just as the waterfall unites both in its motion, so Senju seems to paint a waterfall totally individual yet universal; a waterfall good enough to satisfy Plato.

How can we account for this new artistic territory Senju is showing, beyond the typical figurative/abstract divide? This analysis thus offers a few suggestions by making use of some theoretical insights from Buddhist aesthetics.²⁷ For instance, Zen theorist and aesthetician Hisamatsu Shin'ichi asserts that "what is to be called Zen painting or Zen calligraphy is not a painting which has been painted by a Zen monk or a piece of calligraphy containing Zen phrases, but rather a painting or a piece of calligraphy which expresses Zen meaning."²⁸ But he goes on to clarify that in order to express Zen meaning one must be a "Zen man" and in order to be such a person "Zen-meaning itself must be understood."²⁹ This is dicey territory. Is it worth asking if Senju is Zen art? How could one even determine if he had "Zen mind"? It is with Hisamatsu's listing of terms that express "the special characteristics of Zen aesthetics" that we can perhaps discuss Senju's paintings as Zen art, not to classify them in a rigid religious category, but because of the richness with which the Zen vocabulary accurately describes what the paintings convey. These include: "free from worldliness" (*datsuzoku-teki*), "serene emptiness" (*kūjaku*), "subtle tranquility" (*yūgeki*), "directness" (*tanteki*), "unrestricted freedom" (*shadatsu*), "no-mind" (*mushin*), and "purity" (*shōjō*).³⁰

Senju's works are beautiful and he himself admits having beauty as a goal. Yet this beauty seems to be of a special kind, as if it precedes the distinction between beauty and ugliness. The Japanese aesthetician and folk-craft advocate Yanagi Sōetsu meditated deeply on the possibility of

²⁷ I am not arguing there is necessarily an explicit Buddhist influence on Senju's art (although the fact that some of his work is installed in a Buddhist temple is not insignificant), but simply presenting Buddhist insights as a particularly effective means to give theoretical expression to what we may intuit from the art itself.

²⁸ Shin'ichi Hisamatsu, "On Zen Art," *The Eastern Buddhist* 3/2 (1973), p. 29.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32–33.

such a beauty at the end of his life in his essay “The Dharma Gate of Beauty.” Yanagi discovered the basis for a beauty beyond the duality of beauty/ugliness in the fourth vow of Amida in the *Larger Sutra of Eternal Life* where it states, “...unless there is no beauty and ugliness among them, I will not attain highest enlightenment.”³¹ Yanagi argues that achieving this beauty is quite simple: it depends on returning “to the original nature of ‘as-it-is-ness,’ or ‘thusness.’”³² This is to recognize the beauty naturally inherent in all things. It is only humans that divide between beautiful and ugly:

Since the nature inherent in all things is prior to beauty and ugliness, if instead of striving for more beauty, everything stays within its original nature, there is no reason why anything should fall into ugliness. The nature of things is such that everything, however clumsy, is beautiful just as it is, even in its clumsiness. And yet, having inflated opinions of themselves, most people endeavor by their own means to work their influence on things.³³

As long as an artist attempts to force their will on things “everything, both beautiful and ugly, will be tainted by the ugliness of artificiality.”³⁴ Is it this hint of artificiality that hangs about abstract modernist works such as Pollack or Rothko? Do these painters, perhaps, by attempting to go beyond mere representation in art go to the opposite extreme of imposing their will so much on art that there is no room left for the normal, clumsy world? The avant-garde *sho* calligraphy artist Morita Shiryu posited a similar criticism towards Western modern artists, claiming their work “lacked inner force” because it was rooted in a Western view of freedom as license to do anything one wanted. However, according to Morita, “Instead of being termed ‘free within’ it is more appropriate to describe them as ‘selfish.’”³⁵

³¹ Quoted in Sōetsu Yanagi, “The Dharma Gate of Beauty,” Bernard Leach, trans., *Eastern Buddhist* 13/2 (1979), p. 5.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁵ Quoted in Helen Westgeest, *Zen in the Fifties: Interaction in Art Between*

In contrast to this Western emphasis on the individual genius, even one like Pollock who aimed to work automatically, without intentional consciousness, Morita posits the idea of *inochi*, one's inner, vital life-force. One's capacity for maximalizing *inochi* depends on one's *kyōgai*. While *kyōgai* generally refers to one's societal place, according to Ronald Nakasone, for Morita it has a more specific "spiritual and aesthetic quality, refer[ing] to the particular conditions one finds oneself in at any given time. 'Kyōgai' also suggests the spiritual maturity of being able to live with equanimity and ease in a transient and interdependent world."³⁶ Such maturity makes possible artistic expression that is constantly new and fresh since it will come from, according to Morita, "the self-originated *inochi*...which is neither temporally nor spatially definable. No matter whether its method is old or new, it will always present a new world."³⁷

Neither temporally nor spatially definable, neither old nor new. Such descriptions fit well what we have observed in Senju's paintings. Can we say the depth of feeling communicated by Senju's waterfalls is an expression of his spiritual maturity, of a life-force that is deep and at peace? This is certainly Senju's understanding of art's purpose. Referring to the great Japanese artist Eitoku Kanō, whose magnificent *Landscape of the Four Seasons* is also in a Daitokuji-Jukoin Temple, Senju comments: "Art conveys a message directly to people in their *deepest being* because it is not expressed in words. What Eitoku Kanō wanted to say was the importance of peace and creation. In art, completely different things can be [sic.] exist close together and be in nature at the same time. That is the message from art and it is also a peace making process."³⁸ Peace: This may be the best word to summarize Senju's waterfalls which reconcile the perceived aesthetic tensions of objective nature vs. subjective artist, traditional vs. modern styles, the artist's memory and imagination vs. the audience's, public vs. private spaces, and abstract vs. figurative representation.

East and West (Zwolle Amstelveen: Waanders Publishers; Cobra museum voor moderne kunst, 1996), p. 204.

³⁶ Ronald Y. Nakasone, "Giving Form to the Formless: Yangai Sōetsu and the Pure Land of Beauty," in *Kitabatake Tensei Kyoju Koki Kinen Ronshu* (Kyoto: Nagata, 1998), pp. 10–11.

³⁷ Shiryū Morita, "To Go Beyond Pollack," *Bokubi* 145 (1965).

³⁸ "Interview: Hiroshi Senju." J-Collabo.com, emphasis mine.

Conclusion: In Transit

Waterfalls in Japan are significant for ascetics who will sit under the cold water and gain access to the divine world. According to Merrily Baird, “It is by submitting to such extreme behaviors...that the practitioner gains access to the spirit world and the power to mediate the activities of divine spirits in the temporal world.”³⁹ So what does Senju see and then show us based on his repeated meditation under the waterfall? He makes us recall the past, the old and primal, as well as the new, the future and the unknown, completing the circle. The beginning and the end are one. He takes many particulars, each painting, and gives form to the universal, just as a myriad of creeks lead into streams, into the river and into the ocean. But it would be a mistake to think Senju has arrived, has exhausted the waterfall, as if there ever was such a point to reach in the first place. His recent “Day Fall/Night Fall” series develops the waterfall subject into even more profound permutations, using fluorescent paint that transforms at night under black light. What was said of Bashō can be said of Senju: “His journey is a pilgrimage; it is a journey into the interior of the self as much as a travelogue, a vision quest that concludes in insight. But there is no conclusion. The journey itself is home.”⁴⁰

³⁹ Merrily Baird, *Symbols of Japan: Thematic Motifs in Art and Design* (New York: Rizzoli, 2001), p. 43.

⁴⁰ Sam Hamill, quoted in Peter Turchi, *Maps of the Imagination: The Writer as Cartographer* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2004), p. 22.

Works Cited

- Amy, Michaël. "The Waterfall Paintings in Contemporary Japanese Art Historical Context," in Rachel Baum and Michaël Amy, eds., *Hiroshi Senju*. Milan; New York: Skira, 2009: 9–13.
- Baird, Merrily. *Symbols of Japan: Thematic Motifs in Art and Design*. New York: Rizzoli, 2001.
- Baum, Rachel. "Variations on Themes: Hiroshi Senju's Explorations of Nature" in Rachel Baum and Michaël Amy, eds., *Hiroshi Senju*. Milan; New York: Skira, 2009. 15–27.
- Briessen, Fritz van. *The Way of the Brush: Painting Techniques of China and Japan*. Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1999.
- Carr, Gerald L. *Frederic Edwin Church: Romantic Landscapes and Seascapes*. New York: Adelson Galleries, 2007.
- . *In Search of the Promised Land: Paintings by Frederic Edwin Church*. New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, 2000.
- Conant, Ellen P., J. Thomas Rimer and Stephen Owyong. *Nihonga: Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting, 1868–1968*. Boston: Weatherhill, 1996.
- Ferber, Linda S. and New York Historical Society, *The Hudson River School: Nature and American Vision*. New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2009.
- Hisamatsu, Shin'ichi. "On Zen Art." *The Eastern Buddhist*, New Series, 3/2 (1973): 21–33.
- Menil, Dominique de. *The Rothko Chapel: Writings on Art and the Threshold of the Divine*. Houston: Rothko Chapel; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Morita, Shiryū. "To Go Beyond Pollack." *Bokubi* 145 (May 1965).
- Munroe, Alexandra. *Japanese Art after 1945: Scream Against the Sky*. New York: Abrams, 1994.
- Pollock, Jackson. "Two Statements," in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, eds., *Art in Theory 1900-2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003. 570–71.
- Nakasone, Ronald Y. "Giving Form to the Formless: Yangai Sōetsu and the Pure Land of Beauty," *Kitabatake Tensei Kyoju Koki Kinen Ronshu*. Kyoto: Nagata, 1998. 461–478.
- Novak, Barbara. *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825–1875*, 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Senju, Hiroshi. "Hiroshi Senju." *Asian Art Newspaper*, January 2009.

- . “Hiroshi Senju.” *OWN*, No.1, February 2007. 52–57.
- . “Interview: Hiroshi Senju.” J-Collabo.com (accessed May 05, 2012, <http://j-collabo.com/interviews/hiroshi-senju/>).
- Turchi, Peter. *Maps of the Imagination: The Writer as Cartographer*. San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2004.
- Westgeest, Helen. *Zen in the Fifties: Interaction in Art between East and West*. Zwolle Amstelveen: Waanders Publishers; Cobra museum voor moderne kunst, 1996.
- Yanagi, Sōetsu. “The Dharma Gate of Beauty,” in Bernard Leach, trans., *Eastern Buddhist* 13/2 (1979): 1–21.

**DELIGHTFULLY SAUCED:
WINE MANGA AND THE JAPANESE SOMMELIER'S RISE
TO THE TOP OF THE FRENCH WINE WORLD**

*Jason Christopher Jones
Monash University*

Introduction

The French restaurant scene in Itami's Jūzō's *Tampopo* (1985) stands as one of the film's most memorable. It depicts the three-tiered stratification of Japanese salarymen. The first tier—the old guard—retains the most power, but ironically has the least knowledge within the realm of French wine and cuisine. In the middle are the salarymen who have memorized just enough of the food menu to be able to order so that the completely uninitiated old guard can follow suit and save face. They nonetheless lack the cultural sophistication to know that when the waiter asks what they would like to drink as an accompaniment, beer is the wrong answer. The lowest-ranking salaryman, however ignorant of how the pecking order should inform his choices (or lack thereof) is both culturally and linguistically competent, able to read the menu and discern where in France the chef trained based solely on how the food was prepared. As his coup de grâce, the young salaryman gains the ultimate respect of the waiter by eschewing beer, and instead choosing a wine that perfectly pairs with his dinner selection. The scene is remarkable not simply for its comedic effect, but also because it illustrates the rising importance of French wine and knowledge thereof across generations.

Japan remains home to a nascent wine culture, the central object of that has become a common item within the lexicon of Japan's consumers. Critical to the popularization of wine has been the firm rooting of the sommelier as the character through which it is introduced. The image of the sommelier has proliferated across media genres, including film, television shows, anime, and video games. This paper examines the work of writer Joh Araki and his series of manga, belonging to what we shall henceforth refer to as "wine manga." The paper posits that the sommelier in Joh Araki's works functions as a cultural steward whose development parallels the popularization of wine in Japan, and as an illustrated representation of the trajectory by which wine has come to be accepted in Japan as part of the everyday nomenclature. It also examines how the narrative of the genius sommelier fits within preexisting national narratives.

That wine would eventually become the subject of manga was inevitable. As Brigitte Koyama-Richard states in her study on manga: “Subjects such as cuisine or wine tasting have a peculiar attraction for the Japanese, who pride themselves on their gourmet tastes. Culinary specialties from round the globe are served in many restaurants along with world-famous wines; these establishments vie with each other to satisfy ever more demanding customers. It is a phenomenon the manga was unlikely to ignore” (Koyama-Richard 2007: 172).

“Wine” and “sommelier” do not readily recall “Japan” in a Western schematic that sees it primarily as a sake producer and more recently as a beer producer. This should come as no surprise. Fujita Mariko, in her chapter titled “Sake in Japanese Art and Culture,” states that “there are about twenty-six hundred sake breweries producing about four thousand brands throughout Japan” (Fujita 2003: 345). Penelope Francks writes about sake and beer, that “the brewing of [sake] represented a major industry through to the interwar period at least, and beer, [was] the drink that was eventually to overtake it as the everyday accompaniment to Japanese social life” (2009: 137). Thus sake and beer have earned a place as permanent fixtures within the genealogy of the Japanese diet.

One might, however, be remiss to completely disregard wine consumption, as Japan has become home to a wine culture still in its infancy.¹ In her compendium of 148 wineries across Japan, Ishimoto Motoko notes that within the five years separating the first edition of her *Wainari ni ikō* series and the 2011 edition, wine had become an everyday item in Japan (Ishimoto 2011: 212). In his *Saikyō Nihon wain gaido*, Fukuda Katsuhiro provides a detailed synopsis of wineries by region, from Hokkaido to Kyushu, illustrating how the practice of winemaking has spread across Japan (Fukuda 2011). As early as 1975, Inoue Munekazu had composed a history of grape cultivation, winemaking, and the selling of wine in Japan, together with concise histories of Japanese wineries in his text, *Nihon no wain*. Ogino Hanna (1997), in her text *Nihon no Wain Romanchikku Kaidō*, introduces not only wineries across Japan, but also answers questions related to wine etiquette, paying special attention to the

¹ One might compare this to Japan's coffee culture, which has been described as “one of the most refined in the world,” despite the unlikelihood of this being everyday knowledge outside Japan. See James Freeman et al., *The Blue Bottle Craft of Coffee* (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 2012), p. 133.

relationship between women and wine. In 1999 and 2008 respectively, Suga Sekiji and Aoki Fumiko wrote guides introducing wines based on the films in which they made their appearance. In *Shigoto ga dekiru hito wa naze wain ni hamaru no ka*, Inose Hijiri (2012) attempts to connect wine consumption with professional ability and upward mobility. Hayama Kōtarō has written on both wine and champagne in his series of wine quiz books (2008) and *Chanpan no oshie* (1997). The growing body of Japanese literature on wine points to the increasing solidification of wine as a staple at the dinner table. Along with that position of increased prominence have come more representations of wine and wine culture within Japan's popular media. This, however, has not been reflected in Western studies on Japan.

Overlooking Wine Manga

Perhaps one reason that Japan's nascent proclivity toward wine has gone largely unacknowledged outside of Japan is that it has thus far lacked visibility in Western research on Japanese popular culture, being absent from discussions on manga, television shows, and video games. This is despite television adaptations of Joh Araki's manga series *Sommelier* and Agi Tadashi's series *Kami no Shizuku* in addition to video games such as *Wain no hajimekata* (2007) and *Sommelier DS* (2007), both for the Nintendo DS. Genre designations work to obscure visibility of the subject by relegating it to the "food manga" genre, thus denying wine manga access to an important vehicle for the exportation of Japanese "soft power."

The food manga genre is not new. It has been well-established since the 1970s. In "Oishinbo's Adventures in Eating: Food, Communication, and Culture in Japanese Comics," Lorie Brau calls attention to the prevalence of what are commonly referred to as "gourmet comics" or "gurume manga" (2010: 110) illustrating the significance of the genre through an analysis of Kariya Tetsu and Hanasaki Akira's seminal work, *Oishinbo*. Amongst the numerous volumes of gurume manga—*Hōchōnin Ajihei*, *Hōchō Mushuku*, *Tetsunabe no Jan*, *Shōta no Sushi*, *Za Shefu*, *Ajiichimonme*, *Ramen Hakkenden*, *Misutā Ajikko*, *Kukkingu Papa*, and *Chūka Ichiban* to name a few—*Oishinbo* reserves a special place within gurume manga if not due only to the sheer vitality of the series, which began publication in 1983 and remained in publication through 2013.

Oishinbo exemplifies one successful narrative pattern within the gurume manga genre. The series defines the genre's didacticism, developing characters that eat not for eating's sake, but to illustrate points that permeate the core of why we eat the way we eat. It also posits moral or

political arguments for or against our food choices. *Oishinbo* unites its audience through the commonplace subject matter of food, but gains its depth through asking and answering questions of a cultural and political nature, such as what makes certain foods and methods of preparation quintessentially Japanese.²

While mastication has proven itself a popular theme as indicated, for example, by *Oishinbo*'s having received its own genre designation, one must not overlook deglutition, which has been subsumed under the *gurume* manga genre and, as a result, largely ignored, particularly outside Japan. Perhaps one reason that such manga has not garnered attention is that naming conventions are problematic. How do we refer to manga in which narrative progression is based on the consumption of alcoholic beverages? Could any negative associations be made from attempting to create international genre designations that connote alcohol consumption? How might the conflation of "manga" with "comics" and the association of "comics" with "children" affect the feasibility of wine manga developing an audience outside Japan?

The role of the central character in such "drinking manga" becomes all the more important specifically because of this dilemma. There is therefore an established tendency for manga on drink and drinking to refer to the protagonist or the protagonist's work or workplace, thus providing the central character with a platform to legitimize and rationalize discussions on alcohol. The lead characters need not be food industry gourmards whose consumption of cuisine stops short of gluttony. Though the title *Oishinbo* is a play on words combining the Japanese *oishii* [delicious] with *kuishinbo* [a person who enjoys eating], neither carries a negative connotation. The "gurume manga" designation, therefore, does not necessarily require an intermediary who serves in the industry of his passion, a fact which lowers the barrier to the creation and consumption of the genre. Such a luxury evades manga on drink, in which the central characters serve as intermediaries between patrons experiencing some sort of crisis and the drinks that they taste, decant, brew, ferment, shake, and muddle. The drinks lack meaning without interpretation and application by the protagonist. Joh Araki's *Sommelier*, *La Sommelière*, *Shin Sommelier*,

² It is worth noting that *Oishii* and *Kuishinbo* are words common within the active vocabulary of Japanese speakers. The series is aimed at the masses, not necessarily the gourmand subset.

Bartender, and *Bartender à Paris* for instance all eponymously refer to their respective central characters and their professions. The work of Oze Akira is named after either the character or the character's work, as in *Natsuko no Sake*, *Natsu no Kura*, and *Kurōto*. The English and French translations, *Drops of God* and *Les Gouttes de Dieu*, of Tadashi Agi's *Kami no Shizuku* both fail to accommodate for the double entendre that lends the Japanese title its appeal: Shizuku refers to drops of wine, but also to the name of the protagonist, Kanzaki Shizuku.

Central characters who serve as sommeliers, professional bartenders, winemakers, and sake producers allow for manga on drinking to establish and maintain a didacticism that lends to the legitimacy of the theme. These are not graphic novels extolling perceived benefits of drinking for drinking's sake. Instead, they establish the consumption of alcoholic beverages as an endeavor the full enjoyment of which is based in cultural and even linguistic fluency. Both of these fluencies are requisite to the proper contextualization and interpretation of experience and an ability to adequately express and relay that experience to the customer. The professional is the teacher, while the customer plays the role of the student onto which knowledge is bequeathed. This, in turn, results in a revelation greatly influencing the customer's life. Such is the narrative arc of wine manga. The sommelier is the perfect embodiment of the Japanese expression "*unchiku wo katamukeru*," in reference to the display of a profound knowledge of the given subject matter. Similar to the character Richard Pratt in Roald Dahl's short story, "Taste," the sommelier takes a "grave, restrained pleasure in displaying his knowledge" (Dahl 1983: 53–54).³ It is through almost acrobatic displays of linguistic prowess, experience, education, and cultural knowledge and sensitivity that the sommelier empowers himself, surviving the hardships of the wine trade.⁴

³ It should be added that while the wine enthusiast in Dahl's story is nothing short of a charlatan, our Japanese sommeliers are upstanding citizens.

⁴ Sewn between individual episodes in *Sommelier* volume 4 (1997) onward are introductions to various wines, vineyards, and wine terminology, written by Hori Kenichi, the Japan Representative at the Wine Institute of California. The sommeliers in Joh Araki's works thereby impart their knowledge onto readers, creating the possibility for two spheres of consumption. The first is the intangible consumption of knowledge; the second is the tangible consumption of wine. The inclusion of Hori's wine

Making this feat all the more impressive is the wine world's particularly stringent requirement of lexical sophistication as a prerequisite for meaningful participation in any advanced discussion on wine. In his timeless treatise on wine snobbery, Leonard Bernstein discusses the intricacies of pontificating on wine, stating, that wine "has its own vocabulary, and this is invaluable to the wine snob. Just as tennis fanatics talk of topspin lobes and compare Adidas to Nike, so must the wine snob cultivate his own exclusivity" (1982: 32). Such exclusivity includes knowledge of what *not* to say. "A good rule might be: If the descriptive word can be used for food it cannot be used for wine. You might refer to roast beef as delicious, and that should signal you to stay away from 'delicious' when the wine is served" (Ibid.: 33). The ability to wield proper descriptions of wine is an integral part of the sommelier's cultural cachet.

Perhaps Japan's most well-known sommelier, Tasaki Shinya, has expounded upon the importance of words in his profession, describing them as tools of absolute necessity within the trade (Tasaki 2010: 3). He explains, "In one year, I taste over 10,000 different wines. The way I commit to memory the qualities of each wine begins from putting all five senses—sight, olfactory, taste, touch, and sound—into overdrive and substituting with words what I have felt" (Ibid.: 3).⁵ What follows in the first section of Tasaki's book is a list of expressions that the author describes as "stock" utterances that fail to relay any sense as to the quality of the wine. The next section lists expressions that many think relay "deliciousness," but which succeed only because of the utterer's preconceived notions, while the final section in the first chapter criticizes expressions that result from a brand of "minus thinking" that Tasaki states is specific to Japan and the Japanese language. The sommelier is responsible for using words to form a personalized connection between the wine and its consumer, and this occurs only if the sommelier possesses the appropriate lexical repertoire. This, in turn, has the potential to elevate wine from a mere object of consumption to a representation of cultural knowledge and sophistication. It is thus through a focus on knowledge and its ostensible display at an appropriate venue by

primers in the *Sommelier* series predates the publication of a collected volume of almost identical writings by the same author. See Hori Kenichi, *Wain no jiyū* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1998).

⁵ Author's translation.

a preapproved cultural steward, that manga on alcoholic beverages transcend any negative notions associated with alcohol.

Another possible reason that manga on beverage consumption has thus far been overlooked has to do with its incorporation into other genres, which has the effect of reducing its visibility, lending the impression that manga on beverage consumption is undeserving of its own genre or sub-genre designation. In “An Overview of Manga Genres,” Bryce and Davis allude to the difficulties of developing a comprehensive list of manga genres. The article provides us with a framework of nine manga genres, including fantasy and the surreal, historical representations, horror and the supernatural, humor, politics and representations of the political, religion and spirituality, science fiction, romance, and sports. As the authors tell us, however, the listings “reflect both the filtering of manga through the availability of English translations as well as the accretion of attention that particular genres have garnered through English-language scholarship” (Bryce, Mio and Davis 2010: 34). Despite its popularity in Japan as exemplified through its sheer availability, *gurume* manga does not make this list, nor does manga on drinking. Within the given framework, *gurume* and drinking manga instead stretch across various genres within the *seinen* category, including humor, politics, and even romance, without the central enabling element of food and drink ever being recognized.

Considering the quantity of works available, it can be argued that manga on drinking deserves special attention separate from *gurume* manga in order to highlight its existence and significance as we examine how such works reflect the culture and era into which they were born. The designations provided by Bryce and Davis only lightly touch upon the sheer variety of manga actually available in Japan, amongst which one would most certainly include *gurume* manga, and perhaps even manga on drinking. In *Kono manga ga sugoi*, a manga guidebook published in 1996 which bills itself as the first comprehensive guidebook on the subject, a total of 83 genre designations are given, *gurume* manga included amongst them (Kondō and Toyama). Within this list of nine works, *Natsuko no Sake* sets the standard that manga on drinking be listed with *gurume* manga. *Natsuko no Sake* has been followed by a host of other manga on drinking: *Natsu no Kura*, *Kurōdo*, *Sake no Hosomichi*, *Horoyoi Shubō*, *BAR Lemon Heart*, *Kasumi Tanabiku*, *Miki no kura*, *Sakaba Mimoza*, *Iokura Saketen Monogatari*, *Hayako Sakemichi wo Iku*, *Heart Cocktail*, *Towa no Hajime: Aizu Sakagura Monogatari*, *Kami no Shizuku*, *Sommelier*, *La Sommelière*, *Shin Sommelier*, *Bartender*, and *Bartender à Paris*. Borrowing from John

Frow's framework for the analysis of genre structural dimensions, it can be said that manga on wine share a set of formal features, a thematic structure, a situation of address (the manga writers and artists assuming authority), a structure of implication, and a rhetorical function (Frow 2005: 9). These are the makings of what may at least be referred to as a sub-genre. In light of this, within the scope of this paper, manga on wine shall henceforth be referred to as "wine manga."

The narrative structure of gurume manga represented by but not limited to *Oishinbo* can be recognized as the roux for wine manga. If we are to say that there exists a formula for such manga, it preexists *Oishinbo*, having been exemplified by *Hochonin Ajihei* ten years earlier. The protagonists in these tales overcome obstacles of prodigious heights to attain the foremost position in their fields. As stated by Schodt (2010), "More often than not, the heroes are young men from disadvantaged backgrounds who enter a profession and become 'the best in Japan'" (106). Wine manga borrows this narrative structure. The protagonists have all become sommeliers through a life of insecurity and toil. However, also apparent is a method of narrative delivery specific to wine manga. Within this elucidation, wine becomes the fulcrum of political commentary and an expression of Japanese parity within a wine world that has hitherto been seen as the providence of Europe, and in particular, France. Japan's becoming an equal in terms of possessing a discerning wine taste mimics the heightened role that wine would attain within Japanese society throughout all of its five wine booms occurring between 1960 and 1995, with the development of wine manga occurring during the fifth boom.⁶

Japan's Wine Booms

While the wine booms deserve to be discussed in their own right, here we will discuss them only briefly so as to better illustrate the cultural landscape informing wine manga's development. The first boom occurred as the result of advancements made from the late 1960s into the early 1970s. The culmination of the Tokyo Olympics, Osaka Banpaku, and extensive economic growth resulted in a Japanese populace with not only a

⁶ In an article using statistics from Japan's National Tax Agency (Kokuzeichō), Tatsuya Noguchi and Wakita Maya calculate that there have been seven wine booms in Japan, the latest occurring in 2010 and brought about by the availability of reasonably-priced, high-quality wines.

renewed interest in the world outside Japan in terms of its cultural stock, but also with an increasing financial capacity to gain access to it through both overseas travel and importation. The first wine boom was further assisted by a relaxation of the laws governing the importation of foreign wine in 1970. Even within the midst of the first wine boom wine consumption in Japan remained only 1/20 of wine consumption in 2008 (Hayama 2008: 164). However, we can see in this boom the seeds being sown for what would become the next wine boom.

The second wine boom occurred around 1978 after Japan's economic expansion had brought dramatic change to the consumer landscape and expanded the possibilities of consumption. By the late 1970s, Japan's economy had overcome the 1973 oil shock, opening up a period of economic development that would end with the bursting of the bubble in the early 1990s. These economic conditions as well as a dramatic lowering of the price barrier allowed wine to be purchased for household consumption. Suntory Wine Reserve, for instance, could be had for a mere ¥1000, a price that Suntory would let its audience know on its commercial advertisements.

The third wine boom was welcomed in 1981 with the popularity of "isshōbin wine." Common knowledge has it that the design of a wine bottle differs according to the region in which the wine was produced and the kind of wine being bottled. Japan's third wine boom introduced wine bottled in containers traditionally reserved for sake, topping off at one shō in accordance with Japan's old measurement system or 1.8 liters by current standards. The use of isshōbin came with a number of advantages, the most obvious being that the amount of wine that one could purchase for the price greatly increased over wines bottled in the typical 720ml containers, even if the quality of the wine would have left something to be desired.

Japan's fourth wine boom occurred around 1987 while Japan was still enjoying the excesses to which access was gained in the midst of its bubble economy. It is during this boom that wine, or at least a particular varietal, would permanently etch itself into the conscience of the mass consumer, reserving a spot for wine in the Japanese household—Beaujolais Nouveau. The Japanese popularity of this varietal remains evident even within Western wine literature. For instance, in her exhaustive treatment on wine, Karen MacNeil writes about Beaujolais wines, "The sad misconception about the wine Beaujolais is that it's solely a once a year wine experience, drunk around the end of November when signs in restaurants and wine shops from Paris to Tokyo scream Le Beaujolais Est

Arrivé!” (2001: 219). The popularity of Beaujolais Nouveau in Japan, even two-and-a-half decades after its inception, cannot be disputed. Fifty percent of French Beaujolais Nouveau exports are consumed in Japan (Hayama 2008: 24). Perhaps another factor in the popularity of Beaujolais Nouveau is that because of the rules and regulations regarding the commencing of sales and how that relates to international time zones, Beaujolais Nouveau always becomes available in Japan first. This lends an auspiciousness to the occasion that advertising alone would have trouble reproducing.

Japan’s fifth wine boom—and the one with which we are most concerned here—occurred several years after researchers in the United States began making inferences concerning what came to be known as the “French Paradox” in reference to the fact that despite the French and Americans sharing a diet high in fat, heart disease is less prevalent in France than in the United States.⁷ According to R. Curtis Ellison, “The public, however, remained largely unaware of this association until the early 1990s, when publicity began to appear regarding the so-called ‘French Paradox’, the lower rates of CHD [coronary heart disease] in France despite high levels of the usual cardiovascular risk factors. A presentation on this topic on the American television program *60 Minutes* in 1991 spurred a marked increase in sales of wine in the US, an increase internationally in epidemiologic studies relating wine and alcohol to health, and the expansion of basic scientific experiments into potential mechanisms of such effects. This broadcast was the first time that a reliable major news source had even suggested that there may be beneficial, rather than just harmful, effects of a beverage containing alcohol” (Ellison 2011: 105–106). Japan would inherit this “wine kenkōhō” [healthy living through wine]⁸ as its fifth wine boom. Thus, while wine has had limited success in terms of market size, its cultural penetration betrays a much greater success. The fifth wine boom held particular resonance, as it is within the midst of this boom in 1995 that Shinya Tasaki became not only the first Japanese sommelier, but

⁷ The term was not new. According to Alun Evans, in “1981, three Frenchmen, Ducimetière, Cambien and Richard, coined the term The French Paradox, after having compared levels of heart disease with fat intake data provided by The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.” See Alun Evans, “The French Paradox and Other Ecological Fallacies,” *International Journal of Epidemiology* 40 (2011), p. 1486.

⁸ Author’s translation.

the first non-European sommelier to win the Association de la Sommellerie Internationale sommelier contest, which was held in Tokyo that year, representing Japan's official entry into French wine culture.⁹ Tasaki's victory had significant cultural resonance. He made possible the idea of an internationally recognized Japanese sommelier, becoming a prototype for the characters we would soon see develop within wine manga.¹⁰

Satake Joh and the Wine Manga Sommelier

The sommelier in wine manga has at least two functions: to dispel notions of superiority and inferiority based solely on nationality and to further embed wine culture into Japan, thus further accomplishing the first aim. The wine manga sommelier finds his roots in wine. Wine serves as the resin that gives the character's life meaning in a world that deprived him of the basic sense of grounding that may have otherwise been provided within the familial unit and through Japanese terroir. Satake Joh in *Sommelier* is indeed Japanese if we are to define nationality solely through the accident of birth; but in terms of linguistic and cultural fluency, he is equally French. Joh has all but disowned his father, whom he faults for driving away his foreign stepmother, removing another element of grounding. Lacking the foundation that might be provided through family or place, Joh remains driven by an urge based in childhood nostalgia linking him to a past in which he and his mother shared what has heretofore been Joh's closest human relationship. Consecrating the mother-son bond with a glass of wine given to a young Joh signifies the preamble to his mother's departure. If wine symbolizes blood, the wine that Joh drank as a child at the behest of his mother represents the blood connection between mother and child. Wine

⁹ The 1995 contest marked only the second time for its being held outside Europe. As of this writing, Tasaki remains the only non-European to have won the contest. A list of winners can be viewed at http://www.sommellerie-internationale.com/en/asi_winners/.

¹⁰ For more on Japan's wine booms, see Fukuda (2011), Hayama (2008), and Terauchi Mitsuhiro, "Wain shōhi buumu to chiiki sangyō: Yamanashiken Katsunuma-chō wo jurei ni," *The Japan Society of Household Economics* 18 (2003), pp. 166–167. For more on the passing of alcohol-related laws, also see Mizukawa Susumu, *Nihon no biiru sangyō: Hatten to sangyō soshiki ron* (Tokyo: Senshū Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 2002); Joh Araki, *Sommelier* 6 (1998), p. 61.

forms the unbreakable bond between the two, also bringing into question ideas of maternity, family, and bloodlines. Joh's wish to find this wine has led him on an adventure that demands the consumption of wine, and it is through those demands that Joh's palate has been relentlessly trained.

By contrast, in Joh Araki's second wine manga series *Shun no Wain*, we meet the protagonist, Kitamura Shun, in the throes of his own existential crisis, where the severity is displayed by his pouring into, what is presumed to be Hong Kong Bay, a bottle of Château Margaux. Château Margaux is one of the renowned Bordeaux wine makers, along with Latour, Lafite Rothschild, Haut-Brion, and Mouton Rothschild. Shun's soon-to-be partner, sous-chef Nagase Natsumi, who witnesses Shun's extravagance at the river later scolds him in an alcohol-induced bout of truth-telling: "Do you have any idea how many days' sous-chef salary one bottle of Château Margaux costs?"¹¹ Pouring out a bottle produced from a good year's grape harvest could be a four-digit US dollar gesture. The story's beginning in Hong Kong points to Shun's being an international wanderer as much as it does China's own wine boom, which began at the turn of the century (Noguchi and Wakita 2012: 124), when *Shun no Wain* began serial publication. We later learn that Shun also lived and studied in France through the auspices of his best friend Kuze Shinji's father, Shun having lost both of his parents when he was still a boy.¹²

Itsuki Kana's tale, *Sommelière*—marking Joh Araki's third and longest-running wine manga series—begins in the orphanage in which she was raised, the inhabitants of which have been deprived of their parents due to war and starvation.¹³ Kana lost both of her parents in a car accident, after which a mysterious stranger named John Smith becomes her patron. Having never met John Smith, Kana begins her journey knowing nothing about him beyond his having served as the economic backbone to her being raised in France from early childhood and his having orchestrated and financed her education in winemaking at a French university. Kana, in her rare moments of weakness, meanders between wanting to know more about her father and desperately trying to guess the true identity of her long-time patron.

¹¹ Unless otherwise noted, all translations of *Sommelier*, *Shun no Wain*, and *Sommelière* are the author's.

¹² Joh Araki, *Shin Somurie Shun no Wain* 1 (2000), p. 175; Araki, *Shin Somurie Shun no Wain* 2 (2000), p. 134.

¹³ Araki, *La Sommelière* 1 (2007), p. 16.

While *Sommelier*, *Shun no Wain*, and *Sommelière* all share the same author and thus one might expect similar themes, *Kami no Shizuku* by Agi Tadashi also features a conflicted protagonist. Kanzaki Shizuku rebels against his father, internationally-known wine expert Kanzaki Yutaka, by becoming a “salaryman” at a beer company—the slight rests in the attitude that beer is the drink of the proletariat. It is the anti-wine stance that threatens the family line and embodies the deep-seated resentment Shizuku holds toward his father.

Shizuku’s goal is to permanently sever wine from the Kanzaki name, a name of such renown that Yutaka’s succumbing to pancreatic cancer was an event worthy of television news. Visiting his father’s estate, Shizuku learns that Yutaka has left behind but not bequeathed to him a collection of wines valued at ¥2,000,000,000. What would appear to be the father’s ultimate castigation of a son who refused to follow in his footsteps becomes the arena for the display of an array of skills stealthily ingrained in Shizuku from childhood, in the manner of Pat Morita and Ralph Maccio in *The Karate Kid*.¹⁴

All of our characters have therefore been deprived of their childhoods. This utter lack of “traditional” grounding forms the mechanism upon which the narrative structure relies. The characters are allowed the complete freedom to travel and possess an insatiable intellectual curiosity that provides structure to an otherwise restricted or underprivileged life. They have overcome adverse circumstances to reach the sommelier echelon, the caveat being that they find it difficult to connect to others sans wine. This toil has a very specific function within the wine manga narrative. It represents not only the possibility to rise from the bottom, but also to whittle down barriers to entry within wine culture, hard work and an international existence being equalizing forces. Having been tempered under such circumstances has prepared the characters for a life in which they must endure yet more toil to become sommeliers, and still more after they have attained their almost heavenly-ordained vocation. This toil takes the form of a series of political discourses locked into “-isms” that embody impediments to Japan’s acceptance as a wine-consuming culture, and thus a culture to be held in equal esteem to the West. They include racism,

¹⁴ For example, Yutaka made Shizuku lick materials such as metals and leather so that he would become the embodiment of the wine aroma wheel—the “wax-on, wax-off” of the wine world.

fascism, and ageism, and follow the sommelier across the world, failing to cease even in Japan.

The Political Implications of the Japanese Sommelier

Food and drink are political. This politicization can lead to an opaque line of demarcation between an “us” and “them” as the result of an ensuing battle to determine cultural superiority. Our sommelier heroes face a host of unsavory characters who posit, for instance, that French gastronomy and viticulture are beyond the palate of the Japanese not simply because the sommeliers are not French, but specifically because they are Japanese.

Ironically, Japan has been on the other side of the political debate about what we put into our bodies and its link to nationality. For example, in the case of rice, Brau writes, “[It] remains a central, sacred symbol for ‘we Japanese’ as opposed to ‘you foreigners’” (120). This intimate, intricate, and delicate connection of rice with the politics of Japanese identity occurs in the *Oishimbo* episode, “Gohan no Takikata Daironsō,” when protagonist Shirō Yamaoka attempts to explain—through food, of course—to a US congressperson that the superiority of Japanese rice over Californian rice is not merely a belief rooted in mystification by the Japanese populace, but based partly on the logical argument that the more organic methods employed by Japanese rice farmers lead to healthier rice and that this healthier rice is then used to produce other foods and drinks, all of which may be said to be staples of Japan. The episode reflects historical, real-life concerns over a staple that in the 1990s took on renewed importance for a Japan that was forced early in the decade to import US rice due to severe production shortfalls (Cramer, Hansen, and Wailes 1999: 1150). Tarrification has been used as one tool to protect its home rice industry, as indicated by Cramer et al.: “The [April 1999] import tariff announced by Japan is prohibitive, consistent with its policy to protect its domestic rice market because of the strong domestic, political, economic, and social sensitivity of rice” (Ibid.: 1149). At stake is a Japanese identity as shown through Japanese food culture. The purpose of the debate as given in *Oishinbo* is to sow seeds of doubt within the mind of the congressperson. After all, who could know more about rice than the Japanese?

Wine manga turns the tables. We are instead faced with the question, “Who could possibly know wine better than the French? And the Italians? And the Germans?” Potshots suggesting national or even racial superiority are, after all, not uncommon within the competitive world of

alcoholic beverages. The 1936 French text *Mon docteur le vin*, states: “The long-time use of wine has certainly contributed to the formation and development of fundamental qualities of the [French] race: cordiality, frankness, gaiety, which differentiate them so profoundly from people who drink beer.”¹⁵ The condition of being “civilized” is therefore intimately connected with being French. Beer drinkers are not innocent in this, as for every insult that is volleyed, another is returned. In *The Brewer’s Art*, Meredith Brown writes: “Beer, then, is predominantly the drink of those branches of the white races of mankind which inhabit Northern and Western Europe (i.e. North of the wine-producing areas) or who have spread thence to the Western hemisphere—the energetic, and progressive and colonizing people who for the last five hundred years have been the social, industrial and political leaders of civilization as we know it today” (Edwards 2000: 20). Such thoughts would have presumably done little to abate any hostilities between the French and the British in the debate on cultural superiority. But both Derys’ and Brown’s texts clearly implicate national borders as having a significant role in politicizing what is drunk “here” and “over there.” Crossing these national borders to usurp the drink of the other has even been performed as the ultimate act of aggression. In *Wine and War*, the Kladstrups remind us that battles small and large, seen and unseen have been fought over wine—a national treasure to be protected from foreign occupation at all costs. It should thus serve as no surprise that nationalism becomes the political front that seeks to deny entry to our Japanese sommeliers. The politics of the Japanese sommelier and wine’s entry into Japan are most visible in the earliest work of wine manga, *Sommelier*.

Satake Joh, the protagonist of *Sommelier*, begins his journey in France, where he endures a daily regimen of slights brought on by French natives who view wine as cultural territory onto which the Japanese—or likely anyone—should not tread. The French form the peak of the wine world hierarchy, and therefore have a right to protect one of its prominent cultural treasures. This belief constructs a barrier to Joh’s becoming a sommelier, the side-effect of which is the placement of an obstacle between Joh and memories of his mother. In a chapter titled “Ougon no Awa” [Golden Bubbles], Mylene, an inexperienced reporter eager to prove herself decides to write a newspaper column on Joh, the anomaly of the sommelier

¹⁵ Henri Babinski, as quoted in Derys 1936: Chapter 11, N.P.

scene in France.¹⁶ To the chagrin of everyone involved, Mylene publishes an inflammatory story in a French newspaper without having consulted anyone—including Joh—in advance.

It should be kept in consideration that there is precedent for newspaper commentary bringing the hasty end of the commentator. Botany Professor Lucien Daniel commissioned by France's Ministry of Agriculture in 1901 to conduct a survey into the possible qualitative differences between wines made from grapes grown on traditional French vines and those grown on post-phylloxera vines stands as one classic example.¹⁷ The professor unequivocally stated in London's *The Times* that new French wine was inferior to old French wine, much to the consternation of all those who had toiled to save French wine. As Campbell states, "Professor Daniel was either very foolish or very brave. To say over a few agreeable bottles that things were not as good as they used to be might be considered reasonable. To say so about French wine in a foreign newspaper was an act of treason" (Campbell 2006: 237). The professor was subsequently dispossessed of his Légion d'Honneur for his comments.

Joh's statement, therefore, carries serious implications. Moreover, his being Japanese becomes the barbed insult upon which hangs the denial of his legitimacy. Joh's comments invite vitriol not only because they run counter to the narrative of French wine superiority, but also because his nationality precludes any right to pass judgment. Mylene's article, "The Japanese Sommelier Who Disliked French Wine," touches a nerve with the French public.¹⁸ Joh's entire *raison d'être* as we later discover, is to find a certain wine, the name of which he cannot remember, but the taste of which has become embedded in his very being, it having been the wine he drank with his mother before she left the Satake home. Joh simply wishes to find this wine and thus at least symbolically be reunited with the woman who gave his life meaning. This backstory, however, remains completely ignored by Mylene when she writes her article, which discusses in detail Joh's victory in a French contest that bestows upon the winner the

¹⁶ Araki, *Sommelier* 1 (1996), p. 73

¹⁷ Phylloxera vastatrix is the name given to the vine-killing disease caused by aphids "breeding and living on the vine roots... sucking the life out of the vines." See Thomas Pellechia, *Wine: The 8,000-Year-Old Story of the Wine Trade* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2006), p. 150.

¹⁸ Araki, *Sommelier* 1, p. 73.

prestigious honor of being called France's top sommelier. His refusal of this honor and the accompanying statement that, "The wine I'm searching for cannot be found here," become problematic as does publication of this article that can at best be interpreted as insensitive, at worst categorized as sensationalist and inflammatory, and in either case has at its epicenter what will undoubtedly be perceived as the rejection of a symbol of French culture. The political nature of wine has it that the resulting question is not one that ponders the *étiquette de vin* sought by Joh, but rather winces at the very idea that a Japanese "sommelier" could have the gall to imply that French wine might in any way be insufficient. This indignation over something that never happened—Joh in no way stated that French wine was lacking—over the perceived instead of the real, has the purpose of reassuring the status quo of French superiority.

When Diane de Preuses, Chairperson of the French company "Goutte d'Or S.A." and proprietor of a major estate in Champagne—Madame Le Cru—comes across the article, she reacts by threatening to close her company's advertising coffers to the newspaper in protest. She is omnipresent within the champagne world, Joh even referring to her as the Barbe Nicole Clicquot of the twentieth century, an actual historical figure described by Tilar Mazzeo as hardheaded, diminutive, competitively ambitious, engrossed in all aspects of the business, relentless, meddlesome, unrepentantly perfectionist, judicious, pragmatic, and determined. Diane de Preuses is thus not to be taken lightly, and Mylene together with her superiors are expected to apologize for their transgression at Diane de Preuses' birthday celebration, in front of the bankers and high-level politicians one might expect to be in attendance at an auspicious occasion for a wine magnate. The politics of wine, champagne, advertising, and the money afforded by successful business combine to strong-arm into in consequence any right to speak ill about them.

The Japanese sommelier cannot, however, stand by idly. His purpose, after all, is to upstage and prove preposterous the idea that nationality has anything to do with one's capacity to become a world-class sommelier. It is Joh's mission to engage in political upheaval. He attends de Preuses' birthday fête uninvited and proceeds to put on a display of technical proficiency by employing *sabrage*—the feat of opening a champagne bottle with a saber—in an act of technical prowess serving as an homage to that premature act of celebration performed by French troops during the Napoleonic Wars, who took delight in getting sauced on champagne but could not be bothered to dismount their horses or put down

their sabers to do it (Mazzeo 2008: 104). As Joh approaches the wheelchair-bound madame wielding a saber in one hand and a champagne bottle in the other—the latter detail completely missed by the attendees, consumed by their own paranoia, prejudice, and ignorance—an onlooker yells for someone to notify the police, as what he imagines is soon to transpire is a very public assassination attempt by a Japanese sommelier. Rather than enjoying sabrage as the spectacle and tribute intended, the company president snorts that Joh of all people should not be the one performing it. Joh is denied legitimacy despite the display to which he has treated the party's guests.

Joh's act of sabrage would appear to the onlooker as “peacockery.” Behind his every action, however, rests a world of knowledge that does not lend itself to display. For the Japanese sommelier, this is the site where legitimacy is established. It is where the sommelier forces those around him to recognize his cultural fluency. This perhaps stands as one of the most salient points of Joh Araki's wine manga: knowledge is the currency that affords entry into wine's cultural realm, and provides the means through which to discredit the nationalism, fascism, and racism engendered by fear of “loss of status” and ignorance toward what is seen as “the other,” all embedded within a political dance that desperately seeks to establish who indeed has the lead.

Joh's employment of sabrage is a segue to his unraveling of a sinister plot. Every bottle of champagne at de Preuses' birthday celebration is purported to be a Madame le Cru from 1985, a year that produced an extraordinary grape yield that went for an extraordinary price of 5000 Francs or 100,000 yen per bottle.¹⁹ An extraordinary yield deserves an extraordinary display. Joh's real purpose is to create a juxtaposition as he brings to light what his refined palate discerns as the elephant in the room—that the champagne being served to the party dignitaries is actually from the 1983 yield, a year so inferior and catastrophic for grapes in Champagne that de Preuses ordered her estate to dispose of it, being incapable of associating her name with a bottle of mediocrity.

¹⁹ According to at least one wine vintage chart, 1985 indeed produced an outstanding yield in Champagne. De Preuses account is thus historically accurate. See Robert Parker's *Wine Advocate*, vintage guide, (<https://www.erobertparker.com/info/VintageChart.pdf>, accessed February 24, 2014).

The stakes are high. Joh's allegation is one of fraud and deception, not only as a moral issue, but as a cultural one, the politics of which will decide the fate of the Japanese sommelier and possibly dispel the notion that French heritage and French blood are categorically inseparable. After tasting the champagne, de Preuses confidently affirms its 1985 vintage, and the label—which had until this point been hidden by a napkin—attests to this. Thus the status quo of French cultural superiority is reestablished and Satake Joh has been locked out, the Japanese palate having been confirmed as inferior to that of the French—at least when it comes to wine and champagne. The Madame castigates Joh: “As to be expected, you, a Japanese person, are incapable of judging champagne.”²⁰ The statement explicitly finds causation of Joh's being “incapable of judging champagne” in his being Japanese. The Madame's conclusion that Joh's “Japaneseness” constitutes the primary obstacle to his comprehension of wine is only strengthened through her use of “yahari” in Japanese, to connote a natural, expected outcome. The President of Goutte d'Or S.A., already contemptuous of Joh because of what has been perceived as a refutation of French wine, proclaims, “As if some young Japanese could possibly know anything about champagne!” This slight comes across as particularly nefarious considering his earlier actions. Caught in a picture taken by Mylene, he surreptitiously hands to the waiter a bottle of champagne made with the 1985 yield to pour for de Preuses in an attempt to disguise a host of inappropriate behavior, including serving champagne made from the 1983 grape yield, not discarding the entire yield as ordered by de Preuses, and insulting the intelligence of champagne buyers and dignitaries by—albeit correctly—insinuating that they would be unable to discern an inferior product from a superior one. In spite of his complicity and duplicity, the President finds fault in—of all things—Joh's Japaneseness, though Joh is the only one in the room who sees through the spectacle.²¹

The entire episode is constructed so as to make this conclusion predictable. First, Joh's Japaneseness is positioned as the element that allows us to cast doubt upon his knowledge and credibility. The newspaper article featuring Joh is problematic due to a juxtaposition of France and Japan which sees French knowledge of wine as the unquestionable status

²⁰ Araki, *Sommelier* 1 (1996), p. 89.

²¹ The same wine vintage guide states that the 1983 grape yield has not been consumed in sufficient enough quantities to warrant a rating.

quo, and Japanese knowledge of wine as the highly questionable anomaly. Joh's ability to "saber" a bottle of champagne is misconstrued, again because the common knowledge of Japanese wine ignorance has been established. Finally, Joh's ignorance is proved as he cannot distinguish between a bottle of champagne produced in 1983—a year of unquestionably poor yield quality—and a 1985 bottle, due to the expected inferiority of Joh's wine-tasting capacity, and the impossibility of him achieving anything comparable to French knowledge. This knowledge, in turn, is portrayed as being the patrimonial right of the French by virtue of the tautological construct that the French are French. The construct sets the bar of entry to the champagne world at the insurmountable height of a birthright, thus immediately precluding any possible legitimacy to Joh and turning "Japanese sommelier" into an oxymoron.

The historical precedent to this "Japan Fear" is well-documented. The 1980s were marked by the fear of a Japanese corporate and cultural takeover, evidenced in the growing number of publications discussing Japanese management styles and cemented in Hollywood imagery as the destroyer of the American automobile industry through such films as *Mr. Mom* and *Gung Ho*. Japan was also displaying its economic prowess through investment in French châteaux. Suntory, one of Japan's premier makers of beer and spirits had already been working for more than a decade to popularize wine in Japan. Its famous wine campaign "*Kinyōbi wa wain wo kau hi*" [Friday is wine day] of the 1970s created its own wine boom (Fukuda 2011: 121). In 1983, the company bought Château Lagrange in St-Julien (Brook 2007: 196). In the midst of the economic bubble in 1989, Suntory bought a 40% stake of Château Beychevelle (Ibid.: 189). In 1987, a Japanese real estate company called Touko Haus bought and renovated Château Citran, though it soon resold the property (Coates 2004: 85). Mercian, well known for its series of shōchū, ume liqueur, and wines, acquired Château Reysson in 1988 (Brook 2007: 124). There was thus an influx of Japanese activity in an area that remained not simply economic, but also deeply cultural. Japan became the object of political scorn in 1998, when Takashimaya—one of Japan's most well-known department stores—sought to purchase an estimated 33% stake in Societe Leroy, the wine distributor with exclusive rights to sell the highly-venerated Romanee-Conti. Henri Nallet, then France's Minister of Agriculture viewed the company's bid as a threat against a pillar of French culture, stating, "Romanee-Conti is like a cathedral. There is no question of letting a part of France's cultural patrimony get away" (Greenhouse 1988: 21N, 27L). Such

is the cultural backdrop before which *Sommelier* is built. It should be no wonder that its sommelier endures trials and tribulations to show that he *deserves* to be a sommelier and that Japan belongs to the wine class not because of mere financial possibility, but cultural fluency.

Book 2 of the *Sommelier* series, released in 1997, serves as a presage for the cultural reaction to Takashimaya's 1998 bid. No episode better displays the political volatility of wine during this period than Joh's experience with an actual politician. Morris Roche, a distinguished member of French parliament, at every opportunity pillories Japan's activity in what he sees as the French cultural sphere: "Imitations of French products are egregious in Asia. It is estimated that the resulting damage to the French economy runs in the hundreds of millions of Francs. And Japan is the worst of them. Japanese people come to France for one or two years and then go back to Japan and open French restaurants as if they understand anything about French food."²² The parliamentarian, relentless in his nationalistic bent has gone so far as to bring to the occasion a bottle of Champagne made from grapes grown on one of the few purely French grape vines left, the majority of France's vines having withered due to the vine-decimating phylloxera outbreak between the 1860s and 1890s.

Phylloxera and its cure became the cause for serious reconsideration of what made French wine French, thus informing the plight of our hero. It is as existential a crisis as our hero's search for an identity. As Campbell states about the grafted vines that replaced the old ones, "The traditionalists hated them" (2006: 230). The new vines were more labor-intensive than those destroyed by phylloxera. Then, Campbell continues, "The phylloxera had not gone away. Chemical defense still held the line where the value of the wines (and the disdainful elitism of proprietors) allowed it" (Ibid.). The battle with phylloxera thus raises questions of both a political and philosophical nature: Does France replace the rootstock of its traditional vines with that of foreign origin? Or does France fight to keep its traditional vines at all costs? It is a question of identity as well as economics, mirroring the policies and politics of being or becoming a French citizen. For Roche, then, possession of this purely French champagne represents the sentiment of cultural purity, the cultural superiority of France proven by the vitality of the champagne rootstock. We are immediately aware that Roche's nationalism will become a considerable

²² Araki, *Sommelier* 2 (1997), p. 87.

issue for Joh, who quickly becomes the target of Roche's ire. Roche proceeds to utter a series of almost farcical insults during an exchange with Joh:

Roche: Oh, were you the sommelier? All this time I've been sitting here wondering why the Oriental dishwasher is standing there. What are you, Chinese?

Joh: Japanese.

Roche: Japanese!? Haha... A Japanese sommelier!? I'll bet in your country you uncork wine with chopsticks, don't you?

Joh: You seem to have quite a disliking for Japan.

Roche: Wine is the essence of French culture... How could a Japanese possibly know anything about wine?²³

The parliamentarian snatches the bottle of champagne from Joh's hand, having deemed him unfit to open this symbol of French cultural purity. When Joh accuses the parliamentarian of promoting fascism, Roche responds by reasserting his position of authority, threatening Joh with expulsion from France. Joh is again placed in a position in which his being Japanese must be excused as a prerequisite to his capacity as a sommelier being lent credence. This is addressed through the final quip made before the exit of the parliamentarian: "The nationality of a sommelier is of no relevance."²⁴

The fear of a Japan with a voracious appetite for consumption remains an obvious point of contention throughout Joh's travels in Europe. Joh assuages these trepidations while trying to gain legitimacy as a sommelier as he continues his quest for one cathartic bottle of wine. For example, in an episode titled, "Vineyard," Joh travels to Germany, where the people he encounters cannot come to terms with the fact that he is a sommelier. When Joh interrupts an unproductive business talk between the stubborn owner of a German wine bottler and the Japanese representative of a wine reseller in Japan, the bottler, his product having received the praise of the representative and Joh, interjects that their praise is worth little. When Joh reminds the bottler that he is indeed a sommelier, the bottler all

²³ Ibid., p. 89.

²⁴ Araki, *Sommelier* 2 (1997), p. 101.

but confirms the idea that Joh's being Japanese runs contradictory to his being a sommelier by pondering, "A Japanese sommelier...."²⁵ The German bottler then accuses Joh of being just like the Japanese wine buyer, whose interest in wine ceases at the issue of price.²⁶ This wine buyer further implicates Japan as being ignorant as a whole, stating that Japanese people select wine based on price, which eliminates the necessity of any other knowledge. As is certain throughout the *Sommelier* series, there may be a tint of reality in this depiction. During the years of rapid economic expansion, for instance, extravagance was the order of the day—on the company expense account. "Pin-don-kon" became a familiar go-to amongst those with money to burn. A concoction that involved pouring rosé Dom Pérignon (a "pink" Dom Pérignon, thus "pin-don") and Cognac ("kon") into an ice pail at a 50/50 ratio and the patrons sipping it directly from the pail through straws—the hostess also partaking in the witch's brew—constituted a 300,000-yen display of extravagance likely to render speechless anyone from Champagne or Cognac (Tsuzuki 2006: 23-24).

Afterwards, the Japanese wine buyer in *Sommelier* simply seeks to make a profit on the Japanese consumer's price fixation. The Japanese consumer will be none the wiser that he has purchased an inferior product due to this price fixation. Joh's dramatic reaction to the reduction of wine to a simple commodity is to slap the Japanese wine buyer in the face, proclaiming, "It's because of people like you that people say, 'Japanese don't know anything about wine.'"²⁷

Joh, therefore, represents a dramatic shift in Japanese wine knowledge and consumption. He represents a future in which it is no longer acceptable for wine in Japan to be consumed based on the vulgarities of price or social pressure. Joh's importance as a symbol of growing sophistication within Japanese wine culture is exemplified through his period of apprenticeship in France, a story told in an episode titled, "Towa no Inochi" [Everlasting Life]. Joh recalls his experiences of 10 years prior, when his first employer bluntly states that becoming a sommelier would be impossible for a Japanese person.²⁸ Upon that employer's death, he lauds Joh as the first serious Japanese sommelier, a statement that praises the

²⁵ Araki, *Sommelier* 1 (1996), p. 149.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 152.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 162.

²⁸ Araki, *Sommelier* 2 (1997), p. 9.

individual by separating him as an anomaly, while implicating the whole. By any other measure, this would be a thinly-veiled insult. It does, however, indicate that Joh is only the first. Joh's youth, therefore, represents not a lack of experience as it might otherwise connote within a wine world in which age comes at a premium, but a new beginning for Japan's own young, budding wine culture.

By Book 6, Joh has moved back to Japan to begin his tenure at "La Mer," a promising French restaurant at which Joh chooses wine for the restaurant's long list of eccentric, Francophilic guests. In his dealings with a world-famous symphony orchestra conductor from France, we discover that Joh's reputation has followed him. In what is meant to be effusive praise, the conductor tells Joh, "I'd gotten word about an exceptional Japanese sommelier who lived in Paris, but you're even better than I'd expected."²⁹ Just as terms such as "josei-kisha" (woman-reporter), "josei-tōshu" (woman-pitcher), and "gaikokujin-senshu" (foreign athlete) can connote rarity or an exception to the rule, Joh is referred to as "nihonjin-sommelier" (Japanese Sommelier), illustrating that he fails to fit into the established paradigm, but is the prototype for what awaits.

When renowned French chef Joël Roche, a name that would perhaps bring to mind world-famous French restaurateur Joël Robuchon, visits Japan at the request of Japanese restaurateurs courting him to lend his name to a new local restaurant, Roche openly scoffs at the idea, offering the comment, "I can't find any good chefs in France, let alone Japan."³⁰ Roche's sentiment toward French cuisine echoes those of the oenophiles who find risible the idea of a Japanese sommelier. We are again treated to a member of the French upper class expressing doubt over Japan's ability to produce something that is seen as quintessentially French. The burden is on the Japanese to overcome the difficulties introduced thereby. Roche continues, "I've been to ten restaurants in the past three days and not once have I been impressed by the level of French cuisine."³¹ Roche continues to make disparaging comments, claiming that the great service he received at a restaurant one day prior was due to the wait staff's having recognized him. According to Roche, "That's how Japanese people are. They bow down to

²⁹ Araki, *Sommelier* 6 (1998), p. 175.

³⁰ Araki, *Sommelier* 7 (1998), p. 82.

³¹ Ibid.

authority and status.”³² After Joh puts on an impressive show as sommelier, however, Roche invites him to work at his restaurant in France, claiming that although Joh is a fantastic sommelier, French food of Roche’s caliber cannot possibly be made in Japan, his logic being that the ingredients used in real French food must come from French soil. Roche’s handmade butter must be made with the milk from select Jersey cattle. His vegetables must inherit the nutrients particular to the French terroir. To Roche, French cuisine is a landlocked union between French culture and French horticulture. The obvious result of this logic is that Japan becomes ontologically precluded from parity.

Roche leaves La Mer convinced that French cuisine worthy of the name does not exist in Japan. Reminding Joh of his offer of employment in France, Roche makes the departing remarks, “Think carefully whether remaining in Japan is in your best interests.”³³ The implications are significant. Joh’s remaining at La Mer represents Japan’s ability to retain its talent and rise on the international stage. It symbolizes Japan’s capacity to import the foreign to such a high proficiency that it promotes a reevaluation of Japan’s position amongst other states. Joh’s soul-searching leads to his remaining at La Mer. The world’s best sommelier is not only Japanese, but shuns an opportunity to work with one of France’s top chefs, choosing instead to lend his talent to a thriving, yet unproven restaurant in Japan. In response, Roche opens his own restaurant in Japan to compete with La Mer. Miraculously, the French are forced to leave French terroir and compete with Japan on its own turf. Japan thus escapes its position of inferiority and becomes a peer, marking a point of empowerment of the Japanese sommelier and the lending of legitimacy to a budding world of wine and French cuisine in Japan.

Joh eventually discovers the wine that he spent years looking. It was also not found in France, but in Japan, on the grounds of Satake Ryūzō’s estate. The last surviving vine that could produce grapes with the potential to yield wine (given to Joh by his step-mother) was in Joh’s own backyard the entire time. The catharsis experienced by Joh and his father—who knew about it all along—occurred one month before Ryūzō’s death. Meanwhile, in Joh’s absence and largely the result of Joh’s lasting influence, La Mer comes of age. However, its budding sommeliers no longer depend on Joh to

³² Araki, *Sommelier* 7 (1998), p. 87.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

perform their work. This is Joh's greatest gift and further represents the growing independence and acquisition of knowhow on the part of new sommelier in Japan.

The Japan to which Joh Araki's second and third sommelier characters return is a different one. As the author writes in the first volume of the *Sommelier* follow-up, *Shun no Wain*, wine has already established a common presence at the Japanese dinner table. Satake Joh's emergence coincided with Tasaki Shinya's winning the leading French sommelier competition thus signaling Japan's maturation, not only in terms of the country's ability to consume wine as a product but also as a cultural endeavor. Kitamura Shun and Itsuki Kana of *Shun no Wain* and *La Sommelière*, respectively, come to us at a time in which wine has already become a permanent fixture. Whereas *Sommelier* sought to place Japan on equal footing with those countries with historically ingrained wine cultures, *Shun no Wain* and *La Sommelière* are certain of Japan's footing. Although neither the sommeliers nor the sommelière can completely escape friction—their serving as a cultural liaison precluding the complete elimination of friction, as they work to loosen stubbornly fixed beliefs held by and about Japan that hinder its ascendancy in the wine world—the friction seen by Shun and Kana is of a demonstrably less haughty nature than that endured by their precursor.

Conclusion

Donald Richie, in his treatise on Japanese film, borrows a phrase from Komatsu Hiroshi and Frances Loden on the role of the benshi—an in-theater lecturer and commentator, as described by Richie—in the development of cinema in Japan: “The benshi filled in gaps of knowledge Western viewers had acquired long before. They were ‘a reassuring native presence with a presumed acquaintance of the foreign object,’ a necessity which might even now ‘explain the Japanese affection for teachers, tour guides, sommeliers and other conduits for the acquisition of new experience’” (Richie 2001: 19). Just as the benshi played the educational role of on-site lecturer and commentator to film audiences seeking to better understand a relatively new medium and the novel kinds of storytelling it engendered, the sommelier plays a significant role as arbiter of culture. It

should come as no surprise that the sommelier—and sommelière³⁴—have become a vessel for the importation of wine and wine culture, preparing Japan for their mass consumption. Satake Joh represents only the first step toward the recognition of a Japan for which wine is no longer the aberration, but the expected.

Perhaps the greatest significance in Joh Araki's work rests in the fact that the Japanese sommelier gains the recognition he seeks. Whereas *Oishimbo* attempts to convince us, for example, that the rice produced in Japan trumps that made in California for any variety of reasons and that it is thus "special," wine manga would function to deny validity of a similar argument toward wine and French cuisine—that there is nothing inherently special about them that would bar their becoming a legitimate part of the Japanese experience. The "isms" used to argue for the uniqueness of Japanese rice are the same ones used as ammunition against the argument that viticulture, wine culture, and an understanding of them are bound by geographical and political lines. If the "Japanese have long perceived themselves to be on the 'periphery' in relation to the 'central' civilizations where the 'universal' norm has been supposed to exist" (Yoshino 1992: 11), then wine manga stands as an extension to this perception, but one fighting for parity within the "universal" western wine world. Stated differently, perhaps wine manga and its narrative of the Japanese sommelier's rise

³⁴ In an interview I conducted with Joh Araki in Tokyo, the author stated about Itsuki Kana and the *La Sommelière* series that their creation was much more representative of the simple wish to take the series in an interesting direction rather than a pure focus on gender. It should also be noted, however, that perhaps beginning with the development of "jet babies" and implementation of "Yamato Nadeshiko" programs by Pan Am stemming from the company's Japanization Program beginning in 1960, cabin attendants would have been in a prime position to become acquainted with wine on international flights. In 1996, when the original *Sommelier* was released, there were approximately 1778 wine stewards in Japan, of which 588 were sommelière. Half of them worked for JAL. For more on the history of Pan Am's development in Japan, see Hoashi Kōji, *Pan Amerikan Kōkū Monogatari* (Tokyo: Ikarosu Shuppan, 2010). For more on JAL's wine stewards, see Yamada Hiroko, Yōko Murakoshi, Chika Nii, eds., *JAL Sora tobu somurie no wain wo dōzo* (Tokyo: Kyōhan Bukkusu, 1996). My interview of Joh Araki took place on September 4, 2012 in Tokyo.

exhibit characteristics of that brand of nationalism defined by Peter Dale in that what is attributed to being the cultural heritage of Japan (certain Japanese staples such as rice) is denied to outsiders, while the validity of the same argument toward what is ascribed to others (French wine and cuisine) is rejected (Dale 1986: 39). In this sense, though the wine manga covered here goes through great lengths to educate the reader on matters of French wine culture via the sommelier, when read within a larger context, we can argue that wine manga has at least as much to tell us about Japan and how the transnational narratives serving as the scaffolding for the popular consumption of wine and wine culture fit within the framework of preexisting national narratives.

Works Cited

- Agi, Tadashi. *Kami no Shizuku* Vol. 1–41. Tokyo: Kodansha, 2005.
- Aoki, Fumiko. *Eiga de Wain Lessun*. Tokyo: Ei Shuppansha, 2008.
- Bernstein, Leonard S. *The Official Guide to Wine Snobbery*. New York: Quill, 1982.
- Brau, Lorie. “Oishinbo's Adventures in Eating: Food, Communication, and Culture in Japanese Comics.” In *Manga: An Anthology of Global and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Toni Johnson-Woods, 109–127. New York: Continuum, 2010.
- Brook, Stephen. *The Complete Bordeaux: The Wines, the Chateaux, the People*. London: Octopus Publishing Group, 2007.
- Brown, Meredith. *The Brewer's Art*. London: Whitbread & Co, 1948.
- Bryce, Mio and Jason Davis. “An Overview of Manga Genres,” in *Manga: An Anthropology of Global and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Toni Johnson-Woods, 34–62. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010.
- Campbell, Christy. *The Botanist and the Vintner: How Wine Was Saved for the World*. Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 2006.
- Coates, Clive. *The Wines of Bordeaux: Vintages and Tasting Notes, 1952–2003*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Cramer, Gail L., James M. Hansen, and Eric J. Wailes, “Impact of Rice Tariffication on Japan and the World Rice Market.” *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* Vol. 81 (1999): 1149–1156.
- Dahl, Roald. “Taste” in *The Best of Roald Dahl*. London: Michael Joseph, 1983.
- Dale, Peter N. *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness*. London: Croom Helm, 1986.
- Derys, Gaston. *Mon Docteur, Le Vin*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.
- Edwards, Griffith. *Alcohol: The World's Favorite Drug*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Ellison, R. Curtis. “The French Paradox: 20 Years Later.” *Journal of Wine Research* Vol. 22, No. 2 (2011): 105–108.
- Francks, Penelope. “Inconspicuous Consumption: Sake, Beer, and the Birth of the Consumer in Japan.” *Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 68, No. 1 (2009): 135–164.
- Frow, John. *Genre*. London: Routledge, 2005.

- Fujita Mariko. "Sake in Japanese Art and Culture." In *The Art of Rice: Spirit and Sustenance in Asia*, ed. Roy W. Hamilton, 345–351. Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum, 2003.
- Fukuda Katsuhiro, *Saikyō Nihon wain gaido Saikyō Nihon wain gaido*. Tokyo: Shufu no Tomo, 2011.
- Greenhouse, Steven. "Wine Plans Of Japanese Upset French," *The New York Times*, Vol. 137: 21N, 27L, September 5, 1988.
- Hayama, Kōtarō. *Shanpan no Oshie*. Tokyo: Nikkei BP, 1997.
- . *Kuizu Wain-Ou*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2008.
- . *Kuizu de Wain-tsuu*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2008.
- Inose, Hijiri. *Shigoto ga dekiru hito wa naze wain ni hamaru no ka*. Tokyo: Gentōsha Shinsho, 2012.
- Inoue Munekazu. *Nihon no Wain*. Tokyo: Asahi Sonorama, 1975.
- Ishimoto Motoko, *Wainari ni ikō*. Tokyo: Ikarosu Shuppan, 2011.
- Joh, Araki. *Sommelier* Vol. 1-9. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1996.
- . *Shin Somurie Shun no Wain* Vol. 1-8. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2000.
- . *La Sommelière* Vol. 1-21. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2007.
- Kondō Takashi and Mayumi Toyama, eds., *Kono manga ga sugoi*. Tokyo: Takarajimasha, 1996.
- Koyama-Richard, Brigitte. *One Thousand Years of Manga*. Paris: Flammarion, 2007.
- MacNeil, Karen. *The Wine Bible*. New York: Workman Publishing, 2001.
- Mazzeo, Tilar J. *The Widow Clicquot: The Story of a Champagne Empire and the Woman Who Ruled It*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2008.
- Noguchi, Tatsuya and Maya Wakita, "Wain Būmu: Hikari to Kage." *Shūkan Daiyamondo*, 7/7 (2012): 124–131.
- Ogino Hanna. *Nihon no Wain Romanchikku Kaidō*. Tokyo: Seibundō Shinkōsha, 1997.
- Schodt, Frederik L. *Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics*. New York: Kodansha, 1983.
- Suga Sekiji. *Eiga no naka no Wain de Kanpai: Eiga wo Irodoru Waintachi*. Tokyo: Tōkyū Eijenshii, 1999.
- Tasaki Shinya, *Kotoba ni shite tsutaeru gijutsu: Somurie no hyōgen ryoku*. Tokyo: Shōdensha, 2010.
- Tsuzuki, Kyōichi. *Baburu no Shōzō*. Tokyo: Asupekuto, 2006.
- Yoshino, Kosaku. *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan*. London: Routledge, 1992.

“FAIRNESS” AND JAPANESE GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES FOR SICKNESS INSURANCES

*Yoneyuki Sugita
Osaka University*

Introduction

The main research question addressed in this paper is: What is the relationship between government subsidies and “fairness” in Japanese sickness insurance.¹ This paper deals with the formative first 30 years of Japanese sickness insurance programs from Japan’s first Health Insurance (HI) law enacted in 1922, to the Advisory Council Recommendation in 1950. Japanese HI, Japan’s first form of social insurance is comprised of two programs: a Government-Managed Health Insurance (GMHI) for which the government was the insurer and an Association-Managed Health Insurance (AMHI) for which corporate HI associations were the insurers. The government provided both programs with subsidies.

Conflicting views exist with regards to fairness. It is argued that everyone has certain basic needs including health. These basic needs constitute a universal core and it is fair to enhance them.² However, some advocate that there are no universal or absolute criteria of fairness. There is only a common criterion of fairness in specific settings.³ Fairness in social welfare is dependent on these differing opinions. This paper analyzes how the concept of fairness, with its differing meanings, affected the development of Japanese sickness insurance policies.

¹ In this paper, “sickness insurance” refers to a variety of legally-required sickness insurance programs (social insurance), such as Health Insurance, National Health Insurance and other programs.

² Len Doyal and Ian Gough, *A Theory of Human Need* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1991).

³ Blair H. Sheppard and Roy J. Lewicki, “Toward General Principles of Managerial Fairness,” *Social Justice Research* 1 (1987); E. Barrett-Howard and T.R. Tyler, “Procedural Justice as a Criterion in Allocation Decision,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50 (1986); Tom R. Tyler, “What is Procedural Justice?” *Law & Society Review* 22 (1988); Tom R. Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

The Japanese government sought to secure fairness of government subsidies through an increase in the number of insured people. This method of achieving fairness had important effects: Japanese sickness insurance programs came to place less emphasis on an insurance principle, and more emphasis on a social principle that the government has to assume responsibility for making financial contributions through government subsidies. Japanese sickness insurance programs are social insurance, a joint self-assistance system organized by the insured people mostly financed for them to secure their own economic stability. In return for their obligation to pay premiums, insured people are entitled to receive benefits when necessary as their due right, without taking any form of means testing. Premiums should cover the expenses needed for benefits, while the government subsidy should cover the administrative expenses. However, there is an incongruity between the demand for medical services and the deficit of premiums which elicited a demand for increased government subsidy.

Diverse interpretations remain regarding government subsidies for sickness insurance programs. Some scholars agree with the idea of increasing government subsidies to reduce the economic burden of insurance premiums and to mitigate the financial burden of physicians,⁴ to make the state responsible for improving people's health and living standards,⁵ and to foster Japan's social security program.⁶ Other scholars express concerns about subsidies leading to excessive government intrusion into private life. The fear that sickness insurance programs may be transformed into quasi-public assistance,⁷ that tax money will be channeled

⁴ Matsumoto Kōtarō, *Shakai hoken to shakai hoshō* (Tokyo: Rōdō bunkasha, 1949), p. 42; Kurokawa Hiroshi, "Kokumin kenkō hoken seido," in Koyama Michio, ed., *Iryō Hoshō* (Tokyo: Chuō hōki shuppan, 1985), pp. 101–102, 110; Kawakami Takeshi and Kosaka Fumiko, *Sengo iryō shi josetsu* (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1992), pp. 28–30.

⁵ Nishio Masashichi, "Kenkō to byōki," in Nishio Masashichi and Sakayori Toshio, eds., *Hitobito no kenkō to shakai hoshō* (Kyoto: Hōritsu bunkasha, 1978), p. 7.

⁶ Kudō Tsuneo, "'Shakai hoshō niokeru shakai hoken' towa nanika," *Chingin to shakai hoshō* 1154 (1995), pp. 21–22; Kudō Tsuneo, "Shakai hoshō no zaigen mondai ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu," *Keizaigaku ronsō* 36/4 (1995), pp. 408–409.

⁷ Tomonō Taketo, "Shakai hoken no shakai fujo eno tenraku," *Shakai hoken*

away from public assistance;⁸ and that people may become excessively dependent on the government.⁹ Other researchers state the belief that it is impractical to apply social insurance to a universal sickness insurance program.¹⁰ Others take the narrow view that the government cannot be trusted to spend public revenues wisely.¹¹

In the case of Japanese sickness insurance, the concept of fairness is linked to government subsidies and an increase in the number of insured people, leading to universal coverage. Fairness is the key concept in understanding the development of Japanese sickness insurance programs.

The 1922 Health Insurance Law and Government Subsidies

Inflation fomented labor unrest in Japan during World War I and after. The number of labor disputes increased dramatically. In 1918, there were over 400 labor disputes involving more than 66,000 participants. By 1919 both the number of labor disputes and the number of participants had quintupled.¹² Japan's major political parties responded to the labor unrest in

jihō 25/4 (1951), p. 3; Takahashi Chōtarō, “Iryō hoshō no mondaiten,” *Kenkō hoken* 10/4 (1956), p. 5; Kuroki Toshikatsu, *Nihon shakai hoshō* (Tokyo: Kōbundo, 1959), p. 104; Niwata Noriaki, “Shakai hoshō no rinen to hoken no genri,” *Kikan shakai hoshō kenkyū*, 2/3 (1966), pp. 15–16; Tsutsumi Shūzo, *Shakai hoshō no kōzō tenkan* (Tokyo: Shakai hoken kenkyūjo, 2004), pp. 30–31, 154, 200.

⁸ Fukutake Tadashi, *Shakai hoshō ron danshō* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku dhuppankai, 1983), p. 140.

⁹ Saguchi Takashi, “Iryō hoken,” in Ōkōchi Kazuo et al., eds., *Gendai rōdō mondai kōza* 8 (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1967), p. 31.

¹⁰ Fujii Ryōji, “Shakai hoshō to hoken genri,” *Mita shogaku kenkyū* 39/3 (1996), p. 75.

¹¹ Nakata Yoshio, “Iryō hoshō to kokka no sekinin,” *Kenkō hoken* 20/10 (1966), pp. 40–41; Fujita Sei, “Iryō hoken no seidokan kakusa to zaisei chōsei,” *Kikan gendai keizai* 35 (1979), p. 85; Watanabe Shigeru, “Iryō hoken to kōteki futan,” *Keizai kenkyū* 26/2 (1981), p. 38; Jinushi Shigeyoshi, “Shakai hoshō no zaigen seisaku no kadai to tenbō,” in Shakai Hoshō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Shakai hoshō no zaigen seisaku* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1994), p. 6; Sugagya Akira, *Shakai hoshō ron* (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, 1990), p. 205; Kimura Yōko, “Iryō hoken no Zaigen seisaku (2),” *Kenkō hoken* 52/7 (1998), pp. 28–29.

¹² Fumito Tsuchiana, “Daiichiji taisengo no shakai seisaku no tenkai,”

various ways, which eventually coalesced around sickness insurance reforms.

In January 1920, *Kenseikai*, a major opposition party, publicly proposed a sickness insurance bill. *Kenseikai*'s objective was to promote the party's social policy and use the bill's submission to attract public attention and support the party's expansion in urban areas.¹³ The *Kenseikai*'s bill included a government subsidy of 20% of the premium contribution. Mori Shōzaburō, a Tokyo Imperial University professor, regarded the government sickness insurance subsidy as a demonstration of social solidarity and 20% as an appropriate rate.¹⁴ The 20% figure, however, had no scientific or theoretical basis nor was it based on rational cost calculations.¹⁵ In February 1920, *Kenseikai* submitted its bill, to the Imperial Diet, but it was not brought up for discussion because Prime Minister Hara Takashi dissolved the Lower House to oppose an election-reform bill.

As a result of the general election held in May 1920, the *Rikken Seiyūkai* triumphed to occupy the majority of seats in the Lower House. In August 1920, partly in response to the *Kenseikai*'s initiative, the Hara Takashi Cabinet established a Labor Section within the Engineering Bureau of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce (MAC) to begin researching and planning HI. In November 1921, the Labor Section completed an outline of an HI bill that stipulated the amount of the subsidy as "two yen per insured person per year."¹⁶

In December 1921, the MAC established an Investigation Committee for Labor Insurance (ICLI) to seek advice on labor insurance. The Agriculture and Commerce Minister asked the ICLI to examine the outline of the HI bill. Shijō Takashi, the Engineering Bureau Director, explained the financial resources for this new program. "It is logical to

Takushoku daigaku ronshū 115 (1978), p. 88.

¹³ Kasahara Hidehiko, *Nihon no iryō gyōsei* (Tokyo: Keiō gijuku daigaku shuppankai, 1999), p. 81.

¹⁴ Mori Shōzaburō, "Kenseikai teishutsu no shippei hoken hōan hihan," (1920) in Shakai Hoshō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Nihon shakai hoshō zenshi shiryō* 3 (Tokyo: Shiseidō, 1981), pp. 54, 59; Mori shōzaburō, *rōdō hoken kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1921), p. 285.

¹⁵ Arioka Jirō, "Saishutsu yokusei henchō no iryō hoken kaikaku," *Kenkō hoken* 52/6 (1998), pp. 37–38.

¹⁶ Shakaikyoku Hokenbu, ed., *Kenkō hoken jigyō enkaku shi* (Tokyo: Shakaikyoku hokenbu, 1937), pp. 2, 3, 14.

make workers and their employers who would benefit from this insurance jointly assume financial responsibility.” As for the government financial role, Shijō noted that the HI would cost about 20 yen per person per year and the government would provide “two yen per person per year, which would largely cover administrative fees.”¹⁷

As long as there was a government subsidy, and tax money was used for HI, MAC officials had to be careful in ensuring fairness in their usage because the HI would cover only a minority of industrial workers, about two million workers or only about 3.3% of the entire population.¹⁸ Improving workers’ welfare was considered to be a public good as long as the ministry made a self-regulation of contributing only 10% of the insurance expenses.

Fixed Amount or Fixed Rate

Ensuring fairness was also a major issue in the ICLI debate concerning whether the government would employ a fixed-amount or fixed-rate subsidy for HI. The Engineering Bureau regarded the fixed-amount subsidy as fair; however, this became a contentious point.

Egi Tasuku, a member of the House of Peers representing liberal *Kenseikai*’s opinion, advocated a fixed-rate subsidy system. Kameda Toyojirō, a mathematician and government official on the committee, endorsed a fixed-rate subsidy. He understood that once the fixed-amount subsidy system was adopted, “only those who can get more benefits will establish corporate HI associations and the rest will depend on the GMHI.” Subsidies needed to be adjusted to price fluctuations, Ono Giichi, representing the Ministry of Finance, said, “It is better to adopt a fixed-rate system commensurate with the ups and downs of prices of commodities rather than a fixed-amount subsidy of two yen per person.”¹⁹

In response, Zen Keinosuke, the Labor Section Chief, said, “We employed the fixed-amount subsidy to make it fair. If we prepare the subsidy in proportion to premiums, we have to provide higher-wage workers with a larger amount of subsidy and lower-wage workers with a

¹⁷ Shakaikyoku Hokenbu, ed., *Kenkō hoken hō shikō keika kiroku* (hereafter KHH) (Tokyo: Shakaikyoku, 1935), pp. 4-18, 27. For the list of committee members, see KHH, pp. 19-20.

¹⁸ Hiroumi Kōichi, “Iryō hoken seido to shakai,” *shōgaku kenkyū* 17 (1974), p. 121.

¹⁹ KHH, pp. 136, 153-154.

smaller amount of subsidy.” Zen believed that the fixed-amount subsidy would be fairer because “medical treatment fees are the same regardless of wage income.”²⁰ Takeuchi Sakuhei, an attorney, business executive, and a Diet member, supported Zen’s idea for another reason: with the fixed-amount subsidy, the government was able to determine a definite budget. Shijō seconded Takeuchi’s idea in the interest of setting a specific budget amount. Mori tried to be objective. “The fixed-amount system and the fixed-rate system both have advantages.” Saying this, Mori personally preferred the fixed-amount subsidy system “because it gives more assistance to low-wage workers.”²¹ In the end, Zen’s idea of the fixed-amount subsidy prevailed in the discussion. As Mori explained, both subsidy methods presented advantages and disadvantages, but reliance on political judgment was needed. In January 1922, the committee reported that “For the convenience of calculation, we maintain the original bill [of the fixed-amount subsidy at two yen per person].”²²

Neither fixed-amount nor fixed-rate subsidy would make much difference as long as there was an upper limit of two yen per person per year. Consequently, it was easier to strike a compromise. After receiving this recommendation, the MAC invited comments from other interested ministries. In the end, the ministry, pressured by Egi’s strong insistence on adopting the fixed-rate subsidy and the Ministry of Finance, made a significant revision concerning the subsidy proposal. New wording was inserted into the bill which read as follows: “The government subsidy is responsible for one-tenth of the cost necessary for insurance benefits of each corporate HI association...when the sum of government subsidies surpasses an average of two yen per person per year the government subsidy for each corporate HI association will be reduced to the designated limit” in accordance with the edict.²³ In March 1922, the government submitted the HI bill to the Imperial Diet, which passed the bill. In April 1922, the HI law was promulgated.

For the GMHI, a special accounting system was established to regulate financing of the insurance program. The government passed the HI special accounting law that became effective in January 1927.

²⁰ KHH, p. 43.

²¹ KHH, pp. 135–37.

²² KHH, p. 151.

²³ KHH, p. 190.

Extreme Lines

Two extreme lines of argument emerged during the enactment process of the HI: Demanding a larger subsidy to cover not only the administrative expenses but also individual insurance benefits on the one hand, and eliminating the subsidy all together on the other hand. At this juncture, neither line of argument was taken seriously.

At the ICLI meeting held in December 1921, Kuwayama Tetsuo from the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications made a proposal to use the government subsidy not only for administrative fees but also for individual insurance benefits.²⁴ This was a critical point because once the subsidy was used for individual insurance benefits, the subsidy would expand inevitably as the number of insured people increased. Those insured people would demand more and more subsidy to mitigate their healthcare expenses; however, little attention to this proposal and no further arguments were made on this subject at this point.

Understanding the importance of implementing effective labor-related policies, the government implemented an organizational restructuring. In November 1922, a Social Bureau was newly established as an extra-ministerial bureau attached to the Home Ministry. The administration of the HI was transferred from the Engineering Bureau of the MAC to this newly established Social Bureau. The Home Minister became responsible for the ICLI.²⁵ These changes altered government attitudes towards the HI. While the MAC placed emphasis on the industrial development that tended to view the HI from the employers' points of view, the Home Ministry was more concerned with employees' social welfare.

The implementation of the HI was delayed until January 1927 partly because of the Great Kanto Earthquake. In July, six months after the implementation of the HI, Home Minister Suzuki Kisaburō asked the ICLI for its advice on what the government should do to improve HI. In October, the ICLI submitted a series of recommendations and expectations to the minister. One of the expectations read, "Government subsidies should assume responsibility for the administrative expenses of the HI *in addition to the current government subsidy*" (emphasis added).²⁶ This greatly undermined the reasoning that the subsidy was meant for administrative fees, instead recognizing them as the subsidy for insurance benefits. The

²⁴ KHH, pp. 78–79.

²⁵ KHH, p. 307.

²⁶ Hokenbu, ed., *Kenkō hoken jigyo enkaku shi*, p. 63.

Home Ministry was more receptive to demands beneficial to workers; consequently, the ministry could not accept this committee's expectation, as the characteristic of the subsidy would change.²⁷

There was little question about the necessity of government subsidies. The important question was the fact that there existed requests for government subsidies for administrative fees as well as for insurance benefits from the outset of the discussion on HI.

Increase in the Number of Insured People

In the late 1920s, Japan suffered from a severe economic recession that caused unemployment and a reduction of wages. Because the HI premiums were hinged upon workers' wages, this economic downturn had adverse effects on financing the HI. This was especially true of the GMHI that was primarily for employers and employees in small and medium-sized corporations because the economic depression affected them more severely than the big corporations.

The government gradually moved toward decreasing the subsidy for HI. In March 1929, the HI special accounting law was amended to read as follows: "The amount transferred from the general account *is stipulated by the budget for each fiscal year*. However, the amount may not surpass the average of two yen per person" (emphasis added).²⁸ This revision changed the government subsidy from a mandatory expenditure of 10% of the benefits to a discretionary expenditure determined by budget considerations with the upper limit of two yen per person per year. The government intended to cover only the administrative fees, which were normally less than 10% of the benefits. Nevertheless, as Table 1 indicates, the government subsidy for the HI ended up being more than 10% of the insurance benefits between 1929 and 1933, although the amount of the subsidy actually decreased after this amendment and remained at this low level until 1942, affected by low premium revenue caused by the severe economic depression in Japan.

²⁷ Ehiro Akira, "Iryō hoken to kokko futan," in Hayashi Takehisa et al., ed., *Gurōbaruka to fukushi kokka zaisei no saihei* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 2004), pp. 241–242.

²⁸ Hokenkyoku, ed., *30-nen shi, Gekan*, p. 844.

Table 1

Year	Insurance Benefits (yen)	Admin. Fees (yen)	Government Subsidy (yen)	Subsidy Benefits (%)	Subsidy Admin. Fees (%)	Subsidy Per Insured Person (yen)
1926	7,009,346	694,235	700,935	10.00%	100.97%	0.47314
1927	28,037,385	2,339,480	2,803,738	10.00%	119.84%	1.89258
1928	21,253,564	2,248,664	2,125,357	10.00%	94.52%	1.86380
1929	18,412,116	1,984,111	1,989,111	10.80%	100.25%	1.76714
1930	18,442,092	1,917,286	1,922,286	10.42%	100.26%	1.65764
1931	18,084,893	1,753,915	1,758,915	9.73%	100.29%	1.52188
1932	16,613,579	1,691,670	1,696,670	10.21%	100.30%	1.53943
1933	16,603,768	1,691,670	1,696,670	10.22%	100.30%	N/A
1934	18,697,035	1,754,513	1,696,670	9.07%	96.70%	N/A
1935	24,506,881	2,531,657	1,696,670	6.92%	67.02%	N/A
1936	25,531,994	2,531,657	1,696,670	6.65%	67.02%	N/A
1937	32,378,584	2,608,282	1,696,670	5.24%	65.05%	N/A
1938	32,761,460	2,713,379	1,696,670	5.18%	62.53%	N/A
1939	38,902,833	3,038,907	1,696,669	4.36%	55.83%	0.56498
(AMHI) 1940	48,034,661	3,667,604	1,696,670	3.53%	46.26%	0.53490
(CEHI) 1940	4,857,260	444,231	512,748	10.56%	115.42%	1.00000
(AMHI) 1941	57,292,875	4,491,206	1,696,670	2.96%	37.78%	0.47635
(CEHI) 1941	6,861,480	580,301	593,292	8.65%	102.24%	1.00000
(AMHI) 1942	65,975,366	4,861,094	1,696,670	2.57%	34.90%	0.47781
(CEHI) 1942	6,085,100	550,301	500,000	8.22%	90.86%	1.00000
1943	100,150,104	4,916,792	2,565,313	2.56%	52.17%	0.60999
1944	110,100,567	5,275,504	2,565,313	2.33%	48.63%	0.63916
1945	107,425,325	5,759,640	2,565,313	2.39%	44.54%	0.59170
1946	272,425,325	34,396,482	5,983,258	2.20%	17.39%	1.87403
1947	713,622,000	129,659,365	27,155,365	3.81%	20.94%	11.33362
1948	3,549,418,000	247,169,000	40,759,000	1.15%	16.49%	16.83390
1949	13,816,990,000	299,755,000	89,927,000	0.65%	30.00%	26.84388
1950	13,267,454,000	306,443,000	153,221,000	1.15%	50.00%	45.73761
1951	13,066,640,000	470,530,000	380,711,000	2.91%	80.91%	109.27411
1952	25,738,609,000	610,207,000	610,207,000	2.37%	100.00%	146.12236
1953	30,972,586,000	643,407,000	643,407,000	2.08%	100.00%	126.92976
1954	44,507,767,000	862,160,000	812,160,000	1.82%	94.20%	141.00000
1955	51,963,103,000	702,960,000	702,960,000	1.35%	100.00%	139.20000
1956	51,245,224,000	755,082,000	755,082,000	1.47%	100.00%	142.20000
1957	58,760,490,000	845,399,000	845,379,000	1.44%	100.00%	142.20000

Source: Calculated based on Koseisho hokenkyoku ed., Kenkō hoken 30-nen shi, Gekan (Zenkoku shakai hoken kyokai rengokai, 1958), pp. 1057–59.

AMHI: Associations Managed Health Insurance

CEHI: Clerical Employees Health Insurance

N/A: Not available

The 1931 Manchuria Incident marked the beginning of an upswing in the business cycle, which led to an increase in the number of employees. As Table 2 indicates, the number of insured people increased consistently from 1930 to 1944. Moreover, the average index of monthly earnings was on a downward trend from 1929, but this trend was reversed in 1935 for the GMHI and in 1933 for the AMHI.

Table 2

Year	Total No. of Insured People	No. of Insured People (GMHI)	No. of Insured People (AMHI)
1926	1,941,446	1,140,865	800,581
1927	1,889,244	1,115,221	774,023
1928	1,933,613	1,160,953	772,660
1929	1,899,893	1,146,258	753,635
1930	1,547,780	933,683	614,097
1931	1,633,237	1,047,553	585,644
1932	1,720,199	1,122,141	598,058
1933	2,001,481	1,294,926	706,555
1934	2,326,694	1,503,550	823,144
1935	3,043,934	2,096,657	947,277
1936	3,451,470	2,346,637	1,104,833
1937	3,846,868	2,503,157	1,343,711
1938	4,275,100	2,766,016	1,509,084
1939	4,769,911	3,027,366	1,740,545
1940	5,671,857	3,550,136	2,121,721
(Health Insurance)	4,997,054	3,084,758	1,912,296
(CEHI)	674,803	465,378	209,425
1941	6,094,504	3,629,959	2,464,545
(Health Insurance)	5,370,402	3,160,489	2,209,913
(CEHI)	724,102	469,470	254,632
1942	6,417,238	3,464,358	2,952,880
(Health Insurance)	5,724,704	3,032,193	2,692,511
(CEHI)	692,534	432,165	260,369
1943	8,033,468	4,169,352	3,864,116
1944	9,482,642	4,654,980	4,827,662
1945	4,111,452	2,323,667	1,787,785
1946	4,358,370	2,270,345	2,088,025
1947	4,771,066	2,483,840	2,287,226
1948	5,984,765	3,278,701	2,670,064
1949	6,094,927	3,267,797	2,827,130
1950	6,529,815	3,579,717	2,950,098
1951	7,053,930	4,017,599	3,036,331
1952	7,504,063	4,399,475	3,104,588
1953	8,302,059	4,988,164	3,313,895
1954	8,160,869	4,940,833	3,220,036
1955	8,555,319	5,242,120	3,313,199
1956	9,507,659	5,991,249	3,516,410

Source: Koseisho hokenkyoku ed., Kenkō hoken 30-nen shi, Gekan

(Zenkoku shakai hoken kyokai rengokai, 1958), pp. 49–51.

GMHI: Government Managed Health Insurance

AMHI: Associations Managed Health Insurance

CEHI: Clerical Employees Health Insurance

These developments improved the financial situation of the HI that acquired over 10 million yen reserve funding in 1934. This reserve funding increased continuously reaching about 238 million yen in 1945. Because the government tried to absorb purchasing power to control inflationary pressure during the war after 1937 when the Sino-Japanese War broke out,

it did not lower the rate of HI premiums. Consequently, the HI's accumulated funds escalated.²⁹

With stable insurance finance, in February 1934, the government submitted a revised HI bill to the Imperial Diet to extend its coverage to more people. The bill was passed in March. Some businesses to which the original HI failed to apply at that time, such as those engaged within the commercial sector with five or more employees, were newly designated as business entities qualified for HI coverage. Businesses in those categories with four or fewer employees were able to join the HI system on a voluntary basis. Because this amendment expanded the coverage to small/medium-sized corporations, they joined the GMHI.

Consequently, this amendment increased the number of the insured of the GMHI. Table 2 indicates that membership steadily increased from 930,000 people in the fiscal year 1930 to 1.5 million in the fiscal year of 1934. This figure drastically increased by about 600,000 people or 40%, in the next fiscal year partly because of the new legislation mentioned above. The total number of insured people increased continuously until the fiscal year 1944. The number of insured people in the AMHI also increased continuously from the fiscal year 1932 until the fiscal year 1944. In the end, HI had only 1.9 million insured people in the fiscal year 1926, but the number almost quintupled to 9.5 million in the fiscal year 1944. The Japanese government assumed that spreading HI would increase marginal utility of the newly insured people, which would lead to increasing total social utility. Based on this view of utilitarianism, the Japanese government sought to secure fairness by providing the HI for as many people as possible while trying to spend as little as possible.

The Japanese government continued to increase the number of insured people. In April 1939, as an offshoot of the HI law, the Clerical Employees Health Insurance Law was enacted. This covered clerical workers in urban areas. As Table 2 shows, the new insurance came into effect in June 1940 and newly covered over 670,000 people. Regarding the government subsidy for this new clerical insurance, Article 73 stipulates, "The government provides subsidies for part of the Clerical Employees Health Insurance (CEHI) operation fees within the budget."³⁰ In other words, the government had no legal obligation to offer the fixed-amount or

²⁹ Hokenkyoku, ed., *30-nen shi, Gekan*, pp. 826–830, 948.

³⁰ Nagase Tsunezō, *Shokuin kenkō hoken hō shakugi* (Tokyo: Kenkō hoken ihō sha, 1941), p. 13.

fixed-rate subsidy for clerical employees, but the Ministry of Health and Welfare, a newly established ministry in January 1938 that was solely responsible for the sickness insurance programs, in consultation with the Ministry of Finance, had the discretionary power to decide the actual amount of subsidy.

The CEHI existed for only about three years. In the end, in February 1942, it was integrated with HI that transferred approximately 700,000 people to the HI. Furthermore, although the CEHI covered only businesses with 10 or more employees, the amendment of the HI law in 1942 after the integration with the CEHI came to cover businesses that consistently employed “five or more employees” within the commercial sector. In addition, the revised HI raised the limit of the annual salary for clerks from 1200 yen to 1800 yen as a qualification to join the HI. These revisions helped more Japanese clerks to qualify for the revised HI. As a result of these developments, the number of insured people in the HI jumped from 5.7 million people in 1942 to 8 million people in 1943 (see Table 2).

National Health Insurance and Government Subsidies

Because the HI financial situation became stable after 1933, the Home Ministry looked into another way of increasing the number of insured people. In July 1934, the Social Bureau announced a draft of a “Provisional Outline of National Health Insurance System.” This National Health Insurance (NHI) would cover some tens of millions of people, about 60% of the whole population.³¹ The government was to provide subsidy for this insurance. Expansion of coverage while looking at universal coverage as a final goal remained the government’s primary objective of achieving fairness in using the government subsidy.

Kawamura Hidebumi, a Social Bureau officer, indicated that what Japanese people feared most in their economic lives was an excessive burden of medical expenses. The average medical fees of people in rural areas were 24–25 yen per household per year, less than 60% of the average medical expenses per household per year in urban areas.³² He came to

³¹ Yoshihara Kenji and Wada Masaru, *Nihon iryō hoken seido shi* (Tokyo: Tōyō keizai shimpōsha, 2001), p. 79.

³² Aoki Ikuo, “1930 nendai ni okeru kenkō • iryō mondai to iryō riyō kumiai mondai,” *Hannan ronshū jinbun • shizen kagaku hen* 47/2 (2012), p.

understand that the issue was not the average fee but the fact that these rural people would spend a large amount of money upfront once they became sick.³³ The government adopted a lenient position: the NHI should pool the fund as insurance premiums that people in rural areas normally pay annually to physicians. Consequently, these premiums were not new financial burdens, but doctors' fees paid in advance.³⁴ Shimizu Gen, Chief of the Insurance Department of the Social Bureau in the Home Ministry, optimistically predicted that people in rural areas were able to carry out the NHI with premiums that would not overburden them.³⁵

A basic assumption of this prediction was that the average medical fees in rural areas, 24–25 yen per household per year, times the number of households in the rural areas would be enough to cover health insurance benefits when NHI came into effect. This assumption was inappropriate. It ignored the fact that the majority of people with low/no income could not afford the set medical fees for services. The government's prediction of the expected expenditure was too optimistic and inadequate. The government's estimate of medical expenses in rural areas underestimated potential demand for medical services. Consequently, rural areas contained larger potential demands for medical services, thus a large amount of subsidies would be necessary to meet these demands.

At first, the Social Bureau considered the government subsidies for the NHI to be roughly 10% of the benefits, but there were many voices to increase the subsidies. Paying attention to these voices, Kawanishi Jitsuzō, Chief of the Insurance Department of the Social Bureau, said that the subsidy would cover "roughly 10%-20% of the benefits."³⁶ In November, he explained the subsidy in detail. "Our policy is to provide NHI associations with 20% in the first year and 10% in and after the second year." According to the government prediction, the average annual medical

42.

³³ Kawamura Hidebumi, *Kokumin kenkō hoken no hanashi* (Tokyo: Kenkō hoken ihōsha shuppanbu, 1937), pp. 4–7.

³⁴ Nakadate Kōkichi, *Kokumin Kenkō hoken no kaisetsu to kaigyōi no shōrai* (Tokyo: Kanehara shōten, 1938), p. 10.

³⁵ Shimizu Gen, "Kokumin kenkō hoken seido ni tsuite," *Nihon no ikai* 26/16 (1936), p. 21.

³⁶ Cited in Ehiro Akira, "Kokumin kenkō hoken to kokko futan: senzen nihon no kokuho seido seiritsu katie ni oite," *Kōnan keizaigaku ronso* 46 (2005), p. 69.

expenses would be four-to-five yen per person per year.³⁷ The Home Ministry could have provided the same amount (fixed-amount) of subsidy as that of the HI (up to two yen per person per year). If the subsidy were two yen per person per year, it would constitute 40-50% of the predicted medical expenses. Taking the fact that no contribution from the employers existed in the NHI, the government could have provided more subsidies in the name of fairness, yet decided not to do so.

The government submitted the NHI bill to the Imperial Diet in March 1937. The bill stated that the government was to provide “a subsidy within the budget.”³⁸ During a Lower House preliminary session held to examine the bill, Takeda Tokusaburō of *Seiyūkai* requested raising “the subsidy rate to at least one-third of the benefits.”³⁹ Kobayashi Saburō, an independent Diet member, said that the government should provide “up to about 50% [of the benefits].”⁴⁰ After receiving a series of requests from Diet members to increase the government subsidy, Hirose Hisatada, Director of the Social Bureau, made a slightly more generous proposal where the government was ready to provide 10%-25% of the expenditure.

The NHI was destined to suffer from financial problems because, unlike HI, NHI received no contribution from employers, and its main target was rural people. Most of them could not afford to pay premiums or could pay very little. Because the rate of subsidy against the expenditure would be higher than that of the HI, the subsidy for the NHI was implicitly designed from the outset to cover not only administrative fees but also insurance benefits.⁴¹

The Lower House approved the NHI bill in its original form and sent it to the House of Peers. However, the bill ended up failing when Prime Minister Hayashi Senjurō suddenly dissolved the House of Representatives

³⁷ Nakadate, *Kokumin kenkō hoken*, p. 8.

³⁸ Shūgiin Jimukyoku Chōsabu, ed., *Kokumin kenkō hoken hōan gaiyō* (Tokyo: Shūgiin jimukyoku chōsabu, 1937), p. 35.

³⁹ “Dai 70kai teikoku gikai shūgiin giji sokkiroku dai 19go,” National Diet Library (1937).

⁴⁰ “Dai 70kai teikoku gikai shūgiin kokumin kenkō hoken hōan hoka 2ken iinkaigiroku, dai 2kai,” National Diet Library (1937).

⁴¹ Nakao Hisako, “Waga kunino iryō hoken seido keisei no rekishiteki haikai to kongo no shiten chūshutsu no kokoromi,” *Yamaguchi kenritsu daigaku shakai fukushi gakubu kiyō* 4 (1998), p. 72; Ehiro, “Iryō hoken to kokko futan,” p. 246.

in late March 1937. The NHI bill was amended slightly and resubmitted to the Imperial Diet in January 1938. The portion of the bill related to the government subsidy remained the same. The Lower House passed the bill with three recommendations, one of which read, “The government should increase the subsidy and make efforts to spread NHI associations in the future.”⁴² With this recommendation, the Ministry of Health and Welfare adopted a more positive attitude toward a higher subsidy when the bill was considered in the House of Peers. The House of Peers also passed the bill and on 1 April 1938, the NHI law was promulgated.

Because NHI incorporated low/no-income people as its members who were not appropriate for any insurance program, it was easily expected that the premiums would be insufficient to cover the necessary expenses. The NHI, from the outset, was structured to depend on government subsidy and the public assistance character of this new program quickly stood out.⁴³ As the number of low-income insured people increased, the amount of government subsidy inevitably grew. During 1938–1942, the subsidy was set at one yen per person per year for the first three years and 0.85 yen in the fourth year and after. In 1943, the subsidy increased again to 1.65 yen per person per year for the first four years and 1.5 yen in the fifth year and after.⁴⁴ This insurance program precipitated the process of transformation of social insurance into quasi-public assistance.⁴⁵

Postwar Development: “Isolation” from the International Community and Japan’s Initiatives for Idealistic Plans

The Beveridge Plan (November 1942) greatly affected the concept of the future for social security among the Health Insurance Bureau bureaucrats. Welfare states became popular in advanced countries after

⁴² Suganuma Takashi, ed., *Nihon shakai hoshō kihon bunkenshū* 16, p. 181.

⁴³ Nishimura Mariko, “Kokuho seido seiritsu katei ni okeru chihō no yakuwari to shakai hoshō no hōga,” *Kikan shakai hoshō kenkyū*, 30/4 (1995), p. 433; Ōkuma Ichirō and Jinushi Shigeyoshi, eds., *Fukushi shakai eno sentaku* (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1984), p. 18; Fujii Ryōji, *Shakai hoshō no gendaiteki kadai* (Tokyo: Kōseikan, 1994), p. 4; Tamai Kingo and Ōmori Maki, eds., *Shakai seisaku wo manabu hito no tameni* (Kyoto: Sekai shisōsha, 2000), pp. 124–125.

⁴⁴ Suganuma, ed., *Nihon shakai hoshō kihon bunkenshū* 16, p. 305.

⁴⁵ Hasuda Shigeru, *Kokumin kenkō hoken shi* (Tokyo: Nihon ishikai, 1960), p. 255.

World War II. Unlike previous social insurance, the Beveridge Plan was to cover the whole nation and its major purpose was the eradication of poverty by securing a minimum income through the redistribution of national wealth. This plan became the theoretical basis for welfare states around the world.⁴⁶ The fact that the Japanese government would secure a national minimum income advocated by the Beveridge Plan was significant for the development of postwar Japan's social security system.⁴⁷ Affected by the Beveridge Plan, the postwar Japanese government sought to channel its social welfare policy to a more liberal course based on John Rawls' idea of egalitarian distribution of outcomes.⁴⁸

During September 1945, Tomonō Taketo, a Ministry of Health and Welfare officer, published an article, in a private capacity. This article was a draft proposal of measures designed to undergird people's livelihoods in postwar Japan based on the Beveridge Report. Tomonō considered it necessary to devise such measures to ensure a national healthcare service through social insurance.⁴⁹ Influenced by the Beveridge Report, the Health Insurance Bureau was convinced that social insurance should become the primary vehicle for improving life in the postwar era.

Japan's status within the international community at the end of World War II also influenced postwar Japanese HI. Japan was a vanquished and occupied nation, virtually cut off from the international community. However, this isolation proved advantageous by compelling the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) to take control of Japan's foreign trade. As a result, Japan was released from the heavy burden of its huge trade deficit, much of which was paid off by American aid. The assistance amounted to \$865 million from 1947–1948, accounting for 92% of Japanese imports in 1947 and 75% in 1948.⁵⁰ Japan's trade had

⁴⁶ Satō Junichi and Kuroda Kōichirō, eds., *Iryō shinwa no shakaigaku* (Kyoto: Sekai shisō sha, 1998), p. 105; Tokyo Daigaku Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo (ed.), *Fukushi kokka 1 fukushi kokka no keisei* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1984), pp. 3–4.

⁴⁷ Matsuzaki Yasuko, "Sengo kaikakuki ni okeru shakai hoshō kōsō no keisei katei," *Shukutoku daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 27 (1993), pp. 1–12.

⁴⁸ John Rawls, "Justice as Fairness," in John Rawls, ed., *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971).

⁴⁹ Matsuzaki, "Sengo kaikakuki," pp. 8–10.

⁵⁰ G. C. Allen, *Japan's Economic Recovery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 33; Catherine Edwards, "U.S. Policy towards Japan, 1945–

constantly declined since 1937 and the country actually performed much better after SCAP assumed control of Japan's foreign trade. Japan's commodity exports increased significantly from 1946–1950.⁵¹ In addition, the Allied military occupation enabled Japan to enjoy military protection from the world's most powerful country. In the 1930s, over 40% of governmental expenditure went to the military, reaching over 70% after 1938.⁵² After the war, the military expenditure was eliminated.

Japan's concerns for its trade deficit, military budget, and national security lessened, enabling them to concentrate their attention on devising an idealistic program of far-reaching, progressive socio-economic reforms at home. Remaking Japan through SCAP's powerful democratization process provided an opportunity to implement idealistic reforms in Japan. These progressive reforms in the sickness insurance programs led to a strong demand for increased government subsidies. This was partly because people understood that "democracy" meant they were entitled to ask the government to guarantee their rights to receive appropriate medical care.

In March 1946, the government established the Committee for the Investigation of the Social Insurance Systems (CISIS) headed by Kanamori Tokujirō, a member of the House of Peers. On 24th April, Health and Welfare Minister Ashida Hitoshi sent an official inquiry to this committee: "What are the measures for developing and strengthening the social insurance system for addressing the coming situation in Japan?"⁵³

In December, the CISIS replied to the Health and Welfare Minister: "The government subsidy is responsible for the entirety of administrative fees and a certain amount of operational fees."⁵⁴ Reviving one of the extreme lines of its argument in the 1920s, the committee demanded the government subsidize not only for the administrative

1951" (Ph. D. diss., UCLA, 1977), p. 163.

⁵¹ William Guttman, "Miracles of Power" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1989), p. 72.

⁵² Teikoku Shoin, "Historical Statistics: Military Expenditures I ~ 1945," Teikoku Shoin Co., Ltd. (accessed July 22, 2015, http://www.teikoku-shoin.co.jp/statistics/history_civics/index05.html).

⁵³ Zenkoku Kokumin Kenkō Hoken Dantai Chuōkai, ed., *Kokumin kenkō hoken 20nen* (Tokyo: Zenkoku kokumin kenkō hoken dantai chuōkai, 1958), p. 270.

⁵⁴ Shakai Hoshō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Nihon shakai hoshō shiryō* I (Tokyo: shiseidō, 1981), p. 164.

expenses but also for part of the insurance benefits. The ministry rejected the committee's recommendation outright because of financial constraints.

In the postwar era, NHI faced severe financial difficulties primarily because the program contained numerous low/no-income people. This insurance confronted an enormous deficit of 180 million yen in 1946. NHI was on the brink of collapse.⁵⁵ During the war, this insurance spread throughout Japan, but many executive board members of the NHI associations regarded this insurance as just a temporary wartime measure that would automatically terminate after the war.⁵⁶ In the Diet, some legislators even began to discuss abolishing the NHI. At the same time, there emerged a growing demand for increasing subsidies to save NHI. In the end, at the discretion of Ōno Banboku, the secretary general of the ruling party (*Jiyūtō*), the government added 150 million yen to the fiscal year 1946 budget as a temporary government subsidy for NHI.⁵⁷ No clear, objective, or scientific guidelines existed in determining the amount. This was a political decision. Therefore, Ōno's discretionary action marked the beginning of the sickness insurance subsidy as the potential target for future political power struggles.

In June 1947, the Public Health and Welfare (PHW) section of SCAP proposed a substantial increase in the government subsidy for NHI. Armed with this PHW endorsement, the Ministry of Health and Welfare demanded a larger government subsidy from the Ministry of Finance. Sticking to its traditional frugal and libertarian perspective, it was considered fair to resist this request. Although the Ministry of Finance approved a temporary subsidy because of Ōno's political decision, the ministry insisted that this subsidy should be only a temporary measure and premiums should cover benefits. Consequently, the ministry did not approve any subsidy for the benefits in the fiscal year 1947 budget.⁵⁸

During June-August 1947, PHW officials held seven study meetings on Japanese social security jointly with a group of Japanese intellectuals, and high ranking officials from the Ministry of Health and

⁵⁵ Kitaba Tsutomu, *Sengo shakai hoshō no keisei* (Tokyo: Chūō hōki shuppan, 2000), pp. 45–46.

⁵⁶ Nakashizuka Michi, *Iryō hoken no gyōsei to seiji: 1895–1954* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1998), p. 297.

⁵⁷ Nakashizuka, *Iryō Hoken*, p. 298.

⁵⁸ Zenkoku Kokumin Kenkō Hoken Dantai Chuōkai, ed., *Kokumin kenkō hoken 20nen shi*, pp. 286–287; Nakashizuka, *Iryō hoken*, pp. 298–300.

Welfare.⁵⁹ At the meeting on July 11th, the Japanese and Americans held an intriguing discussion about whether NHI should be considered social insurance or public assistance because of its heavy dependence on government subsidy. Uchino Senichirō of the Health Insurance Bureau said the following:

The NHI is not in a strict sense a program of social insurance. I wonder if it is a nationwide program of public assistance.” William H. Wandel, Chief of the Social Security Division of the PHW, pointed out that public assistance was inherently accompanied by a means test. If NHI was indeed public assistance, then the government would be obligated to conduct means testing before providing benefits. Both Uchino and Wandel made logical points, but Suetaka Makoto, professor at Waseda University, who wanted to devise an idealistic comprehensive system of social security as a human right, was irritated. He criticized Uchino, saying, “Mr. Uchino’s opinion is just his personal opinion, not a generally accepted one.”⁶⁰

Based on this discussion, Suetaka said at the CISIS meeting in August, “Social security consists of two parts: public assistance financed by government funds...and social security financed by premiums.” Two months later in October, Hara Taiichi, a committee member, insisted on the importance of universal coverage at the general meeting. “It is essential to establish a powerful and thorough social security system to guarantee all the people the right of subsistence on an equal footing.”⁶¹ Because social insurance constituted a main pillar of social security, Suetaka’s and Hara’s ideas were incompatible. Social insurance financed by premiums could not

⁵⁹ Sōrifu Shakai Hoshō Seido Shingikai Jimukyoku, ed., *Shakai hoshō seido shingikai 30nen no ayumi* (Tokyo: Shakai hoken hōki kenkyūkai, 1980), p. 17.

⁶⁰ “Shakai hoshō seido kenkyūkai kaisai no ken (dai 4kai),” (1947), *Shakai hoken seido chōsakai kankei tsuzuri showa 21nendo*, Shakai hoken bunko, Shakai hoken daigakko, Chiba, Japan.

⁶¹ “Shakai hoken seido chosakai ni tsuiteno kiroku,” *Shakai hoken jihō* 34; gogai (1962), pp. 69, 84.

guarantee all the people the right of subsistence simply because premiums were not sufficient. NHI covered many low-income and no-income people whose income level exempted them from paying premiums. Nevertheless, as long as the government used the term “social insurance” instead of “public welfare,” it could not resort to means testing. Those insured, even if they paid no premiums, believed that they were entitled to receive insurance benefits as their due rights. Moreover, new democratic ideas permeated into the Japanese public during the Allied occupation precipitating a trend that they should demand their rights loudly as an expression of democracy.

In October 1947, the CISIS officially submitted to the Health and Welfare Minister the Outline of the Social Security System. The total cost of this plan was estimated to be 330 billion yen, equal to 36% of Japan's Gross National Income (GNI) at that time. By comparison, even in advanced countries, in terms of social security at this time such as Great Britain and the Soviet Union, the cost of social security systems were around 10–20% of the GNI. Critics in Japan saw the outline as just an armchair plan.⁶² SCAP also considered the outline as rather socialist and impossible to be implemented under the economic conditions that prevailed in Japan. Consequently, the Japanese government ended up shelving the outline.⁶³

American Suggestions

The Ministry of Health and Welfare asked SCAP to send a special mission to assimilate technical advice on social security.⁶⁴ In response to this request, a Social Security Mission headed by William H. Wandel started an investigation in August 1947 and submitted its report to SCAP in December. The report proposed public subsidies from “prefectural, national, or other governmental units.” It also stated that “If the poorer communities

⁶² Morita Yoshio, “Shakai hoshō seido ni kansuru jakkan no mondai,” *Shakai hoken jihō* 22/6 (1948) in Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan Chōsa Rippō Kōsakyoku, ed., *Shakai hoshō ni kansuru shuyō ronbun no tekiyo* 2 (Tokyo: Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan, 1951), pp. 11–12.

⁶³ “Shakai hoken seido chosakai ni tsuitemo kiroku,” *Shakai hoken jihō* 34; *gogai* (1962), p. 137.

⁶⁴ Memorandum to Chief of Staff (Crawford F. Sams), 1947, GHQ/SCAP Records, Public Health and Welfare Section (hereinafter PHW), Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, The National Diet Library, Tokyo Japan.

... are to benefit from the program, they will need assistance, and it seems reasonable to provide this to a limited extent from a national level by grants taken from general revenues.”⁶⁵

In July 1948, SCAP handed the mission report, the Wandel Report (WR) to the Japanese government. Understanding the economic difficulties that Japanese people faced, the WR said, “The expedient of increasing contributions or premium rates is not without hazard under present conditions in Japan. It is a serious question whether additional tax or contribution burdens can properly be placed on the public.”⁶⁶

The WR recommended the necessity and importance of the government subsidy for NHI. The report specifically included “a special justification” for the subsidy: “Those communities which adopt an NHI plan will thereby, by promising full medical care to all in the community, assume responsibility for some medical care which would otherwise be provided by the Daily Life Security Law, which is financed wholly from national tax revenue. Therefore, such communities are assuming, through the adoption of an NHI plan, some of the financial responsibilities now borne by the national government.”⁶⁷

The WR claimed another justification for the subsidy based on a comparison with HI in which “only a part of the cost is borne directly by the insured person. At least an equal part is borne by the employer.” Wandel’s logic was that this employer’s contribution was financed in the end by the general public. Explaining this intricate process of justification, the WR tried to demonstrate that it was only fair to provide the government subsidy for NHI.

Pursuing fairness by increasing the number of people insured was to reach the goal of universal coverage. The WR not only tried to increase the number of insured people but also recommended an increase in the government subsidy. The government was no longer expected to be a third-

⁶⁵ “Report of the Social Security Mission,” 1947 (hereafter the Wandel Report), pp. 100–101; “Wandel, Davis, Mountain, Sanders, Staten—Report of the Social Security Mission, 1947,” Barkev Sanders Papers, 1947–1990, Washington State University Libraries, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections Pullman: Washington, U.S.A.

⁶⁶ The Wandel Report, Washington State University Library, p. 86.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

party assistant that would provide only subsidy for the administrative fees but one of the three pillars of premium contributors.⁶⁸

In February 1948, the PHW invited the American Medical Association (AMA) to offer suggestions about health insurance programs in Japan.⁶⁹ In response, in August, the AMA sent its own special mission to Japan. In December 1948, the AMA submitted a report that was critical of the WR. Criticizing the WR regarding the government as one of the three pillars to make a premium contribution, the AMA insisted that “the costs of any HI should be primarily the responsibility of the worker and the employer.” In addition, the AMA did not consider community-based health insurance (NHI) to be a form of social insurance.

SCAP gave the AMA's report to the Japanese government in December 1948. The Social Security Mission recommended more government subsidies, while the AMA insisted on the importance of minimum subsidies. Japan was now in possession of two diametrically opposed recommendations with regard to government subsidies. Consequently, it was left to the Japanese government to determine, mostly on its own, the most appropriate policy.

1950 Recommendation and Government Subsidies

Following the WR recommendations, the Japanese government established an Advisory Council on the Social Security System (ACSSS) in May 1949. This particular Council had cabinet-level legal status, not only receiving inquiries from the government but also the power to issue its own recommendations. Moreover, all planning and the general outline of lawmaking and government operations related to social security were required to undergo the examination and approval of this Council.⁷⁰ The ACSSS issued a final recommendation in October 1950 (the 1950 Recommendation) of which one of the core principles was fairness among the entire Japanese people: “This [social security] system [that the ACSSS

⁶⁸ The Wandel Report, Washington State University Library, pp. 122–123.

⁶⁹ Crawford F. Sams to General George Lull, 1948, PHW, Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room, The National Diet Library, Tokyo Japan.

⁷⁰ Inoue Hideo and Kumon Teruo, “Sengo nihon no shakai hoshō riron to seisaku no suii,” *Shakai hoshō* 393 (2004), p. 63; “Shakai hoshō seido shingikai secchihō (Showa 23nen horitsu dai 266go)” (accessed on July 22, 2015, <http://www.geocities.jp/nakanolib/hou/hs23-266.htm>).

devised], of course, deals with all the people with the principles of fairness and equality of opportunity.”⁷¹

The 1950 Recommendation begins with the interpretation of Article 25 of the Japanese constitution. Article 25 stipulates, “All people shall have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living. In all spheres of life, the State shall use its endeavors for the promotion and extension of social welfare and security, and of public health.”⁷² The cost of benefits under the GMHI amounted to 4.1 billion yen in 1948, increasing to 12.1 billion yen in 1949. This was partly due to the implementation of the Dodge Line, a fierce austere fiscal measure,⁷³ which compelled even the middle/upper-class people who had normally taken medical treatment at their own expense to begin to use sickness insurances. Consequently, the Insurance suffered from a deficit of 1.42 billion yen by the end of 1948, which was expected to reach 3.1 billion yen in 1949, engendering the severest financial crisis since its establishment.⁷⁴

The ACSSS publicly requested “an emergency law and budget of implementing a 10% government subsidy for insurance benefits of various sickness insurances as an emergency measure to address the current insurance crisis.”⁷⁵ Then, the next question was whether this government subsidy was temporary or permanent. Nakayama Toshihiko of *Minshu Jiyūtō*, who viewed the government subsidy as a temporary measure, requested the reform of social insurance itself as a long-term solution. Ōishi Buichi of *Minshu Jiyūtō* also emphasized that the government subsidy was an exceptional, temporary measure. Then, Yamashita Yoshinobu of *Shakaitō*

⁷¹ Shakai Hoshō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Nihon shakai hoshō shiryō* I, p. 189.

⁷² “The Constitution of Japan,” Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, (accessed on July 22, 2015, http://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government/frame_01.html).

⁷³ As for the importance of the Dodge Line, see Yoneyuki Sugita and Marie Thorsten, *Beyond the line* (Okayama, Japan: University Education Press, 1999) and Yoneyuki Sugita, *Pitfall or Panacea* (New York: Routledge, 2003), Chapter 3.

⁷⁴ Kōseisho Imukyoku, ed., *Isei hyakunen shi kijutsuhen* (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1976), p. 460; Yoshida Hideo, “Shakai hoshō no genjō to kōtai no shodōkō,” *Shakai rōdō kenkyū* 4 (1955), p. 86.

⁷⁵ Sōrifu Shakai Hoshō Seido Shingikai Jimukyoku, ed., *Shakai hoshō seido shingikai 10nen no ayumi* (Tokyo: Shakai hoken hōki kenkyūkai, 1961), pp. 78–79.

posed a question whether the government subsidy to cover deficits of sickness insurances should become a permanent principle or just a temporary measure. Yamashita had “touched upon a crucial issue.” Ōuchi Hyōe said, “This is a global issue of principle...concerning the extent to which the government subsidy contributes to insurance of this kind. Whether the government subsidy may make a contribution to sickness insurances other than for administrative fees or not is an issue discussed throughout the world.” Contrary to Nakayama and Ōishi, Suetaka did not consider the 10% subsidy to be a temporary measure, but as a people’s right.⁷⁶ With the ACSSS divided on the character of the government subsidy, this debate continued.

The character of the subsidy was again on the table for discussion. Ōishi did not support permanent subsidies for insurance benefits because the recommendation was “just an emergency resolution to overcome this year’s deficit.” Agreeing with Ōishi, Nakayama intended to finance “the deficit by providing a 10% subsidy for only this year.” In contrast, Aoyagi Ichirō, a former Home Ministry official and a newly elected Lower House member of *Minshu Jiyūtō*, argued that once the subsidy for the benefits began, it would become permanent.⁷⁷

The issue remained between how the government subsidy was portrayed in its permanent or temporary status. On behalf of SCAP, Crawford F. Sams, the PHW Director, in a meeting held with Nakayama, considered it unfair and inappropriate to finance a deficit in sickness insurances continuously through the government subsidy.⁷⁸ The Ministry of Finance acquiesced in providing administrative fees, but it avoided using language that appeared to accept the fixed-rate contribution to the insurance benefits. To overcome the current deficit, the ministry suggested increasing the standard remuneration of insured people by 10%. If these steps were taken, the ministry believed that GMHI would return to a surplus by the end of the fiscal year. In the end, as an immediate measure to finance the payment to insure physicians, the ministry agreed to extend a one-billion-

⁷⁶ “Shakai hoshō seido shingikai, sōkai (dai 4kai), sokkiroku,” National Archives of Japan (1949).

⁷⁷ “Shakai hoshō seido shingikai, sōkai (dai 6kai), sokkiroku (2),” National Archives of Japan (1949).

⁷⁸ “Shakai hoshō seido shingikai, sōkai (dai 5kai), sokkiroku,” National Archives (1949).

yen loan to the Health Insurance Bureau.⁷⁹ The government sought to operate social insurance in accordance with insurance principles, trying to avoid any subsidy for benefits.

This became another controversial issue: “Which was fairer, placing priority on government subsidy or on individual premiums.” On September 16th, Nagao Haruo, a member of the Workers’ Accident Compensation Insurance Committee, and Kondō Bunji, professor at Osaka University of Commerce, devised a “memorandum of Ten Principles of a Social Security System.”⁸⁰ They wrote, “Today’s Japan faces a large economic limitation of not becoming financially independent. Consequently, in principle, people must make equal contribution to cover expenses for themselves in the form of premiums. For those who are incapable of paying premiums, the state will help them in the form of public assistance.”⁸¹

Nakayama complains: “It seems that the government subsidy is only for public assistance and the insured people’s contribution is the only component of the premiums.” Saitō Itsuki, a representative of the Japan Federation of Employers’ Associations, said, “The memorandum should pay more attention to the government subsidy.” Under the strong influence of SCAP’s democratization, these critics felt it only fair to demand that the government guarantee people’s “right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living”⁸² by increasing the government subsidy for sickness insurances.

Taking these strong oppositions into consideration, the memorandum was forced to be revised. The original memorandum’s critical phrase “in principle, people must make equal contributions to cover expenses for themselves in the form of premiums” was totally eliminated.

⁷⁹ Nakashizuka, *Iryō hoken*, pp. 310–311; Suetaka Makoto and Yasui Nobuo, *Gendai no shakai hoshō* (Tokyo: Seibundō, 1970), pp. 148–149; Kondō Bunji and Yoshida Hideo, *Shakai hoshō kankoku no seiritsu to kaisetsu* (Tokyo: Shakai hoshō chōsakai, 1950), pp. 58–59.

⁸⁰ Takashima Yūko, “Sengo nihon ni okeru shakai hoshō seido kōsō,” *Iryō - fukushi kenkyū* 14 (2004), p. 107.

⁸¹ Kondō Bunji, “Shakai hoshō seido kakuritsu no tameno oboegaki,” *Shakai hoken jumnpō* 236 (1947), p. 4.

⁸² “Social Security System Council Establishment Law (1948 Law No. 266),” Nakano Bunko (accessed on July 22, 2015, <http://www.geocities.jp/nakanolib/hou/hs23-266.htm>).

Instead, regarding financing, a revised draft stated, “National and public subsidies are used. Furthermore, people...must contribute a part of this system's cost.” In terms of self-financing, this was a serious diminishing of the original memorandum. Moreover, because the phrase “national and public subsidies” was placed at the beginning, these subsidies seemed to be more important than the insured people's contribution (premium).⁸³ This revised draft became the “memorandum for Establishment of Social Security System” in November.

Because both memorandums differed in wording with respect to financing, Nagao had to make an explanation. He said, “We cannot establish a genuine social security system under the assumption that in social security, the state will do everything and the state is financially responsible. Individuals should assume responsibility for their own livelihood. This is a prerequisite for implementing social security.” However, strong criticism forced him to change his opinion: “Although we emphasized this point in our first proposal [the memorandum of Ten Principles], we received many opinions that under the current Japanese conditions, the state should assume responsibility for a social security system. Consequently, we should first consider the contribution of the government subsidies.”⁸⁴

Disagreeing with Nagao, Suetaka said, “Public subsidies are available, but, it would be better to use an expression that at first, people would pay a part of the expenses of the program in which they participate. The expression in the proposal seems to push forward public assistance. We would like to build an opposite system.”⁸⁵ Objecting to Suetaka's argument, Yoshida Hideo, the Health Insurance Director of the All-Japan Congress of Industrial Organizations, a left-wing national center of labor unions in postwar Japan, replied, “In social security, we have the strong impression that the state assumes responsibility.” Kawasaki Hideji of *Minshutō* added, “The Draft Subcommittee discussed this issue and the majority supported the idea of placing public subsidies first.” It was only fair for them to demand that the government provide more and more subsidies.” Finally, the

⁸³ Kenkō Hoken Kumiai Rengōkai, “Shakai hoshō seido shingikai no keika,” *Kenkō hoken* 3/11 (1949), p. 56.

⁸⁴ “Shakai hoshō seido shingikai, sōkai (dai 8kai), sokkiroku (2),” National Archives of Japan (1949).

⁸⁵ Ibid.

issue was decided by a show of hands, and Suetaka's idea was rejected.⁸⁶ Then, the ACSSS adopted the memorandum for Establishment of Social Security System, stipulating that "Public subsidies are used. Besides, people must contribute a part of this system's expense on an equal basis."⁸⁷

In February 1950, the ACSSS held hearings at which many interest groups made various requests, but they all agreed that the state had to make a large financial contribution.⁸⁸ In March, an All-Japan Federation of National Health Insurance Organizations, a central organization of local NHI associations, requested that the government should cover the entire administrative expenses and the central, prefectural and municipal governments should cover 50% of the NHI benefit expenses. In May, a National Federation of Health Insurance Societies, a central organization of HI associations, announced that as for HI, the government should cover not only the entire administrative expenses but also one third of the insurance benefit expenses.⁸⁹ Taking these various opinions and requests into consideration, the ACSSS published its preliminary report in June 1950. Regarding the financing, the government subsidy was to cover all administrative fees and 20% of benefits for HI and 40% of benefits for NHI (40% divided equally between central/local governments).⁹⁰

SCAP criticized the preliminary report as too ambitious, especially the plan of subsidizing insurance benefits.⁹¹ Despite SCAP's warning, the ACSSS made no changes in the subsidy clause partly because it was an essential core of the plan.⁹² On October 16th, 1950, the ACSSS adopted a

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Kondō and Yoshida, *Shakai hoshō kankoku*, pp. 66–67.

⁸⁸ Ibid, pp. 79–80.

⁸⁹ Sono Kanji, "'Shakai hoshō seido ni kansuru kankoku' no seiritsu," *Mita Gakkai zasshi* 44/1 (1951), pp. 40–41.

⁹⁰ Kondō and Yoshida, *Shakai hoshō kankoku*, pp. 98–99; "Shakai hoshō seido kenkyū shian yōkō," *Kokumin kenkō hoken jōhō* 11 (1950), pp. 2–14; Shakai Hoshō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Nihon shakai hoshō shiryō* i, pp. 171–187.

⁹¹ "Samusu kyokuchō no kankoku to sono hankyō," *Gekkan shakai hoshō* 4/9 (1950), p. 12; Miyao Takeo, "Kankoku wo megurite (jō)," *Kenkō hoken*, 4/10 (1950), p. 17.

⁹² "Shakai hoshō seido shingikai yobi hōkoku ni taisuru hihan," *Kokumin kenkō hoken jōhō*, 14/15 (1950), pp. 3–4, 6; Takashima, "Sengo nihon ni okeru shakai hoshō seido kōsō," p. 109; Miyao Takeo, "Kankoku o megurite (ge)," *Kenkō hoken* 4/11 (1950), p. 11.

“Recommendation on Social Security System” (the 1950 Recommendation) and submitted it to Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru.⁹³

The basic concept of the 1950 Recommendation was that it was just and fair to increase the government subsidy and decrease the people’s insurance premiums. According to “References” attached to the 1950 Recommendation, “this system substantially decreases the individual contribution.” The amount of required government subsidy in the first year was estimated to be 88.6 billion yen of the fiscal year 1950. The ratio of social security in Japanese government expenditure would increase by 8.0%. The government subsidies for all social insurance programs would therefore be more than quadruple.⁹⁴ This was inevitable because more no/low-income people became eligible to join social insurance. Once the upper limit for the government subsidies was dropped after World War II, it was easier for all the parties concerned with sickness insurance programs to demand more and more government subsidies. The Yoshida Cabinet understood that once it accepted provision for HI and NHI with the 20% government subsidy, there would be future demands to increase the subsidy ratio to 30% or 40%.⁹⁵

Under the assumption that “the state is responsible for the social security system,” a financial feature of the 1950 Recommendation was a drastic increase in government subsidy in proportion to the general budget, going from 5.4% to 13.4%. Considering the size of the fiscal budget and Japan’s financial conditions at that time, this jump was regarded as impossible.⁹⁶

The government rejected the fixed-rate subsidy for insurance benefits; however, without this subsidy, the government could not maintain or increase the number of insured people in the NHI. In November 1951, the Diet approved resolutions of providing the government subsidy for the NHI (Lower House) and for both the NHI and HI (Upper House). In

⁹³ “Shakai hoshō seido shingikai, sōkai (dai 18kai), sokkiroku (2),” National Archives of Japan (1950).

⁹⁴ Sōrifu shakai hoshō seido shingikai jimukyoku, ed., *Shakai hoshō seido ni kansuru kankoku no sankō shiryō* (Tokyo: sōrifu shakai hoshō seido shingikai jimukyoku, 1950).

⁹⁵ Ōuchi Hyōe, “Kokumin kenkō hoken kiki toppa taikai messeiji,” *Shakai hoken jumpō* 271 (1951), p. 18.

⁹⁶ Endō Shōkichi, “Shakai hoshō seido no zaisei mondai,” *Sekai shūhō* 32/1 (1950), p. 91.

December 1952, the Lower House approved a “resolution of breakthrough of crisis for the NHI” by providing a government subsidy of at least 20% of the insurance benefit expenses. Finally, to achieve fairness by increasing members in the NHI, the government ruled to provide a three billion yen grant-in-aid for the NHI benefit, approximately 15% of the estimated insurance benefit in the fiscal year 1953.⁹⁷ This increased the members from 26.6 million to 30.5 million from 1954 to 1956.⁹⁸

Financially unstable, the GMHI also demanded a government subsidy for its members’ benefits. In March 1957, the HI law was amended to provide a fixed-amount of subsidy (three billion yen) for the GMHI. As for the AMHI programs, the government provided the subsidy only to cover the administrative fees partly because they were not managed by public authorities.

Concluding Observations

Keeping a concept of “fairness” in mind, the Japanese government made policies of government subsidies for the sickness insurances. When HI was implemented in 1927, the government provided 10% of its cost as the government subsidy primarily for the purpose of covering the administrative expenses. However, HI covered about two million workers or only about 3.3% of the entire population. In order to achieve fairness, the government had two choices: It could provide no subsidy or it could increase the number of insured people that would ultimately lead to universal coverage. The government chose the latter; however, this method of achieving fairness had an important effect of altering the characteristic of HI in the future.

Because Japanese HI programs (social insurance) has an aspect of social principle, it is fair for the government to provide subsidies for public goods like administrative and supervisory work for HI; however, it is highly questionable whether the government should use tax money to pay for part of the cost of insurance benefits. When the NHI was established in 1938, it was implicitly structured to depend on government subsidy even for its insurance benefit. The NHI from the outset adopted a public assistance character.

⁹⁷ Hirose Jirō, “Kokumin kenkō hoken josei kōfu yōkō ni tsuite,” *Kokumin Kenkō hoken* 4/4 (1953), pp. 24–25.

⁹⁸ Ōuchi Hyōe, *Shakai hoshō no tenkai* (Tokyo: Shiseidō, 1961), pp. 30, 102–104.

Under the veil of “social insurance,” insured people demanded more and more medical services as their due right. Consequently, premiums alone could not cover the necessary expenses. In addition to assuming financial responsibility for the entire administrative expense, the government made legal commitments to pay for part of the insurance benefits for the NHI and the GMHI in the 1950s.

To achieve fairness in providing a government subsidy for the sickness insurances, the Japanese government continuously expanded the scope of coverage. By doing so, the Japanese sickness insurances gradually changed their characteristics; fairness within government subsidy is the key concept to understanding Japanese sickness insurances.

Essays

**A “BRIEF ERA OF EXPERIMENTATION”:
HOW THE EARLY MEIJI POLITICAL DEBATES
SHAPED JAPANESE POLITICAL TERMINOLOGY**

Bradly Hammond
Florida International University

Masako Kubota (Advisor)
Florida International University

Overview

During the early Meiji period (1868–1912), Japanese intellectuals fiercely debated such issues as popular suffrage, religious liberty, and press freedom. Simultaneously, they labored to produce fixed Japanese terms for the West’s alien political concepts. In the process, a plethora of alternative terms came into circulation; however, by century’s end, only a select few “standard” terms remained in use. The purpose of this paper is to determine why some of these terms, known as “translation words,” came to be standardized while others did not. The question lies in whether a term’s relevance to the major Japanese political debates of the 1870s and 1880s served as a key factor in determining whether it became standard. My research entailed analyzing the use of the terms 権 (*ken*), 自由 (*jiyū*), and 社会 (*shakai*), the standard terms for “rights,” “liberty,” and “society,” respectively, in the *Meiroke Journal*, the magazine of the foremost Japanese intellectual society of the 1870s. I specifically observed how, unlike alternative terms used to signify the aforementioned political concepts, these standard terms were uniquely suited to the task of illustrating the antagonism between the oligarchical Meiji government and the Japanese people, which was a central theme of the major political debates of the 1870s and 1880s. I therefore argue that the antagonism between the government and the people central to the early Meiji political debates played a crucial role in determining which Japanese words became standardized political terminology.

Introduction

With the fall of the feudal Tokugawa shogunate and the rise of the pro-modernization Meiji government in 1868, Japan opened itself to a vast array of political ideas entirely alien to its experience. Specifically,

Japanese leaders worked to adopt these ideas and the political institutions associated with them in order to keep Japan from being overrun by American and European influence as China had been.¹ But because the Japanese language lacked terms that could readily approximate basic western political ideas like “rights,” “liberty,” or “society,” Japan's intellectuals had immense difficulties in communicating those ideas.

Nowhere were these difficulties more evident than in Japanese intellectuals' original writings on the West and their translations of Western political works. In their respective texts, different intellectuals would often adopt different *honyakugo*, or “translation words,” to render the same concept. Within a brief span of time, however, this wide array of what I will call “alternative translation words” rapidly gave way to a set of “standard translation words.” The translation word 権 (*ken*), for instance, prevailed over the word 通義 (*tsūgi*) as the standard translation for “rights.” Similarly, the translation word 自由 (*jiyū*) prevailed over 自在 (*jizai*) and is used today as the standard Japanese word for “liberty.” The word 社会 (*shakai*), moreover, has come to serve as the standard translation word for “society,” outlasting such alternatives as 交際 (*kōsai*).

A striking commonality among these standard translation words is that several of them came into use between the early 1870s and mid-1890s: a period of intense political debate over popular participation in government, religious and press liberty in Japan. Therefore, this research questions whether the major Japanese political debates of the 1870s played a key role in determining which terms became standard translation words and which ones did not.

The Early Meiji Political Debates

Following the start of the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan's government came under the control of a pro-modernization oligarchy. As this new government embarked on its task of remaking Japan's political institutions in the image of those in the West, divisions arose among Japanese elites over how best to implement western-style government in Japan.² As a result, throughout the 1870s, three major political debates gripped the country.

¹ Kenneth Pyle, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Lexington: Heath, 1996), p. 78.

² Pyle, *The Making of Modern Japan*, pp. 115–118.

First, in 1873 the disaffected oligarch Itagaki Taisuke rallied a “People’s Rights Movement” that demanded the Japanese government cede power to a popularly-elected assembly.³ Second, in 1872 the Meiji government’s efforts to establish an emperor-centric Shinto as the official state religion sparked debates among Japanese intellectuals over religious freedom.⁴ Third, in 1875, publishers and some liberal intellectuals vehemently protested against the government’s Meiji Newspaper Law, which gave the government the power to censor political discussions in Japanese newspapers.⁵

What all of these seemingly disparate political debates had in common was a preoccupation with an antagonism between the Japanese people on the one hand and their oligarchic government on the other. The People’s Rights Movement, for instance, sought to establish a popularly-elected assembly specifically to redistribute power in government away from the oligarchy and into the hands of the public.⁶ The debates over the institution of State Shinto were cast as a conflict between the people and the government over the former’s ability to make its own religious choices without interference from the latter.⁷ Similarly, the debates over The 1875 Meiji Newspaper Law were cast as a conflict between the people and the government over the people’s ability to run their own independent press, and thereby ensure that their voices were not shut out of public affairs by the oligarchy.⁸

Douglas Howland’s seminal *Translating the West* notes the centrality to all of the early Meiji political debates of this antagonism between the Japanese people and the Japanese government. As he writes in the introduction for his seminal *Translating the West*:

³ Sandra Davis, *Intellectual Change and Political Development in Early Modern Japan* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980), pp. 156–158.

⁴ Pyle, *The Making of Modern Japan*, pp. 127–130 and Douglas Howland, *Translating the West* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002), pp. 107–113.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 115–117.

⁶ Davis, *Intellectual Change and Political Development*, p. 158.

⁷ Howland, *Translating the West*, pp. 111–113.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

The point of political argument from the 1860s through the 1880s was...government power in the hands of a self-appointed oligarchy...the dominant confrontation that reappears between the 1860s and 1880s was that between the oligarchic government and the people.⁹

Still, Howland never takes the step of linking the antagonism between the Japanese people and the Japanese government to the process by which translation words were standardized. The hypothesis considered in this paper, however, is that it was precisely the context of this antagonism between the people and the government that drove Japanese intellectuals to adopt certain translation words as standard and discard others.

The Meiroku Journal

In order to put the aforementioned hypothesis to the test, it was necessary to analyze translation word usage in political writings from the early Meiji Period. To that end, this paper relies on content analysis of the *Meiroku Journal*. More specifically, the *Meiroku Journal* is used to analyze the relationship between the early Meiji antagonism between the Japanese people and the Japanese government on the one hand and the standardization of certain translation words on the other hand.

The *Meiroku Journal* consisted of articles on a wide variety of subjects, but tended to specialize in politics. It was written and published by members of the Meiroku Society, an intellectual group made up of scholars who had worked as government officials and translators under the Tokugawa shogunate. This group effectively acted as the engine of Japan's "Civilization and Enlightenment" movement, during which saw Japan's intellectuals studied abroad in Europe and the United States and brought their knowledge back to Japan in the form of popular translations, treatises, and journals on western society and government.¹⁰

The *Meiroku Journal* was selected as this paper's central primary source for three reasons. The first is that the *Meiroku Journal's* content made it ideally suited to looking at the relationship between the early Meiji political context and translation word standardization. As the foremost

⁹ Ibid., p. 4

¹⁰ Albert Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 144–147.

political journal of the early Meiji era, the *Meiroku Journal* contains articles on all of the major political debates of its day, including those on the creation of a popularly-elected assembly, religious liberty, and press freedom mentioned above.¹¹ Furthermore, the *Meiroku Journal* was in publication at a time when translation words were still being experimented with, as is evident from the numerous articles it contains on the development of terms for “liberty” and “rights.”¹²

Second, many of the intellectuals who wrote for the *Meiroku Journal* were also major figures in the development of translation words. Fukuzawa Yukichi, Nakamura Masanao, and Kato Hiroyuki all developed widely-used translation words, and all published in the *Meiroku Journal*. Therefore, the *Journal* also provides an opportunity to see how the intellectuals who created many translation words in the first place were driven by the political context of the early Meiji era to abandon some in favor of standardizing others.¹³

The third reason is that the *Meiroku Journal's* reputation was unsurpassed during the 1870s. Because it was so widely read among Japan's elites and had such a prestigious reputation, the journal left a lasting influence on how Japanese academics, students, and journalists thought about and wrote about the West.¹⁴ As Yanabu writes, “the expressions of the Meiroku Society's members held an overwhelming influence for intellectuals and young people of the time. The neologisms and idioms of the Meiroku Society's members were words that most people seeking new knowledge [of the West] wanted to use.”¹⁵

Rights: Why 権 (*ken*) Instead of 通義 (*tsūgi*)?

Over the course of the 1860s, several translation words came into use for the concept of “rights.” Five terms in particular gained currency:

¹¹ Ibid., p. 147.

¹² Shinichi Yamamuro and Toru Nakanome, *Meiroku Journal* 3 (2009), pp. 225–232, 347–355.

¹³ William Reynolds Braisted, Adachi Yasushi, and Kikuchi Yūji, trans., *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. xxiii–xxxiv.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. xx–xi.

¹⁵ Yanabu Akira, *Honyaku to wa nani ka* (Tokyo: Hosei Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 1985), p. 155.

権利 or 権理 (*kenri*), 権義 (*kengi*), 通権 (*tsūken*), 公権 (*kōken*), and 通義 (*tsūgi*).¹⁶ As the list of terms shows, two types of translation words came into use for “rights”: the four that use the term 権 (*ken*), a character that literally means “power” or “authority,” and the one that does not: 通義 (*tsūgi*).¹⁷ The precedent for using *ken* as a translation word for “rights” derives from W.A.P. Martin’s 1864 Chinese translation *Elements of International Law*, in which *ken* was used “to cover a field of political and legal terminology that included right, power, authority, sovereignty, force, jurisdiction, status, and legitimacy.”¹⁸ Martin’s translation drew on English-Chinese dictionaries of the time, which equated *ken* not only with “rights” but also with “legal power.” This, in turn, can be traced to the equivalence translators drew between *ken* and *regt*, which, in Dutch, means both “rights” and “law.”¹⁹

But given *ken*’s strong connotation of “power” and “authority,” the leading intellectual Fukuzawa Yukichi chose to develop a new translation word for “rights” that omitted *ken* altogether: 通義 (*tsūgi*). *Tsūgi*, which literally means “general moral principle,” purposefully omitted *ken* to avoid conflating “rights” with “power.”²⁰ In fact, in his *Conditions in the West*, Fukuzawa placed his translation for “rights,” *tsūgi*, into direct opposition with *ken*:

随意に人を囚われるの権を一二の管使に付与するか、若しくは無上の君主をして此権柄を握らしむることあらば、諸般の通義一時に廃滅すべし。

If the *ken* to seize people at will were conferred on one or two officials, or if an all-powerful monarch possessed this *kengara*, various *tsūgi* would be destroyed immediately.²¹

¹⁶ Howland, *Translating the West*, pp. 127–128.

¹⁷ Yanabu Akira, *Honyakugo Seiritsu Jijō* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1982), pp. 158–159.

¹⁸ Howland, *Translating the West*, p. 124.

¹⁹ Yanabu, *Honyakugo Seiritsu Jijō*, pp. 163–164.

²⁰ Howland, *Translating the West*, p. 127; and Yanabu, *Honyaku to wa Nanika*, p. 102.

²¹ Yanabu, *Honyaku to wa Nani ka*, p. 104.

In short, for Fukuzawa, *ken* could not be a translation word for rights because he understood *ken* as constituting a threat to rights. This was a sentiment shared by his contemporary, Sakatani Shiroshi, who writes in the *Meiroku Journal* that “The character *ken* is harmful. Advocating *ken* only serves to generate opposing power. This is certainly not the intention of European and American intellectuals when they advocate ‘rights.’ Therefore, [*ken*] is not an appropriate translation [for “rights”].”²²

The question, then, is why *ken* became the standard translation word for rights—specifically, through the word 権利 (*kenri*)—while *tsūgi* fell out of use as a translation word for rights. The answer, I argue, lies in the political context of the early Meiji period and its preoccupation with the antagonism between the Japanese government and the Japanese people. This is most evident in the way that the concept of “rights” was understood in discussions of Itagaki Taisuke’s campaign to establish a national legislature.

In the memorial announcing the formation of his Patriotic Public Party, Itagaki and other leaders of the People’s Rights Movement wrote the following:

According to our observations, the political power in our country lies neither in the imperial household nor in the people but in the officials...Thus, we conclude that the only way is to listen to public opinion; and the only way to do this is to establish a national assembly chosen by the people. This is the way to restrain the power of the officials and to maintain the people’s happiness and security.²³

In this way, the People’s Rights Movement cast the fight for political “rights” not as one that staked a claim to “general moral principles”—the understanding of “rights” embodied in Fukuzawa’s translation word *tsūgi*—but rather as a struggle between the Japanese people and the Meiji oligarchs for power in government.

²² Sakatani Shiroshi, “On Concubines,” *Meiroku Journal* 3 (2009), p. 114; and Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi*, p. 395.

²³ Davis, *Intellectual Chance and Political Development*, p. 158.

This understanding of *ken* as strongly denoting “power” can also be seen in the dictionaries of the period. In the 1868 edition of the Japanese-English dictionary *Waei Gorin Shūsei*, the entry on *ken* reads:

Power, authority, influence,—wo furū, to show one’s power.—wo toru, to hold the power, to have the authority.
—wo hatte mono wo iu, to talk assuming an air of authority.²⁴

Especially significant in this entry is the expression 権を張つてものを言う (*ken wo hatte mono wo iu*), whose adverbial phrase *ken wo haru* was a mainstay in the rhetoric of the People’s Rights Movement. A famous anthem of the People’s Rights Movement, *Minken Inaka Uta*, included the lyrics 権利張れよや国の人。。。権利張れよや (*kenri hare yo ya kuni no hito...kenri hare yo ya*).²⁵ The People’s Rights Movement thus urged the Japanese people not to “claim their general moral principles,” but rather to “assert their power”—specifically, against the “power” or “authority” of government officials.

Simply put, the early Meiji political debates conceived of rights as a form of power, not as abstract principles or moral entitlements. Specifically, the People’s Rights Movement argued for the establishment of a national assembly not because the people were morally entitled to one, but so that it could be used as a tool to temper with the power of the oligarchs who controlled the Japanese government. Yanabu remarks that:

Participants in the People’s Rights Movement sought for themselves power (*ken*) oriented against and essentially equal to the power (*ken*) of the government. What they sought were, first-and-foremost, voting rights and the power one derives from politics. “Rights” such as those one refers to when speaking of “fundamental human rights” were not really at issue.²⁶

²⁴ Yanabu, *Honyakugo Seiritsu Jijō*, p. 160.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 170.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 171.

However, this understanding of rights as a form of power rather than as “general moral principles” was not limited to the rhetoric of the People's Rights Movement. It can also be seen in the broader discourse on the issue of establishing a national assembly carried out in the *Meiroke Journal*. In the second issue of the journal, Kato Hiroyuki offers an exposition on the meaning of “liberalism” in which he writes:

。。。リベラル党はつとめて国権を減縮し、つとめて民権を拡張せんと欲す。

A liberal party seeks to reduce the government's rights, and thereby expand the people's rights.²⁷

Similarly, in an article entitled *An Explanation of Liberty*, Mitsukuri Rinsho writes:

人民の代理者に立法の権を委するに至れば。。。君主の権次第に衰え、人民自由の権ようやくに隆盛に趣くを徴するに足れり。

...since the various nations have severally reached the point of entrusting legislative rights to...the people...this is sufficient to indicate that the rights of kings are gradually declining, while the rights of the people are flourishing at long last.²⁸

Finally, in an article appropriately titled *On the Divergent Interests of Government and People*, Nishimura Shigeki writes:

人民よりこれを言え、これがために束縛に罹り、圧制を受け、少しも己が権理を伸ぶることを得ざれば、これを害と云わざることを得ず。

²⁷ Kato Hiroyuki, “In Response to Mr. Fukuzawa,” *Meiroke Journal* 1 (2009), pp. 66–67.

²⁸ Mitsukuri Rinsho, “An Explanation of Liberty,” *Meiroke Journal* 2 (2009), p. 39; and Braisted, *Meiroke Zasshi*, p. 182.

しかれども政府よりこれを言え、政府の権を殺し、人主の威を減じ、事をなすにつねに挈肘矛盾の患いあれば、これを害と云わざることを得ざるなり。²⁹

From the people's point of view...one must term [expanded government rights] injurious if, because of it, men suffer restrictions, are subjected to repression, or are unable in the least to advance their rights. Yet from the government's point of view, the people's rights must be termed injurious if the rights of the government are consequently destroyed, the power of the ruler is reduced, and the government always fears conflicts with or interference by the people whenever it undertakes anything.³⁰

All three of these excerpts clearly reflect the early Meiji political debates' preoccupation with the antagonism between the Japanese government and the Japanese people. But they also demonstrate how the context of this antagonism drove Japanese intellectuals to adopt *ken* as the standard translation word for "rights" instead of *tsūgi*. Kato, Mitsukuri, and Nishimura all see rights as a form of power over which the people and the government are locked in a zero-sum antagonism. In order for the people to expand their "rights," the government's "rights" must be reduced by an equal extent, and vice-versa. In essence, the early Meiji political debates did not allow for an understanding of rights as "general moral principles," as embodied in Fukuzawa Yukichi's translation word *tsūgi*. What the context of this antagonism demanded instead was a word for rights that carried the meaning of "power" or "authority"—namely, *ken*.

Liberty: Why 自由 (*jiyū*) Instead of 自在 (*jizai*)?

A similar phenomenon can be seen in the standardization of the translation word for liberty. It is curious how the term 自由 (*jiyū*) became the standard translation word for liberty while the alternative term 自在 (*jizai*) fell into disuse. Compared to the other translation words considered

²⁹ Nishimura Shigeki, "On the Divergent Interests of Government and People," *Meiroku Journal* 3 (2009), p. 283.

³⁰ Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi*, p. 480.

in this analysis, *jiyū* has had an especially long and complicated history as a translation word. It first came into use in the 1850s as a translation for the Dutch word for liberty, *vrijheid*. At that point, the Tokugawa shogunate's interpreters began to list *jiyū* in the entry for *vrijheid* in Dutch-Japanese dictionaries alongside terms like *wagamama*, which means "selfishness" and *katte*, or "willfulness."³¹ As a result, *jiyū* took on the negative connotations of those words, which, in turn, led prominent intellectuals like Kato Hiroyuki and Tsuda Mamichi to avoid using it in their writings as a translation word for "liberty."³²

Instead, Kato and Tsuda opted to rely on an alternative term: *jizai*. What is important to understand about *jizai*, however, is that Kato and Tsuda used it to refer to a very limited and conservative conception of liberty. Specifically, they took pains to stress that *jizai* did not provide individuals absolute freedom from external interference by the government. As Howland notes, "in Kato's formulation of...liberty, when tyranny and monarchy no longer provide external limits on the autonomy of the individual...public peace and morality justify legal restrictions upon...liberties."³³ In short, when rendered with Kato and Tsuda's *jizai*, "the liberty of thought" and "the liberty of faith" was understood as reconcilable with the government's circumscription of those liberties.

In the 1870s, however, two of Kato and Tsuda's contemporaries, Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nakamura Masanao, took it upon themselves to rehabilitate the term *jiyū* as a translation word for "liberty." Where Kato and Tsuda took the term *jizai* and imbued it with a conservative understanding of "liberty," Fukuzawa and Nakamura took *jiyū* and grounded it in discussions of rebellions against despotic governments, like the French Revolution. Of this more "liberal" conception of liberty embodied in *jiyū*, Howland observes that "...we are to imagine a self-interested people whose autonomy is defined less by self-rule and more by the exclusion of external interference."³⁴ In short, whereas *jizai* was used to refer to "liberties" allowed within limits set by the government, Fukuzawa and Nakamura use *jiyū* to refer to a more abstract and broader state of being, free from external interference by the government.

³¹ Howland, *Translating the West*, p. 103; and Yanabu, *Honyaku to wa nani ka*, pp. 110–111.

³² Howland, *Translating the West*, p. 104.

³³ Ibid., p. 100.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 103–105.

Now, in order to understand why *jiyū* became the standard translation word for “liberty” instead of *jizai*, it is necessary to return our attention to the context of the early Meiji political debates and, more specifically, to their preoccupation with the antagonism between the Japanese people and the Japanese government. Especially instructive are two early Meiji debates that Howland considers in *Translating the West*: those over the issues of religious liberty and press freedom.

In the fifth issue of the *Meiroku Journal*, Kato Hiroyuki pens a translation entitled “Church and State in the United States” in which he writes:

しこうして合衆国兆民この本権を有するの制度たるや、政府本教のほかになお諸教派を容認する制度の比にあらずして、さらに自由なる制度というべし。合衆国においては、政府、官使を選任するに、そのするところの信奉するところの教派如何を問い、あるいは政府、この教派を保護し、かの教派を妨害するなどのことは、決して許さざるなり。

The system by which the American people possess this basic right may be termed one of complete [religious] liberty (*jiyū*), which is distinct from a system under which other faiths are tolerated alongside a state religion. When officials are appointed in the United States, the government is never allowed to inquire into their religious beliefs. Nor may the government ever protect one church or injure another.³⁵

Although these are technically the words of a Westerner, Kato had a reason for translating this passage in particular. That reason, as discussed above, was the ongoing debate over the 1872 Three Standards of Instruction, through which the Meiji government worked to transform Shintō into a state religion on the one hand and suppress the various Japanese Buddhist sects on the other hand.³⁶ Given the context of this antagonism between the

³⁵ Kato Hiroyuki, “Church and State in the United States,” *Meiroku Journal* 1 (2009), p. 198; and Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi*, p. 68.

³⁶ Howland, *Translating the West*, p. 108.

Japanese people and the Japanese government—which is referenced indirectly through discussion of the United States in Kato's translation—religious liberty is understood not as a liberty to worship within bounds stipulated by the government, but rather as a state of being liberated from government interference in religious matters. Tsuda Mamichi, who writes in the June 1874 article “On Government,” further drives this point home:

教部の教則を定め、教官を任ず、教法の自由に害あり。司法の拷問ある、人民の自由に害あり。文部の出板条件ある、出板の自由に害あり。戸籍の法を設くるや、行事の自由に害あり。

Religious liberty is harmed when [government] offices of religion determine religious regulations and appoint churchmen. The liberty of the people is harmed when law officers employ torture. Press freedom is harmed when the Education Ministry establishes press regulations. Freedom of movement is obstructed when laws for the household registration of the population is imposed.³⁷

This particular writing of Tsuda's comes before the Meiji government's implementation of the 1875 Press Law, which created resentment toward the government among newspaper publishers and sparked a debate among intellectuals over the merits of press freedom due to its censorship of political discussions in newspapers. Indeed, its understanding of press freedom—among other forms of liberty—encapsulates the understanding of liberty seen in press freedom debates after 1875. As Howland notes, the “early Meiji rationale for liberty of the press follows logically from the earlier discussion of liberal freedom... [it is] a politically important source of public power to check or support public affairs.”³⁸ Looking at Tsuda's passage above, it is clear that press freedom is understood not as the freedom to publish what one wishes within limits imposed by the government, but rather as the absence of those limits.

³⁷ Tsuda Mamichi, “On Government,” *Meiroke Journal* 1 (2009), pp. 363–364; and Braisted, *Meiroke Zasshi*, p. 142.

³⁸ Howland, *Translating the West*, p. 115.

In sum, in the early Meiji political context, there was no place for an understanding of liberty in which the people's liberty and government interference could be reconciled, as was the case with the translation word *jizai* developed by Kato and Tsuda. Ironically, the writings of the two men who pioneered the use of *jizai* show that the early Meiji context of the antagonism between the Japanese people and the Japanese government required instead Fukuzawa and Nakamura's translation word *jiyū*, which views government interference as a transgression of the people's liberty. For this reason, I argue that *jiyū* became the standard translation word for "liberty" rather than *jizai*.

Society: Why 社会 (*shakai*) Instead of 交際 (*kōsai*)?

Finally, this paper will consider the emergence of the standard translation word for "society." Of the three Western political concepts considered here, "society" had the largest variety of alternative translation words in circulation prior to the emergence of 社会 (*shakai*) as the standard translation word for "society." Among their number were 交際 (*kōsai*), 人間交際 (*ningen kōsai*), 交わり (*majiwari*), 国 (*kuni*), and 世人 (*sejin*).³⁹ As Fukuzawa Yukichi's translation word for society, *kōsai* was by far the most prominent of these alternatives.⁴⁰ Hence, the intrigue arises in knowing why *shakai* became the standard translation word for society instead of *kōsai*.

Before delving into the standardization of the translation word for society, however, it is necessary to understand that, during the feudal period that immediately preceded the Meiji era, Japanese people did not conceive of themselves as being part of anything approximating the Western notion of "society." As Yanabu notes, "in Japan at the time, there was no such thing as a 'society' outside of 'government' that...shapes policy."⁴¹ Rather than a "society," there were merely *kuni* provinces and *han* feudal domains in which a person's relationships with others were defined by their *mibun*, or feudal class role.⁴²

³⁹ Yanabu, *Honyakugo Seiritsu Jijō*, p. 7.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

⁴¹ Yanabu, *Honyaku to wa nani ka*, pp. 139–141.

⁴² Akira Yanabu, *Shakai—The Translation of a People Who Had No Society*, trans. Thomas Gaubatz (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 52–53.

It is in this context that *kōsai* emerged as a major alternative translation word for “society.” *Kōsai* was a term adopted by Fukuzawa Yukichi that literally means “interaction” or “intercourse.” In this way, the “society” referred to by Fukuzawa’s *kōsai* is defined not as a distinct entity in-and-of-itself, but rather as a set of concrete connections among individual people—an idea much more accessible for Japanese readers than, say, the Western idea of a broad and abstract “civil society.”⁴³ That said, with the coming of the early Meiji political debates and their preoccupation with the antagonism between the Japanese government and the Japanese people, *kōsai*’s shortcomings as a translation word for “society” were laid bare.

Because *kōsai* focuses on person-to-person relationships in defining society, it could not be used to refer to society as a distinct and unified entity that could act upon or be acted upon by the government. The translation word *shakai*, however, refers precisely to that understanding of society. *Shakai* is a compound of two *kanji* characters that literally translates to “a group of groups” or a “collective of collectives.” 社 (*sha*) first entered consistent use in the early Meiji era as a way to refer to small groups of people pursuing a common purpose. Literary organizations were termed *bungaku-sha*; the Japan Red Cross was known as the *Nippon Sekijūji-sha*; and the “Meiroku Society” itself was known as the *Meiroku-sha*.⁴⁴

In 1874, however, the Meiroku Society intellectual Nishi Amane took the innovative step of pairing *sha* with the character 会 (*kai*), which carries a similar meaning of “association” or “collective,” and used the resulting neologism *shakai* as a translation word for “society.”⁴⁵ In particular, in his *Meiroku Journal* article “Criticism of the Essay on the Role of Scholars,” Nishi discusses Fukuzawa Yukichi’s contention that Western scholars should avoid taking government positions in order to avoid compromising their ability to make demands on—or, in Fukuzawa’s phrase, to “stimulate”—the government from the outside. He writes:

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 54–55.

⁴⁴ Yanabu, *Shakai—The Translation of a People Who Had No Society*, pp. 56–57.

⁴⁵ Yanabu, *Honyaku to wa nani ka*, pp. 153–154.

政府はなお人身の生力のごとく、人民はなお外物の
刺衝のごとし。。。すなわち民間志氣の振るうなり
、社会の立つなり、きわめて可なり。⁴⁶

The government is like the life force of the body, and the
people are like an outside stimulus...it is, therefore,
superlatively desirable that the will of the people should
be exercised, and that *shakai* should be formed.⁴⁷

Here, too, the *Meiroke Journal* provides evidence of how the early Meiji political debates' preoccupation with the antagonism between the government and the people drove the standardization of certain translation words over others. As was the case with the standard translation words for "rights" and "liberty," *shakai* was far better suited to describing "society" in the context of the antagonism between the government and the people than *kōsai*. Whereas *kōsai* conceived of society solely in terms of person-to-person relationships, *shakai* rendered society as an abstract "group of groups"—in essence, a "civil society"—that, in Nishi's phrase, exercised the will of the people vis-a-vis the government. Furthermore, this use of *shakai* was evident outside the *Meiroke Journal*. Yamagata Aritomo, one of the leading Meiji oligarchs, spoke of society as a distinct entity that was "maintained" by the government's laws with such phrases as 社会を維持す (*shakai wo iijisu*).⁴⁸

Conclusion

In sum, the early Meiji period is best described as a "brief era of experimentation" in which, initially, a wide variety of translation words entered circulation, only to quickly give way to a single standard translation word for any given Western political concept.⁴⁹ The aim of this research has been to elucidate how the context of the early Meiji political debates drove the standardization of certain translation words over others. Specifically, it

⁴⁶ Nishi Amane, "*Higakusha Shokubun Ron*," *Meiroke Journal* 1 (2009), pp. 80–81.

⁴⁷ Yanabu, *Shakai—The Translation of a People Who Had No Society*, p. 57.

⁴⁸ Howland, *Translating the West*, p. 171.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

posits that the consistent antagonism between the Japanese government and the Japanese people seen in the early Meiji political debates over popular suffrage, religious liberty, and press freedom worked to drive Japanese intellectuals to adopt certain translation words as standard over others. *Ken*, I argue, became the standard translation word for “rights” instead of *tsūgi* because it was better suited to describe rights as a form of “power” over which the government and the people were locked in a zero-sum struggle. Similarly, *Jiyū*—rather than *jizai*—became the standard translation word for “liberty” because it embodies an understanding of the people's liberty as antagonistic toward government interference, rather than as reconcilable with government interference. *Shakai*, finally, became the standard translation word for “society” because it embodied an understanding of society as an abstract “association of associations” that could be placed into antagonism with the government—in essence, a civil society—in a way that *kōsai* could not. In this way, it is evident that the very words Japanese uses to represent fundamental political concepts have been shaped by Japan's unique political experience.

Works Cited

- Craig, Albert M. *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Davis, Sandra T. W. *Intellectual Change and Political Development in Early Modern Japan*. Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1980.
- Howland, Douglas R. *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002.
- Levy, Indra., ed. *Translation in Modern Japan*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- The Meiroku Society. *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*. Trans. William Reynolds Braisted, Adachi Yasushi, and Kikuchi Yūji. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Pyle, Kenneth B. *The Making of Modern Japan*. Lexington: Heath, 1996.
- Yanabu, Akira. *Honyakugo seiritsu jijō*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982.
- _____. *Honyakugo no ronri: gengo ni miru nihon bunka no kōzō*. Tokyo: Hōsei University Press, 1972.
- _____. *Honyaku to wa nani ka*. Tokyo: Hosei Daigaku Press, 1976.
- _____. *Shakai—The Translation of a People Who Had No Society*, trans. Thomas Gaubatz. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Yamamuro Shinichi and Nakanome Toru. *Meiroku Zasshi* Vol. 1. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010.
- _____. *Meiroku Zasshi Volume 2*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010.
- _____. *Meiroku Zasshi Volume 3*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2010.

**THE NIGHT CRANE:
NUN ABUTSU'S *YORU NO TSURU*
INTRODUCED, TRANSLATED, AND ANNOTATED**

Eric Esteban
University of Florida

Introduction

Near the end of her life, the woman known in history as Nun Abutsu (1222–1283) authored the epistolary *Yoru no tsuru* (The Night Crane), a poetic treatise (*karon*) in a genre largely dominated by men. Together with her best-known work, *Izayoi nikki* (The Diary of the Sixteenth-Night Moon, 1283), *Yoru no tsuru* became the capstone to not only her literary career as a female poet and scholar of the mid-Kamakura period (1185–1333) but also her political career as consort to a scion of Japan's premier poetry house, the Mikohidari (also referred to as the Mikosa or Nijō). Indeed, despite the fact that women during the medieval age were not as prolific in the genres of tales (*monogatari*) and memoirs (*nikki*) as their Heian predecessors, it would be a disservice to women like Abutsu to claim that women's literature was on the decline.

It seems that Abutsu did not adopt the name by which we now know her until she took the tonsure in 1275 at the death of Fujiwara no Tameie (1198–1275). No information remains of Nun Abutsu's genealogy except that she was adopted by Taira no Norishige. As a provincial governor who provided wet nurses (*menoto*) to descendants of Retired Emperor Takakura (1161–1181; reigned 1168–1180), Norishige placed his teenage daughter into service with the cloistered emperor's granddaughter Princess Ankamon'in (1209–1283). Thus, Abutsu's earlier sobriquets while in court service always included the name of her patron: Ankamon'in no Echizen, Ankamon'in no Uemon no Suke, and Ankamon'in no Shijō.¹

Abutsu wrote of her youth through *Utatane* (Fitful Slumbers, ca. 1238), a retrospective memoir that describes a love affair with a high-ranking noble.² According to her account, she flees from the palace and receives the

¹ John R. Wallace, "Abutsu-ni," *Medieval Japanese Writers*, ed. Steven D. Carter (Detroit: The Gale Group, 1999), p. 4.

² For a translation of *Utatane*, see John R. Wallace, "Fitful Slumbers: Nun Abutsu's *Utatane*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 43/4 (1988), pp. 391–398.

tonsure, but she eventually returns to continue her palace service.³ After this liminal period of which little factual evidence exists, Abutsu relocated to Hokkeji to live as a lay nun in 1250.⁴ Christina Laffin describes this time in her life as a “hiatus from court life” where she continues to sharpen her knowledge of *The Tale of Genji* through mentoring other women at the Nara-based temple, but Laffin notes that she never truly ended her service to Ankamon’in.⁵ Her scholarly devotion to poetry and the *Genji* was soon rewarded when Abbess Jizen recommended Abutsu to the Mikohidari heir Tameie and his daughter Go-Saga’in Dainagon no Suke (1233–1263), who needed someone to make a transcription of the *Genji*.⁶ It was hence through this pivotal recommendation that Nun Abutsu entered the Mikohidari poetic tradition through a professional and romantic relationship with its current heir.

Asukai no Masaari’s diary *Saga no kayoi* (Visits to Saga, 1269) shows that Abutsu’s career flourished in the 1260s, a time when she was a highly regarded lecturer of the *Genji* and lived with the aging yet youthfully

³ To better set the tone for her account, Abutsu makes extensive allusions to *The Tale of Genji*. Given the nature of these allusions, one must assume Nun Abutsu obtained a copy of the masterpiece to use at her disposal. On the reception of the character Ukifune in *Genji*, see for example Joshua S. Mostow, “On Becoming Ukifune: Autobiographical Heroines in Heian and Kamakura Literature,” in *Crossing the Bridge: Comparative Essays on Medieval European and Heian Japanese Women Writers*, ed. Barbara Stevenson and Cynthia Ho (New York: Palgrave, 2000); or Christina Laffin, “Lover and Nun,” in *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women: Politics, Personality, and Literary Production in the Life of Nun Abutsu* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i, 2013), pp. 60–98.

⁴ Much of this biographical information scholars have gleaned from *Genshō waka kuden* (The Oral Teachings of Genshō on Poetry, ca. 1293–1299). Genshō (1224–1303) was Abutsu’s stepson. Christian Ratliff, “Telling Secrets: *Mumyōzōshi*, Abutsu, and the Transmission of Literary Expertise by Women,” *Jinbunkenkyū*: Kanagawa Daigaku Jinbun Gakkaishi (2009), pp. 43–44.

⁵ Christina Laffin, *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women: Politics, Personality, and Literary Production in the Life of Nun Abutsu* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i, 2013), p. 102.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

joyful Tameie in his Ogura villa.⁷ Although no extant documentation exists to confirm that Abutsu was Tameie's principal wife,⁸ Wallace, Laffin, McCullough, and Tabuchi consider her residence with Tameie and his separation from his former primary wife, the Daughter of Utsunomiya no Yoritsuna (1200–1279), as markers of Abutsu's transition from consort to wife.⁹ She bore him three sons at this time: Jōgaku (b. 1258), Tamesuke (1263–1328), and Tamemori (1265–1328). Her sons were at a distinct political and hereditary disadvantage against Tameie's three other sons from his previous marriage: Tameuji (1222–1286), Genshō (1224–1303), and Tamenori (1227–1279). By 1256, Tameie had already willed to his eldest son Tameuji the rights to the lucrative Hosokawa estate, the primary source of Mikohidari income and repository of its most treasured documents.

As a scribe, copyist, and established poet who undoubtedly had access to the Mikohidari manuscripts, Abutsu rightfully felt that her own sons deserved, at least partially, Tameie's inheritance. In 1271, Abutsu ambitiously transferred some of these documents to her other residence, the Hokurin of the Jimyō'in estate, and by the following year she had convinced Tameie to bequeath the rights to the Hosokawa estate to her son Tamesuke instead. Thus began the dispute between Tameuji and his stepmother that would persist even after Abutsu's death and end with the division of the Mikohidari into three lines of succession: the Nijō branch of Tameuji, the Kyōgoku branch of Tamenori, and the Reizei branch of Tamesuke.

⁷ Wallace, "Abutsu-ni," p. 6.

⁸ Hulvey states that, "no evidence survives to ascertain if she ever became Tameie's principal wife," in "Abutsu-ni" in *Japanese Women Writers: A Biocritical Sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), p. 4; Hulvey refers to Abutsu-ni as "onna aruji" on p. 5 (female head of household) Onodera, p. 12 cites her twice as "concubine" (*sokushitsu*) and never refers to her as "wife" or otherwise. Onodera Shō, "Yoru no tsuru ni miru Abutsu-ni no karon no kōsatsu," *Kokugo kokubun* 8 (1971), pp. 16–24.

⁹ Wallace, *Utatane*, p. 392; Laffin, *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women*, p. 115; Tabuchi Kumiko, *Abutsu-ni*, Jinbutsu sōsho (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2009), pp. 261, 81–82; Helen Craig McCullough, *Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 289.

The Mikohidari

Although regarded as the first widely circulated and still extant *karon* written by a woman,¹⁰ Nun Abutsu's treatise serves as proof that the author kept the tradition of the Mikohidari poetry school when placed in the context of treatises written by men from Tameie's lineage. The Mikohidari was founded by Fujiwara Nagaie (1005–1064), who was the sixth son of the powerful courtier Fujiwara Michinaga (966–1027), but the transmission of authority and specialized knowledge became increasingly important closer to the Kamakura period (1185–1333). The Mikohidari, which housed the innovators of the twelfth century, rivaled the Rokujō faction, known as scholarly traditionalists, in two types of opportunities for recognition in court poetry life: the chance to judge poetry contests and the high honor of compiling royal anthologies.¹¹

The Mikohidari household and literary collection boasted a lineage of the period's renowned poets: the great arbiter of poetry Fujiwara Shunzei (1114–1204), his son the scholarly Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241), and finally his grandson Fujiwara Tameie. Given the wealth of knowledge amassed in the past century by three generations of preeminent court poets, Abutsu's son Tamesuke had much to lose had it not been for the resourcefulness of his mother. After Tameie's death in 1275, Abutsu sued Tameuji to uphold the legitimacy of the late Tameie's revised will that bequeathed the Hosokawa estate to Tamesuke after first having left the estate to his eldest son Tameuji. Abutsu weighed her options between the law of the royal court in the capital and the law of the shogunate at Kamakura, the latter of which dealt with steward's rights and recognized revisions to a will.¹² Her strenuous journey to Kamakura in 1279 at an advanced age to make the case for her son was recorded in her well-known diary *Izayoi nikki*. The final section of her diary can be read as a legal brief arguing the case of her family's rights to inherit the Hosokawa estate and thus the Mikohidari school. This brief is written completely in an obsolete form of verse, the *chōka* (long poem), the form that provides enough space to describe the merits of her son and her case.

¹⁰ Two other *karon* written by women precede *Yoru no tsuru: Waka shiki* by Princess Hiko and *Koshibe zenni shōsoku* by Shunzei's Daughter. For a discussion of these works, see Ratcliff, pp. 25–50.

¹¹ Robert Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1961), p. 237.

¹² Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, pp. 344–345.

Abutsu passed away in 1283 before the military government at Kamakura ruled in favor of Reizei Tamesuke's steward rights to the Hosokawa estate eight years later.¹³ However, the court also ruled that the Nijō faction of Tameuji's line reserved the rights of the Mikohidari poetic documents. Before her death, Abutsu tried to prevent her stepson from regaining all the household's precious manuscripts. Scholars cite a passage from Kitabatake no Chikafusa's (1293–1354) *Kokinshū jochū* (Annotation to the *Kokinshū* Preface, 1346–1370):

There are two chests with writings about waka composition by Lord Teika. One has a picture of a cormorant inlaid on the lid, the other a picture of a heron. The chests, called "Cormorant" and "Heron," did not leave Lord Tameie's side. When he died, her ladyship, the nun Abutsu, took the poetic treatises with her when she went to Kamakura. The heir, Lord Tameuji, later lodged a suit against her, and because of this Kameyama In issued a proclamation to the military government in Kamakura. When the time came for the disputed documents to be given to Tameuji, an old catalogue was used to ensure that all the documents were handed over. But the papers contained in the Cormorant and Heron must not have been well known to his lordship, because they were kept back while other papers were substituted and passed over in their place.¹⁴

Despite these precautions made around the time of her trip to Kamakura, Abutsu would never know if her political efforts were enough to ensure the rights of her son and ultimately defend her stance as a Mikohidari poet. Consequently, the time was ripe for her to commit to paper a *karon* of her own poetic knowledge passed down through Tameie's lineage.

The Cormorant, Heron, and Crane

Compared to other *karon*, *Yoru no tsuru* was given an evocative title. Firstly, the work's titular image, a crane at night, is a metaphor of deep

¹³ Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, pp. 344–345.

¹⁴ Konishi Jin'ichi, *A History of Japanese Literature: The High Middle Ages*, trans. Aileen Gatten, vol. 3 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ., 1991), pp. 259–260.

maternal love. Nun Abutsu likens herself to a crane in her *chōka* at the end of *The Diary of the Sixteenth-Night Moon*:

<i>ko o omofu tote</i>	Longing for her beloved child,
<i>yoru no tsuru</i>	like a crane at night,
<i>nakunaku miyako</i>	she weeps as she departs
<i>ideshikado</i>	from the capital.
<i>mi wa kazu narazu</i>	She is of humble stature
<i>Kamakura no</i>	in Kamakura,
<i>yo no matsurigoto</i>	where many affairs of state
<i>shigekereba</i>	grow thick and rampant. ¹⁵

This is not the first time a Mikohidari used the image of a crane to elicit pity. Fujiwara Shunzei wrote a poem to Fujiwara Sadanaga (1149–1195) on behalf of his son Teika, who is referred to as a “reed-dwelling crane.” Shunzei asked for his son to be pardoned by Emperor Go-Toba after one year had passed since Teika’s misconduct at the palace.¹⁶

Secondly, with the establishment of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū in 1063, the crane became a symbol of Kamakura, where Abutsu waited for adjudication regarding the Hosokawa estate and likely finished writing *Yoru no tsuru*.¹⁷ Thirdly, Abutsu might have chosen this aquatic bird to symbolically associate her work with the two previously mentioned chests kept from Tameuji, the Cormorant and Heron, which stored poetry manuscripts that would legitimize authority for whichever poetry faction retained them. Truly, Abutsu made clear that although she was not a direct descendant of the celebrated poets Shunzei and Teika, her claim to the Mikohidari tradition for her son was not to be challenged even after Tameie’s death.

Nun Abutsu’s *karon* was known by other names as well. Eleven texts of *Yoru no tsuru* have been identified, the names of which are mostly

¹⁵ Yanase Kazuo and Takei Kazuto, *Izayoi nikki, Yoru no tsuru chūshaku*, (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1986), p. 278.

¹⁶ The poem reads, “The year drew to a close / with the reed dwelling crane / still wandering on cloud paths. / Now will spring mists, too / be allowed to block its way?” Translated by Robert Huey, *The Making of Shinkokinshū*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), p. 61.

¹⁷ Yanase and Takei, *Izayoi nikki*, p. 286.

variations on *Abutsu kuden* (Abutsu's Oral Teachings).¹⁸ Other titles refer to Nun Abutsu's court name, Ankamon'in no Shijō, while one refers to her writing as *hiden* (secret teachings). Nevertheless, these various titles indicate that in the centuries following her death, her teachings were widely disseminated, making *Yoru no tsuru* the first *karon* by a woman to have such a widespread impact on poetic composition.

Dating

One could interpret Abutsu's writing, given the frequency of her indirect references to Tameie, as evidence that Tameie had already died at the time of her writing. Thus, one can place with some certainty the *terminus a quo* for the treatise after Tameie's death in 1275. A debate persists, however, whether or not she finished her work before her journey to Kamakura in 1279. Yanase and Takei believe she finished *Yoru no tsuru* while she was in Kamakura.¹⁹ The scholars reference the end of the treatise in which she likens herself to "a rotting tree in a valley" (*tani no kuchiki*) and do not believe it is mere coincidence that in *Izayoi nikki* she records that she finds lodging near Kamakura called Tsukikage (Moonlight) Valley.²⁰ Tabuchi does not consider this concrete evidence as the phrase could simply be a poetic phrase referencing her old age or her own self-deprecation.²¹ No examples for this particular phrase, however, can be found in *Shinpen kokka taikan*, perhaps because the phrase is six syllables (*jiamari*) and therefore inconvenient to use in the five-seven syllabic prosody of *waka*.²² Laffin states the work was finished by 1276 given her regular attendance at poetry contests.²³ Most biographies on Nun Abutsu date the composition of *Yoru no tsuru* to circa 1279.

¹⁸ For a textual history of these eleven texts, see Yanase and Takei, eds. *Izayoi nikki, Yoru no tsuru chūshaku* (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1986), pp. 468–472.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 188.

²¹ Tabuchi, *Abutsu-ni*, p. 138.

²² The expression *tani no mumoreki* (a tree buried in obscurity) is quite similar to the phrase and is found in *Senzaishū* 1163 [Collection of One-Thousand Years; abbreviated as SZS] (1187). A less similar expression, *miyamagakure no kuchiki* (a rotting tree hidden in the mountains), can be found in *Kokinshū* 875 [Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern; abbreviated as KKS] (ca. 905); Yanase and Takei, *Izayoi nikki*, p. 446.

²³ Laffin, *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women*, p. 121.

Patronage

If *Yoru no tsuru* represents a transmission of poetic knowledge, then for whom was Abutsu's treatise intended? To begin, the writing style of her epistle sheds some light on the matter. Abutsu makes use of the polite supplementary verb *sōrō*, a copula which humbles the writer before the recipient. Nevertheless, one can assume that the patron of her treatise was a high-ranking individual. In the preface to *Yoru no tsuru*, she writes that her work is intended for "someone difficult to refuse" (*sarigataki hito*) and instructs that it never be shown to anyone else. Given that not all medieval poets of established reputation wrote poetic treatises, Christian Ratcliff considers this solicitation as a hallmark of the *karon* genre. He writes, "Rather, such adjudications were solicited from or independently produced by a limited number of men (usually senior poets) who were recognized as arbiters of poetic production, through combinations of personal achievement, literary lineage, or familial prestige."²⁴ The Mikohidari *karon* which precede *Yoru no tsuru*, however, were intended for the writers' pupils. Such was the case for Teika's *Maigetsushō*, which was purportedly addressed to Minamoto Sanetomo²⁵ (1182–1219), as well as Tameie's *Eiga no ittei*, which was to be used as poetic instruction for his son Tamesuke.²⁶

The identity of Nun Abutsu's *sarigataki hito* remains unknown, but scholarship hitherto on this topic has given a descriptive profile. The aforementioned use of humble language throughout the work suggests the patron is of high rank. Furthermore, the person who commissioned the work is likely a young woman. Not only has Abutsu addressed a woman before in *Menoto no fumi*, internal evidence in *Yoru no tsuru* lends to the argument for a female patron. Abutsu devotes the final section of her treatise to impromptu poetic exchanges and cites the encounters of Koshikibu no Naishi (d. 1025) and Suō no Naishi (d. 1110), female court poets who were able to outwit noblemen through swift poetic composition. Closing her work with this topic not only alludes to her court experience serving Princess Ankamon'in, but

²⁴ Ratcliff, p. 26.

²⁵ Robert Brower, "Fujiwara teika's *maigetsushō*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40/4 (1985), p. 401.

²⁶ Robert Brower, "The Foremost Style of Poetic Composition: Fujiwara Tameie's *Eiga no ittei*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36/4 (1987), p. 393.

also tailors her work to suit the concerns of an aristocratic woman whose reputation hinged on her ability to compose poetry.²⁷

In light of this profile—a woman of high rank young enough to be concerned with handling impromptu poetic responses—scholars have attempted to pinpoint a name for the patron of Abutsu's *karon*. Hosoya Naoki proposed that Abutsu wrote *Yoru no tsuru* for the principal wife (*kita no kata*) of the seventh shogun, Prince Koreyasu (d. 1326) by citing an account of her pedagogical relationship to this woman in Kamakura recorded in a later, somewhat fictionalized, narrative of her life known as *Abutsu Azuma kudari* (Abutsu's Journey East).²⁸ This implies that the patron was based not in the capital, but in the shogunate base of Kamakura. Hosoya's argument remained largely unchallenged throughout the rest of the twentieth century until it was questioned by Tabuchi Kumiko in the last decade. Tabuchi contends that if the woman who commissioned the work had been based in Kamakura, notably where the families of shogun greatly needed the cultural expertise of those living in the capital, then there would be no reason for her to write with such deference to the recipient.²⁹

A patron based in the capital, therefore, was more likely to be found within the social circle of either Princess Ankamon'in or the Ichijō family.³⁰ Abutsu entered the high profile Ichijō social circle after Tameie's death in 1275 through invitations to two poetry contests: the *Kenji gannen kugatsu jūsan'ya sesshōke jūban utaawase* (First Year of Kenji Ninth Month Thirteenth Night Regental House Poetry Contest in Ten Rounds) and the *Jūshichiban shiikaawase* (Chinese and Japanese Poetry Contest in Seventeen Rounds).³¹ Such invitations could certainly have led to an appeal by an Ichijō woman to Abutsu to codify her poetic knowledge into a *karon*. Nevertheless, one cannot forget the tenderness of the work's titular image and conclude that regardless of the woman's rank in court society, Abutsu likely thought fondly of her patron, perhaps to the extent that a mother would feel for her daughter. Within her treatise, Abutsu suddenly breaks from her didactic tone to reveal a more frank and intimate conversation with her—"For now, then, I shall write and attach here only what I can recall for certain while your

²⁷ Laffin, *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women*, p. 123.

²⁸ Hosoya Naoki, *Chūsei karon no kenkyū* (Kasama shoin 1976), p. 344.

²⁹ Tabuchi, *Abutsu-ni*, pp. 136–137.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Laffin, *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women*, p. 117.

messenger is here.”³² Such a relationship deepens the meaning of *sarigataki*, which, although at first can be attributed to the author’s deference to the addressee, can be better translated as “difficult to separate from.”

Late-Medieval Realism

What is clear from *The Night Crane* is that Abutsu emulates Tameie and his predecessors through her frequent use of indirect quotations to past treatises and the occasional duplication of example poems. As copyist for Tameie, it is not difficult to imagine she was charged with the task of copying these documents treasured by the Mikohidari. Her instructions mirror most of all the advice found in Tameie’s *Eiga no ittei*: she never mentions him by name but instead closes her remarks with phrases such as “so I had heard” (*tote soraiki*). However, one must emphasize that her work should not be seen as a mere iteration of *Eiga no ittei*—Abutsu, to a certain extent, does make original observations. Therefore, her extensive references to Mikohidari teachings can be better characterized as an assertion of her authority as a poetic commentator.

One can argue that the beauty of poetry is found in its ambiguity of expression, in which metaphors and hyperboles result in a multi-layered depth of meaning, or the fanciful imagination of a poet evokes profoundly different emotions for different readers. Accordingly, a modern reader would likely give pause when Abutsu instructs her pupil not to compose on what is not true and instead to compose on reality.³³ She advises against what she refers to as *soragoto* (literally, “empty words”), which can be interpreted to mean fictitious elements or falsehoods, and by association, the use of simile or metaphor.³⁴ She advocates for poems on the four seasons which describe “matters just as they are” (*ari no mama no koto*)—perhaps a response to the prevailing approach to poetry which favored conventional, elegant imagery which may or not be faithfully descriptive.

In tracing the development of poetry from the Mid-Classical Period (1100-1241) to the Late Classical Period (1241–1350), Brower and Miner might agree with the observation that Nun Abutsu lived during a transitional period of poetic ideals. The Mid-Classical Period of Japanese court poetry saw an increase in the esthetic distance between the poet and the speaker of

³² Yanase and Takei, *Izayoi nikki*, p. 390.

³³ See Translation Section XII.

³⁴ Morimoto Motoko, *Izayoi nikki, Yoru no tsuru zenchūshaku* (Tokyo: kōdansha, 1966), p. 207.

a poem as well as a newfound appreciation for profundity of expression, valued by Mikohidari luminaries Shunzei and Teika.³⁵ In contrast, poets of the Late Classical Period sought after an ideal of verisimilitude, which Brower and Miner describe as, “the desire of these poets to make distinctions and discriminations, to emphasize particularity, and above all to convey the actuality of a moment of intense experience, whether of nature or in the course of a love affair.”³⁶

In terms of poetic style, the Nijō, generally speaking, followed the orthodox approach advocated by Tameie and his forefathers, using only traditional diction in elegant verses, as well as the prescriptive list of *nushi aru kotoba* set by Tameie in *Eiga no ittei*.³⁷ Taking a more innovative stance, the Kyōgoku-Reizei used unostentatious diction and advocated describing matters “just as they are” (*ari no mama*) even at the risk of losing elegance; they had less concern for Tameie’s prohibitions.³⁸ The Nijō scoffed at this forthright approach to composition. On the style of Kyōgoku Tamekane (1254–1332), an anonymous Nijō author writes in *Nomori no kagami* (The Fieldguard’s Mirror, 1295?), “Tamekane teaches that one should express one’s feelings directly just as one likes; instead of adorning his feelings with words, he composes as if he were writing prose.”³⁹ The poets of the Kyōgoku-Reizei alliance would not have the literary authority and solidarity as poetic households if not for the actions of Nun Abutsu in 1279. Consequently, her prescriptive stance to compose on reality can be seen as evidence of the burgeoning ideal of truthfulness that would be fully realized in the decades following her lifetime.

Discussion

From both a historical and literary perspective, Nun Abutsu left an enduring impression that would last through the rest of Japan’s medieval period—an impression perhaps not sufficiently discussed in Western scholarship. One can concede that much of Nun Abutsu’s legacy lies not in widely-praised poetry or premier literary commentary but rather in her politically astute and at the same time motherly maneuvers during the

³⁵ Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 299.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

³⁷ Konishi, p. 390.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Steven D. Carter, *Waiting for the Wind: Thirty-Six Poets of Japan’s Late Medieval Age* (New York: Columbia UP, 1989), p. xvi.

turbulence of the Kamakura period. Yet even with respect to the famous Mikohidari lawsuit, which Carter claims to be “one of the longest and most all-encompassing literary disputes in world history,” biographical evidence paints two different pictures.⁴⁰

Her stepson Genshō of the Nijō writes her into history as an infamous woman with a sinfully cunning mind, while Asukai no Masaari shows a scholarly woman who commanded respect and was the beloved of an heir to the Mikohidari. Putting these portrayals aside, the fact remains that Abutsu secured for her son Tamesuke the literary authority needed to establish the Reizei poetic household; unquestionably, she was the founder of the Reizei branch. It is to Abutsu that we owe the variation in approaches to poetic composition seen towards the end of the medieval period, and without her, Brower and Miner hazard the notion that “Japanese Court poetry might have passed serenely into extinction.”⁴¹ In fact, the Reizei household stands to this day as the only remaining poetry house among the three branches of the Mikohidari, currently headed by Reizei Tamehito (1944–). Their treasured collection was initially catalogued in 1980 with the establishment of the Reizei Family Shiguretei Library and boasts tens of thousands of documents.⁴²

This is not to de-emphasize her personal literary contributions to the Japanese canon, however. Among the hundreds of her extant compositions, a respectable forty-eight of them were included in the last eleven of Japan’s royal anthologies.⁴³ In writing *The Night Crane*, she crosses the boundaries of gender by entering a male-dominated genre and opens a didactic conversation between two women. Her scholarly efforts as a lecturer of *Genji* and her service to Princess Ankamon’in were vital assets to her literary success, and in this scholarly devotion we are reminded of the Heian author of the *Genji*, Murasaki Shikibu, who is remembered for her unorthodox knowledge of classical Chinese. *The Night Crane* represents the finely wrought philosophy of the Mikohidari school, yet Abutsu’s original commentary foreshadows the development of a new style to be practiced by the Kyōgoku-Reizei faction.

⁴⁰ Carter, p. xii.

⁴¹ Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 344.

⁴² Robert Brower, “The Reizei Family Documents,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 36/4 (1981), p. 446. The Reizei Shiguretei Bunko now has a website: <http://reizeike.jp/>.

⁴³ Iketa Kazuko. “Kajin Abutsu-ni.” *Chūō daigaku kokubun* 13 (1970), p. 38.

Nun Abutsu's commentary was well-received by literary critics across both poetic factions and across centuries following the completion of *Yoru no tsuru*. Like other treatises on poetry written by the eminent men who came before her, her work was disseminated and cited by critics throughout the medieval period. During the Nanbokuchō period, *renga* poet Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–1388) cites *The Night Crane* in his own treatise, *Kinrai futei* (Poetic Styles of the Recent Present, 1387).⁴⁴

Her treatise later reached readership in Japan's Kantō region by the 15th century as evidenced by the writing of priest Junsō in his *Ungyoku wakashō* (Notes on the Collection of Cloud Jewels), a commentary on his personal poetry collection of the same name.⁴⁵ By the Sengoku period (1467–1603), the warrior and poet Hosokawa Yūsai (1534–1610) named *The Night Crane* as one of the *Waka rokubushō*, six essential writings on poetry which should be kept at one's side.⁴⁶ Her work would continue to influence literary criticism into the Edo period (1603–1868), in which it was often referred to as *Abutsu's Oral Teachings*.

Invariably, Nun Abutsu was acclaimed as a Mikohidari poet not merely because she was associated with its final heir Tameie, but because she established an enduring literary authority of her own through *The Night Crane*. Shunzei and Teika's maxim "*kotoba furuku, kokoro atarashi*" (old diction, new treatment) rings true for the literary career of Abutsu and Japanese poetry as a whole, for we find that medieval poets were given the difficult task of striking a balance between tradition and originality. They extolled poems from the golden age of the *Kokinshū* yet yearned to establish new aesthetics while they felt the pressure of political change. *The Night Crane* represents Nun Abutsu's success in codifying her experience as a poet who managed to meet this challenge, and it is through this work that we see that medieval Japan saw no shortage of innovative thought in the realm of court poetry.

Note on Translation

Yoru no tsuru was partially translated into English by Satō Hiroaki in 2007.⁴⁷ The present complete translation relies on the text found in Yanase

⁴⁴ Tabuchi, *Abutsu-ni*, p. 235.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 236.

⁴⁷ Satō Hiroaki, *Japanese Women Poets: An Anthology* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2007), pp. 116–122.

Kazuo and Takei Kazuto, ed., *Izayoi nikki, Yoru no tsuru chūshaku*. This edition has detailed annotations as well as a modern Japanese translation. The translation follows the sections and headings devised by Yanase and Takei. Additionally, the commentary found in Yanase Kazuo, ed., *Abutsu-ni zenhū*, was occasionally consulted when interpreting certain passages.

THE NIGHT CRANE

I. Preface

Though I had been told again and again to “teach how to compose poetry” by someone difficult to refuse I respectfully declined, explaining that I could teach no more or no less than what I truly understood. Still the appeals saw no end, so I was left no choice but to write down what I could without direction. This is not to be shown to anyone else under any circumstances.

II. The Way of Poetry and Reading

The masters of the Way of Yamato Poetry have afforded us, broadly speaking, the availability of works passed down for future generations,⁴⁸ the recreations belonging to poetry houses,⁴⁹ and the knowledge of every learned individual. Therefore, I, equipped with poor words, do not know where I should begin now after so long. As for expressions such as “moon from a distance” (*hisakata no tsuki*), “foot aching mountain” (*ashihiki no yama*), “jeweled spear path” (*tamaboko no michi*), “dreams black as lily seeds” (*mubatama no yume*),⁵⁰ or “shining red” (*akanesasu*) to describe “the rising sun” (*idzuru hi*), the same seems to be said whichever place-name glossary you choose. I advise you to look closely upon these old texts.

Though before you is the little left I can remember in my dotage of what I happened to hear from those who are called upon to compose poems,⁵¹ I fear my words are all but mere fallacies.

⁴⁸ Refers to standard poetry manuals or introductory studies.

⁴⁹ Refers to secret teachings exclusive to the Mikohidari family.

⁵⁰ These phrases are commonly used pillow words (*makura kotoba*). Pillow words in Japanese poetry are epithets typically five syllables in length used to enhance the tone of a poem, but their original meanings are now unclear.

⁵¹ In other words, Tameie.

III. Grasping the Essence of a Topic

I recall that [Fujiwara no Ason] Kiyosuke once wrote in his treatise, *Selected Beginner Studies*,⁵² “If one is to compose poetry, then one must first fully comprehend the essence (*kokoro*) of a topic.” Additionally, “It is most unappealing to exhaust all of one’s choice words in the upper verse and leave nothing of substance to say in the lower verse, thus resulting in a disconnected poem,” or so it was said. He continues, “Consider someone who begins a poem on the topic of mountain villa deutzias⁵³ with a quite amusing line”:

<i>yamazato no</i>	Along the fence
<i>kakiho ni sakeru</i>	of a mountain hamlet bloom
<i>unohana wa</i>	these deutzias

In an attempt to invent a proper ending, he writes,

<i>wakikabe nureru</i>	as would lacquer
<i>kokochi koso sure</i>	on a delicate wall.

Following these suggestions, even if one were to exhaust the topical words in the upper verse, I do not find it such a terrible prospect. Moreover, I know of skillful poets who could compose poetry without explicit reference to the topic, especially compound topics⁵⁴ of love. I am reminded of a poem by Lord Teika, the Kyogoku Middle Counselor, on the topic of “Love in which you plan to meet but never do”:

<i>iro kawaru</i>	Color changing
<i>Mino no nakayama</i>	Mino mountains,
<i>akikoete</i>	as autumn passes through,
<i>mata tohokazaru</i>	once again grow distant—
<i>afusaka no seki</i>	a barrier to meeting.

⁵² *Shogakushō*, 初学抄, was written during the late Heian period (794–1185) by Fujiwara Kiyosuke (1104–1177), leader of the Rokujō school, rivals of the Mikohidari school. It was copied by Fujiwara Tameie.

⁵³ For *sanka unohana*, 山家卯花, see *Goshūishū* 171 [Later Collection of Gleanings; abbreviated as GSIS] (1086) for one extant example of a poem incorporating this topic.

⁵⁴ Two examples of *musubi dai*, 結題, are in this section: “mountain villa deutzias” (*sanka unohana*) and “love in which you plan to meet but never do” 遇不遇恋 (*ahite awazaru koi*).

He composed many poems of this nature. If it were up to me in my ineptitude, I might have said,

<i>afute awazaru</i>	to meet but never meeting—
<i>koi zo kurushiki</i>	how painful is this love! ⁵⁵

IV. The Essence of a Topic and the Classical Tradition

Furthermore, I believe Lord Shunzei, Master of the Dowager Empress's Household Office, composed poems of this sort on the topic of Anticipated or Promised Love⁵⁶:

<i>omohikiya</i> ⁵⁷	Did I ever think,
<i>shidji no hashigaki</i>	counting the nights on this shaft bench
<i>kakitsumete</i>	till finally we meet,
<i>momoyo mo onaji</i>	the hundredth would be no different:
<i>maronesen to wa</i> ⁵⁸	a restless night without you.

It tells the tale of a woman refusing to marry a man unless he visits for one-hundred nights and sleeps upon the shaft bench of his carriage. The man carved upon the wood, marking each visit until his vigil reached ninety-nine nights, but by the hundredth night an unexpected obstacle prevented him from visiting. Few have not heard of this tale, however, so I shall say no more.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ This couplet is not set off in the original text, but rather recorded as a quotation within the sentence. Abutsu finishes Teika's poem by explicitly stating the bound topic, thereby emphasizing Teika's skill in subtlety.

⁵⁶ 臨し期し約恋.

⁵⁷ The combination "*omohikiya...to wa*" is commonly used in poetry: KKS 961 and 970 are such examples.

⁵⁸ Found in SZS XII, 779 (Love 2:23) by Fujiwara Shunzei.

⁵⁹ *Yoru no tsuru* precedes the well-known adaptation of this legend, the Noh play *Kayoi Komachi* (*Komachi and the Hundred Nights*) by Kan'ami (1333–1384). *Kayoi Komachi* by Kanze Kiyotsugu Kan'ami is translated by Eileen Kato in *Twenty Plays of the Nō Theatre*, Donald Keene, ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, pp. 51–63.

Likewise, the poet by the name of Jakuren composed the following on the topic of triangular love⁶⁰:

<i>tsu no kuni no</i>	If there is a bird
<i>Ikuta no kawa ni</i>	on the Ikuta River
<i>tori mo iba</i>	of Tsu Province, ⁶¹
<i>mi wo kagiri to ya</i>	surely it would have decided
<i>omohi narinan</i>	the fate of my own life.

It alludes to the episode of the two suitors⁶² in *Tales of Yamato*, so again I need not say more. As there are numerous examples where poems are composed coupled with contents of topics from the classics to achieve the essence of a given topic, it would be superfluous for me to rake together all such poems like seaweed⁶³ used for salt.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ 兩人を思ふ恋.

⁶¹ Tsu is an abbreviation for Settsu Province, now Hyōgo prefecture.

⁶² *Man'yōshū* [Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves; abbreviated as MYS] (ca 759). The origin of this tale of triangular love is the 9th century MYS IX: 1807 and 1808, known as the “Maiden of Unai.” Another version is in *Yamato monogatari* Section 147.

⁶³ The word *moshihogusa* puns on the homophonous *kaku*, “to write” or “to rake (seaweed)”. Nun Abutsu uses seaweed as a metaphor for poems and utilizes this imagery in *Journal of the Sixteenth-Night Moon* in a poem sent to Tamesuke: *waka no ura ni / kakitodometaru / moshihogusa / kore wo mukashi no / katami to mo mi yo* (“Make it a keepsake, a memento of the past—this briny seaweed raked together on the beach at Waka-no-ura”). Translation by Helen McCullough (1990), p. 343.

⁶⁴ In addition, Ariwara no Yukihiro paints a similar image during his exile to Suma, which also happens to be located in Tsu Province (KKS 962): *wakuraba ni / tou hito araba Suma no ura ni / moshiotaretsutsu / wabu to kotaeyo* (“If from time to time anyone should ask after me, answer them this: on Suma Bay with tear-drenched sleeves I gather seaweed salt”). Translation by Laurel Rodd (1984), p. 326. Suma Bay was known for its salt-makers. Salt imagery was also closely associated with shedding tears.

It brings to mind how [Minamoto no] Shitagō⁶⁵ conceived a *shih* on the topic of admiring the moon in the rain:

Yang Guifei⁶⁶ descends to the underworld;
My thoughts like the yearning of the Tang emperor.⁶⁷

The sentiment is tender and keenly curious. How can the unskilled possibly devise such an expression?

V. Composing from the Lower Verse to the Upper Verse

Furthermore, in composing a poem, needless to say one begins with the opening five syllables and follows gradually through the rest. If done correctly, there is no need to consult outside sources⁶⁸. Should one find issue with this approach, I have constantly heard of an alternative technique to composition. This is what I have been told: “First, refine the two seven-syllable lines of the lower verse, then work from the second line of the upper verse, and finally use the opening five syllables to balance the upper and lower verse.” I consider this a precautionary measure in cases where composing from the upper verse onward results in a dull lower verse.⁶⁹

VI. The Methods behind Allusive Variation

It is, furthermore, precisely the ability to quote earlier poems which distinguishes the skilled from the unskilled. Lord Teika has written

⁶⁵ Minamoto no Shitagō (911–983) was a Heian poet and one of the compilers of the *Gosenshū*. He is also believed to be the author of the 10th century narrative *Utsuho monogatari* (The Tale of the Hollow Tree).

⁶⁶ The verse alludes to the famous beauty of China Yang Guifei (Japanese Yōkihi), the beloved consort of Emperor Xuanzong (685–762). Her story is told in the long poem by Bai Juyi (772–846) “The Song of Unending Sorrow,” which saw immense popularity in Heian Japan and became the inspiration for the beginning of *The Tale of Genji*.

⁶⁷ This excerpt is only the second half of the entire Chinese quatrain.

⁶⁸ That is, looking at poetry manuals or finding concrete examples.

⁶⁹ This strategy is especially useful when the poem’s phrase breaks are in a 5, 7/5, 7/7 pattern. This form of prosody is typical of the *Kokinshū* style onward.

extensively on this style of allusive variation for posterity.⁷⁰ But, my, how splendid it is to fashion a completely novel poem from the very same words and caesurae used in the foundation poem! Compare this poem by the poet known as the Daughter of Lord Shunzei,⁷¹ which I believe is included in the *Shoku Gosen*.⁷²

<i>sakeba chiru</i>	“Bloom only to scatter
<i>hana no ukiyo to</i>	blossoms of this transient
	world,”
<i>omofu nimo</i>	even when I think thus,
<i>naho utomarenu</i>	I have not the heart to deny
<i>yamazakura kana</i>	the beauty of the mountain
	cherries.

with this poem from *The Tale of Genji*:

<i>sode nururu</i>	“Dampening your sleeves,
<i>tsuyu no yukari to</i>	the spring of these dewdrops,”
<i>omofu nimo</i>	even when I think thus,
<i>naho utomarenu</i>	I have not the heart to deny
<i>Yamato nadeshiko</i>	the beauty of the little pink. ⁷³

Given this is the work of one so skilled, the poem is considerably tasteful and without flaw even though the quoted phrases are unchanged. To emulate her skill is beyond reach. If I were to continue to write such things,

⁷⁰ Such works by Teika which discuss allusive variation (*honkadori*) include *Eiga taigai* (Essentials of Poetic Composition; c. 1216), *Kindai shūka* (Superior Poems of Our Time; c. 1209), and *Maigetsusho* (Monthly Notes; c. 1219).

⁷¹ Shunzei Kyō no Musume (1171–1252) is technically his granddaughter, but she was adopted as his daughter. Nun Abutsu clearly thinks highly of a fellow female Mikohidari poet.

⁷² *Shoku Gosenshū* [Later Collection Continued; abbreviated as *Shoku GSS*] (1251). The tenth royal anthology compiled by Fujiwara no Tameie, Nun Abutsu’s husband.

⁷³ Fujitsubo addresses this poem to Genji in “Momiji no ga” (Beneath the Autumn Leaves). The “little pink” (*nadeshiko*) is her newborn child (Tyler, *Tale of Genji*, p. 143).

my words would “outnumber the grains of sand upon Nagahama’s shore.”⁷⁴ For now, then, I shall write and attach here only what I can recall for certain while your messenger is here.⁷⁵

VII. Refraining from the Diction of the *Man’yōshū* and the Three Collections

Furthermore, this was once articulated to me: “It is not within good taste to incorporate old diction into inept compositions on the basis that such words were used by ancient poets of the *Man’yō* ⁷⁶ and the Three Collections.”⁷⁷ Those from long ago who recited and listened to poetry have grown accustomed to elegant phrases, such as “*omohoyuru kana*,”⁷⁸ “*mono ni zarikeri*,”⁷⁹ “*kerashimo*,”⁸⁰ —or other tropes such as “*bemi*”⁸¹ and

⁷⁴ Anonymous (KKS 1085): *kimi ga yo wa / kagiri mo araji / nagahama no / masago no kazu wa / yomitsukusu tomo* (“No number shall be put to the limitless years of my lord’s life—not even if we count each grain of sand on Nagahama”). Translation by Laurel Rodd (1984), p. 370.

⁷⁵ Yanase and Takei consider this a sudden break in Nun Abutsu’s didactic tone which reveals a more frank and intimate conversation with the “one whom it was difficult to refuse” (*sarigataki hito*).

⁷⁶ MYS: The oldest extant poetry collection; Ōtomo no Yakamochi (718–785) was the last compiler.

⁷⁷ *Sandaishū* refers collectively to the *Kokinshū*, *Gosenshū*, and the *Shūishū*—the first three royal anthologies.

⁷⁸ *Omohoyu* is a variation on *omofu* (to think; to recall) used to indicate spontaneity. *Kana* is an exclamatory final particle. Yanase and Takei count the frequency of this phrase in the aforementioned collections to emphasize its dated nature. MYS: 40 times; KKS (ca. 905): 5 times; *Gosenshū* [Later Collection; abbreviated as GSS] (951): 8 times; and *Shūishū* [Collection of Gleanings; abbreviated as SIS] (ca. 1005): 7 times. They also note that Teika does not use *omohoyuru kana* even once.

⁷⁹ *Mono ni zarikeri* comes from *mono ni zo ari keru*. In addition to the anthologies, the phrase is used at least twice in *Yamato monogatari* and at least once in *Kagerō nikki*.

⁸⁰ *Kerashimo* comes from the recollective auxiliary verb *keri* in the attributive form, the suppositional auxiliary verb *rashi*, and the exclamatory final particle *mo*.

⁸¹ *Bemi* comes from the suppositional auxiliary verb *beshi* and the particle *mi* used to indicate reason.

“*omoheba mizu no.*” But as time goes by and the leaves of words of people change, the words of Hitomaro and Akahito, Mitsune and Tsurayuki⁸² become far from comprehension, and therefore one must not acquire a proclivity for such diction when one composes.

VIII. Refraining from Merely Copying Verses by Modern Poets

Likewise, I have also been told thus: “To compose by vying to steal entire verses of signature compositions by modern poets from the time of the *Senzai*⁸³ and the *Shinkokin*,⁸⁴ is quite undignified. Doing so would not even enhance the reputation of the original poet. One must exercise great caution in abstaining from such action.”

A poem with the phrase “dew-dropped letter,” written by a court lady of our time,⁸⁵ comes to mind. Since Lord Shunzei first established this phrase in his composition, someone once commented to me, “How I wish his composition remained untarnished”:

<i>iku aki kakitsu</i>	how many autumns have
	passed
<i>tsuyu no tamadzusa</i>	writing these dew-dropped
	letters? ⁸⁶

⁸² The works of Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (c. 662–710) and Yamabe no Akahito (fl. 724–736) are representative of the *Man'yōshū*. Ōshikōchi no Mitsune (859–925) and Ki no Tsurayuki (872–945) were compilers of the *Kokinshū*. All four of these men are members of the Thirty-six Poetic Immortals.

⁸³ SZS (1187): The seventh royal anthology compiled by Shunzei. The time of this anthology marks the beginning of what Nun Abutsu and her contemporaries considered “modern” poetry during the medieval period.

⁸⁴ *Shinkokinshū* [New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern; abbreviated as SKKS] (1205): The eighth royal anthology compiled by Teika, Fujiwara Ariie, Fujiwara Ietaka, Priest Jakuren, Minamoto Michitomo. The *Shinkokinshū* along with the *Kokinshū* represent the greatest achievements of classical Japanese poetry.

⁸⁵ Daigo Lay Priest Former Chancellor Yoshihira no Musume was known as Ōmiya-in no Nyōbō. In 1274 (Bun'ei 10.7.7) she submitted seven poems to the royal palace. Her poem is found in *Shoku* (SIS 566) and the Hundred Sequence of the Hōji Era (*Hōji hyakushu*).

⁸⁶ Taken from SKKS 320: *Tanabata no / to wataru fune no / kadji no ha ni / iku aki kakitsu / tsuyu no tamadzusa* (“The rudder of a crossing boat at

I can say that the poem is no doubt old by now. However, it is undeniably and unforgivably ill-mannered to take from new poems which we have before us. “When composing a poem, one must thoroughly consider its topical essence and delicately weave your words together,” he said. If you speak heedless of thought, imitate the work of others, or conceive verses which amount to only frivolous leaves of words, then you renounce the styles of grammar and fail to balance a poem’s beginning with its end. How much more of these poems can one stand to write?

IX. The Fluidity and Constancy of Japanese Poetry

Furthermore, even the form of each and every poem is subject to the flow of time from generation to generation. Many say, “When one compares the poems of old to the poems of today, they are like fire and water.”⁸⁷ However, even among the poems of those from recent times and from the middle period⁸⁸ is one certain to find poems which are not distinctly inferior to ones of the past.

Likewise, those regarded as skillful poets are partial to poems of old, the essence and diction of which are elegant, never outdated no matter the age, and sophisticatedly intriguing. Hence, it is to be expected that little has changed from past to present.

X. Writing Poems and Buddhism

As for what I have learned in the Way of the Buddha, the life of no one person is predestined for either sin or virtue. Once one finds devotion, one can achieve spiritual awakening through a life of seclusion. One may encounter difficulties meeting the right priest for guidance at a crucial moment in one’s life. One may find oneself at a loss searching for this guide,

Tanabata—how many autumns have passed writing these dew-dropped letters on mulberry leaves?”). *Kadji* is a pivot as it puns on the homophonous words for “rudder” and “mulberry.” Shunzei’s poem is an allusive variation on GSIS 242 by the Wet Nurse of Kazusa: *Ama no kawa / to wataru fune no / kadji no ha ni / omofu koto wo mo / kaki tsukuru kana* (“The rudder of a boat crossing the River of Heaven—how I have written in full my thoughts on mulberry leaves.”)

⁸⁷ This “fire and water” analogy is used in commentary in the *Poetry Contest in Six-Hundred Rounds* (*Ropyakuban utaawase*, p. 1193).

⁸⁸ This period is approximately Mid to Late Heian Period, or, more importantly, the time of the *Kokinshū*.

yet Buddhist Law provides guidance in the form of sacred sutras which still remain in this world.

As for guidance in poetry, so too do the *Man'yō* and the *Kokin* still remain. When one is spiritually awakened and enters an ascetic life, how can one fail to achieve Supreme Buddhahood at the end of the Buddhist Law⁸⁹ and the Five Impurities?⁹⁰ This will surely depend on whether one's heart is devoted to the Way of the Buddha or the Way of Poetry. One's rank in society matters not in the upholding of the Law and the preservation of the Way of Poetry.

XI. Composing Poetry: Feelings

First, those who wish to compose poetry must touch upon matters and place feelings above all: knowing the pathos of things,⁹¹ always calming one's mind—scattering blossoms and leaves falling, changing seasonal dew and showers—aligning one's eyes and heart to all these; one must ready one's self throughout the day to moments worthy of composing poetry.

XII. Composing Poetry: Fiction

Furthermore, “When it comes to poems on the four seasons, fiction is in poor taste. Rather one must compose by delicately handling the subject just as it is. As for poems on love, though many are clever and fictitious, these are not purposefully unpleasant. They are intended to express a sense of poignancy, as in ‘Though there is an ocean beneath my pillow,’⁹² or ‘My

⁸⁹ The age of decline refers to *Mappō*, the Buddhist age of the degeneration of Dharma. *Mappō* was a matter of serious concern for people during Nun Abutsu's time.

⁹⁰ The Five Impurities are (1) The impurity of the age (2) the impurity of desire (3) impurity of living beings (4) impurity of thought, and (5) impurity of the life span.

⁹¹ *Mono no aware* is the Japanese principle which emphasizes an awareness to the impermanence of all things. *The Tale of Genji* is the quintessential piece of literature representing this concept.

⁹² Used in KKS 595 by Ki no Tomonori: *shikitaē no / makura no shita ni / umi wa aredo / hito wo mirume wa / oizu zo arikeru* (“Beneath my finely woven pillow an ocean of tears is found, yet we have no chance to meet, no seaweed grows in these waters.”). Translation by Laurel R. Rodd. *Shikitaē no* (finely woven) is a *makura kotoba* for *makura* (pillow). *Mirume* is a pun which can mean both “seaweed” and “chance to meet.” Describing one's

chest is Fuji, my sleeves the Kiyomi Barrier.⁹³ No matter the expression, one will find that these poems are wholly different from poems on the four seasons.” So I was told.

He continues, likewise, “Even in poems on the four seasons are fictitious elements acceptable depending on the style. Consider first Archbishop Henjō⁹⁴ who writes:

<i>tama ni mo nukeru</i>	strung together like jewels
<i>haru no yanagi ka</i>	on willow branches of spring. ⁹⁵

or another poem which distorts the truth:

[<i>asaborake</i>]	[In the light of day] ⁹⁶
<i>ariake no tsuki to</i>	seeing them as if they shine
<i>miru made ni</i>	like dawn’s moon:
<i>Yoshino no sato ni</i>	the fallen white snow
<i>fururu shirayuki</i>	in the village of Yoshino. ⁹⁷

tears at night as an ocean beneath one’s pillow is an example of the *soragoto* (“lies” or “impossible things”; fiction) elements which Nun Abutsu discusses.⁹³ Used in *Shikashū* 212 [Collection of Verbal Flowers; abbreviated as SKS] (ca. 1151–1154) by Taira no Suketaka: *mune wa Fuji / sode wa Kiyomi ga seki / nareyakeburi mo / name mo tatanuma zo naki*. Another example of *soragoto* in which one’s love burns like the active Mt. Fuji at one moment and is turbulent like the waves at Kiyomi the next.

⁹⁴ Henjō (816–890) was originally known as Yoshimine no Munesada. He was a grandson of Emperor Kanmu who began his career as a courtier, but took Buddhist vows at the death of Emperor Ninmyō.

⁹⁵ The lower verse of KKS 27 by Archbishop Henjō: *asamidori / ito yorikakete / shiratsuyu wo / tama ni mo nukeru / haru no yanagi ka* (“Along slender threads of delicate twisted greens translucent dewdrops strung as small fragile jewels—new willow webs in spring.”). Translation by Laurel R. Rodd.

⁹⁶ The opening lines of this poem and the following poem have been provided in brackets since they are omitted in the original text.

⁹⁷ KKS 332 by Sakanoue no Korenori (fl. early Heian period).

or poems where blossoms are mistaken for clouds⁹⁸—these are permissible. One must weigh with great caution the idea that one must not compose on what is not true.”

XIII. The Essence of a Topic Revisited: Expressions

Furthermore, when handling the topic of the old capital, the convention appears to be to speak of nothing but “the former capital.” However, I have been told that when the notion of the old capital is mentioned in even a typical poem⁹⁹, “I wish to mention in particular places whose names have grown old, as in the Nara Capital¹⁰⁰, the Naniwa Capital¹⁰¹, and the Shiga Capital¹⁰².”

Likewise, when it comes to the topics of “Love before the moon” and “Love when the moon is near,” how disappointing it is when everyone simply treats the two topics the same, unable to tell one from the other. As for “Love when the moon is near,” if one uses just the word “moon,” then one has no doubt approached the topic. When one’s words become verses such as this, then one has appropriately reached the topic:

<i>[tsuki nomi wa]</i>	[This moon alone]
<i>uwa no sora naru</i>	high above the skies beams as
<i>katami nite</i>	a memento of you—
<i>omohi mo ideba</i>	would that you remember, too,

⁹⁸ Many poems of this kind exist. For example, KKS 59 by Ki no Tsurayuki: *sakurabana / sakinikerashi na / ashihiki no / yama no kai yori / miyuru shirakumo* (“Now it seems that the cherry blossoms have burst forth at last, from here I see white clouds floating between the rugged far-off mountain slopes.”). Translation by Laurel R. Rodd.

⁹⁹ I.e. a poem which does not have *furusato* as its assigned topic.

¹⁰⁰ Nara was the capital of Japan from 710 to 794. KKS 90 by the Nara Mikado is an example which includes both *furusato* and *Nara no miyako*: *furusato to / narinishi nara no / miyako ni mo / iro wa kawarazu / hana wa sakikeri* (“Nara, the ancient capital, now deserted by the throngs of old only the blossoms visit, their loveliness unchanged.”). Translation by Laurel R. Rodd.

¹⁰¹ Naniwa was the capital during the reign of Emperor Nintoku (313–399). The capital is mentioned four times in MYS.

¹⁰² Shiga was the capital during the reign of Emperor Tenji (626–672).

kokoro kayowan could my heart find its way.¹⁰³

As for “Love before the moon,” one must be facing the moon when composing on the topic. I believe Lord Shunzei had once composed a poem on the topic of “Love before the moon”:

<i>koishisa no</i>	As the yearning in me
<i>munashiki sora ni</i>	spills forth and fills to the brim
<i>michinureba</i>	the empty night sky,
<i>tsuki mo kokoro no</i>	even the moon seeks refuge
<i>uchi ni koso sume</i>	within the depths of myheart. ¹⁰⁴

Moreover, amateur poets are ever partial to using phrases such as “Oh, how pleased I am!” or “Oh, how sad I am!” I remember being told that “Unless one is experiencing something truly pleasing or saddening, do not compose in such a way.”

XIV. A History of Expressions from Royal Anthologies across the Ages

This is what has been passed on to me: “As for model poems, one must remember well the poems from the *Kokin*¹⁰⁵ and use them as foundations for allusive variation.

“Although it is all the same for the Three Collections, within the *Gosen*¹⁰⁶ one finds a number of elegant poems mixed at the same time with a number of discordant ones. One wonders then if the Five Men of the Pear Pavilion¹⁰⁷ had different preferences.

¹⁰³ SKKS 1267 by Priest Saigyō (1118–1190), famous poet of late Heian and early Kamakura periods.

¹⁰⁴ Found in Shunzei’s personal collection *Chōshū eisō*. Shunzei started the compilation in 1178 and it was completed by Teika in 1229. The poem can also be found in *Shinchokusenshū* 964 [New Imperial Collection; abbreviated as SCSS] (1234).

¹⁰⁵ KKS (ca. 905): The first royal anthology with Ki no Tsurayuki as the principal compiler.

¹⁰⁶ GSS (951): The second royal anthology ordered by Emperor Murakami.

¹⁰⁷ The five compilers of the *Gosenshū*: Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu (921–991), Minamoto no Shitagō (911–983), Kiyowara no Motosuke (908–990; the father of Sei Shōnagon, author of *The Pillow Book*), Sakanoue no Mochiki (fl. ca. 10th century), and Ki no Tokibumi (922–996).

“As for the *Shūi*,¹⁰⁸ everyone seems to choose from the *Draft of Shūishū*¹⁰⁹ for good poems.”

Likewise, regarding the *Goshūi*¹¹⁰—a time which saw many skillful poets—although there are truly interesting poems, I believe there are various criticisms of it in *Reprimand of the Goshūi*,¹¹¹ starting with poems such as one with the phrase “bursting into bud at water’s edge.”¹¹²

As for the *Kin’yō*¹¹³ and the *Shika*,¹¹⁴ the form of poetry changed with many having borrowed individual verses and a tendency towards humor. One can see in the collections to follow the individual tastes of the compilers, which are difficult to ignore.

He continues: “As for the *Shinkokin*, the form of poetry returned to the elegance of the past, and even though expressions such as ‘the dewdrop certain to fall from the plucked bush clover or soft hail about to melt when gathered upon the precious bamboo grass’¹¹⁵ remained the convention, formalities were broken and the style of poetry changed once more, perhaps

¹⁰⁸ SIS (ca. 1005): The third royal anthology compiled by Fujiwara no Kintō with revisions and expansions by Emperor Kazan.

¹⁰⁹ *Shūishō* (996–999; *Draft of Shūishū*): an anthology in ten books compiled by Fujiwara no Kintō which served as the basis for the *Shūishū*.

¹¹⁰ GSIS (1086): The fourth royal anthology compiled by Fujiwara no Michitoshi (1047–1099).

¹¹¹ *Nan Goshūi* was written by Minamoto Tsunenobu (1016–1097).

¹¹² GSIS 9 by Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu.

¹¹³ *Kin’yōshū* [Collection of Golden Leaves; abbreviated as KYS] (1127): The fifth royal anthology compiled by Minamoto no Shunrai (1057–1129).

¹¹⁴ SKS (ca. 1151–1154): The sixth royal anthology compiled by Fujiwara no Akisuke (1090–1155).

¹¹⁵ The phrases are an allusion to similes made by the Chief Equerry in “Hahakigi” (The Broom Tree) from *The Tale of Genji*. Royall Tyler explains that the expressions “evoke a young woman ready at a touch to swoon in a suitor’s arms...the poetic *hagi*, whose long, drooping fronds bloom deep pink, violet or white in autumn; while the *tamazasa* [is] a species of ‘dwarf bamboo’” (31). He also notes that the mention of *hagi* refers to KKS 223: *orite miba / ochi zo shinubeki / akihagi no / eda mo tawawa ni / okeru shiratsuyu* (“If I tried to pluck the branches on which they rest, they would fall to earth—the boughs of bush clover bend under this load of dewdrops.”). Translation by Laurel Rodd.

to a fault. As for the *Shinchokusen*,¹¹⁶ the compilers chose poems which they thought expressed reality.”

Afterwards came the time of the *Shoku Gosen* when we enjoyed an era of the Way¹¹⁷ restored,¹¹⁸ which the Tokiwai Chancellor¹¹⁹ started and the Kinugasa Palace Minister¹²⁰ and Nobuzane¹²¹ upheld, while Tomoie¹²² and countless more kept the unending traditions of the household. Since it became a collection blessed by the union of sovereign and subject,¹²³ one can no doubt see its value. But since there are poets who keep with the times as well as those who would tilt their heads in demur, I wonder what may happen hereafter.¹²⁴ The future is beyond my comprehension, and so my view ends here.

¹¹⁶ SCSS (1234): The ninth royal anthology compiled by Fujiwara Teika.

¹¹⁷ The Way of Poetry.

¹¹⁸ Praise for the reign of Emperor Go-Saga who commissioned the compilation of the aforementioned *Shoku Gosenshū*. Such praise was typically found in the prefaces to royal anthologies.

¹¹⁹ Saionji no Saneuji (1194–1269) was the father of Ōmiya-in, mother of Emperor Go-Fukakusa. The title of Chancellor was the highest possible office in the Ministers of State.

¹²⁰ Kujō no Ieyoshi (1192–1264) was one of the five compilers of the *Shoku Kokinshū* (1265) on Go-Saga's order of 1259.

¹²¹ Fujiwara no Nobuzane (1176–1265) was a painter and the son of Takanobu, the half-brother of Teika. He was known for painting the Thirty-six Immortal Poets.

¹²² Fujiwara (Rokujō) no Tomoie (1182–1258) was the grandson of Fujiwara Shigeie and uncle of Ariie, who was one of the Thirty-six Immortal Poets. Tomoie was the governor of Mimasaka at Junior Third Rank at 1229 and took the priestly name Rensei after taking tonsure in 1238.

¹²³ The phrase is an allusion to the preface of the *Kokinshū*: “In that era the sovereign must truly have appreciated poetry, and during his reign Kakinomoto no Hitomaro of the Senior Third Rank was a sage of poetry. Thus ruler and subjects must have been one.” Translation by Laurel Rodd, pp. 41–42.

¹²⁴ Nun Abutsu could be questioning in particular the upcoming compilation of the *Shoku Shūishu*.

XV. Ancient Poets

One must examine thoroughly the majestic and elegant poems of poets who have gained prominence in collections from generation to generation, from past till present. Additionally, one must discern each poem's topical essence when appropriate and make an effort to emulate works of past genius should one come across them. As for poems by those in our time, perish the thought of taking a liking to them.

XVI. The Impromptu Compositions of Ancient Poets

Furthermore, a poem composed swiftly in response to an unexpected matter in the moment exceeds any willful composition, as long as one says what one wants to say at the time and follows through with the style. Consider Koshikibu no Naishi,¹²⁵ who restrained the Middle Counselor [Fujiwara no] Sadayori¹²⁶ and replied:

<i>mada fumi mo mizu</i>	I have yet to set foot on
<i>Ama no hashidate</i>	the Bridge of Heaven ¹²⁷

or the wit of Suō no Naishi¹²⁸ in her response to the Middle Counselor [Fujiwara no] Tadaie¹²⁹:

¹²⁵ Koshikibu no Naishi (999–1025) was the daughter of the poet Izumi Shikibu (b. 976) and served under Empress Shōshi.

¹²⁶ Fujiwara no Sadayori (995–1045) was the eldest son of Fujiwara no Kintō and an active poet.

¹²⁷ The lower verse is taken from KYS 586 and can also be found in *Hyakunin Isshu*: *Ōe yama / Ikuno michi no / tōkereba / mada fumi mo mizu / Ama no hashidate* (“Since the path to Mount Ōe and Ikuno is far away, I have yet to set foot on the Bridge of Heaven.”). The KYS headnote to this poem explains that Fujiwara Sadayori teases Koshikibu no Naishi by insinuating she must depend on her mother—who was at the time in Tango province—to compose a poem for an upcoming poetry contest. Her quick-witted response incorporates three place names associated with Tango. *Fumi mo mizu* puns on the homophonous phrases “yet to step on” and “yet to see a letter.”

¹²⁸ Suō no Naishi (1037–1109) was the daughter of Taira no Munenaka and served during the reign of Go-Reizei.

¹²⁹ Fujiwara no Tadaie (1033–1091) was the grandson of Fujiwara no Michinaga and the grandfather of Fujiwara Shunzei. He actually reached the office of Major Counselor in his lifetime.

kainaku tatan How regretful it would be
na koso oshikere should rumors rise in vain¹³⁰

This shows that the human intellect can take form simply through experience soaked by the brine of the Way of Poetry, which therefore means that what was true in the past can be true in the present. Although I am now but a rotting tree in a valley, long forgotten, how could I not be able to swiftly exchange poems with such men of refinement? In truth, I feel envious of these women from those times.

Postscript

Written by my late father around the time of Imagawa Nobumochi.¹³¹ I have perused this writing since my childhood.
 Acting Middle Counselor (signature).

¹³⁰ The lower verse is taken from SZS 961 and can also be found in *Hyakunin Isshu*: *haru no yo no / bakari naru / tamakura ni / kainaku tatan na koso oshikere* (“To only become a spring night’s dream, your arm for a pillow—how regretful it would be should rumors rise in vain?”). The SZS headnote to this poem describes how Fujiwara Tadaie slips his arm under the curtains, offering it as a pillow for an exhausted Suō no Naishi. *Kaina* acts a pivot as it puns on the homophones “arm” and “in vain.”

¹³¹ The characters for Imagawa 今河 might refer to the Imagawa clan 今川氏, who were descendants of the Seiwa Genji. Kira Kuniuji, son of Kira Nagauji, and grandson of Ashikaga Yoshikane, took the name Imagawa when he took possession of the Imagawa Villa in Hantō in Mikawa Province (present day Aichi-ken). The Imagawa were *shugo* (stewards) of the Suruga province and produced a succession of literary folk.

Works Cited

- Brower, Robert H. "Fujiwara Teika's *Maigetsushō*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 40/4 (1985).
- . "The Foremost Style of Poetic Composition: Fujiwara Tameie's *Eiga no ittei*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36/4 (1987).
- . "The Reizei Family Documents," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36/4 (1981).
- . *Japanese Court Poetry*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1988. Print.
- Carter, Steven D. *Waiting for the Wind: Thirty-Six Poets of Japan's Late Medieval Age*. New York: Columbia UP, 1989.
- Hosoya Naoki. *Chūsei karon no kenkyū*. Kasama shoin, 1976.
- Hulvey, S. Yumiko. "Abutsu-ni" in *Japanese Women Writers: A Biocritical Sourcebook*. Ed. Chieko I. Mulhern. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994. 3–7.
- Huey, Robert. *The Making of Shinkokinshū*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002.
- Iketa Kazuko. "Kajin Abutsu-ni." *Chūō daigaku kokubun* 13 (1970).
- International Research Center for Japanese Studies. *Waka dētabēsu*, Waka gokukensaku, January 2002 (accessed December 2, 2014, <http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/menu.html>).
- Iwasa Miyoko, ed. *Gyokuyō wakashū zenchūshaku*. Vol. 3. Kasama shoin, 1996.
- Keene, Donald, ed. *Twenty Plays of the Nō Theatre*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.
- Konishi Jin'ichi. *A History of Japanese Literature: The High Middle Ages*. Trans. Aileen Gatten. Vol. 3. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ., 1991.
- Laffin, Christina. *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women: Politics, Personality, and Literary Production in the Life of Nun Abutsu*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2013.
- McCullough, Hellen Craig. *Classical Japanese Prose: An Anthology*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990.
- Morimoto Motoko. *Izayoi nikki, Yoru no tsuru zenchūshaku*. Tokyo, Kōdansha: 1966.
- Onodera Shō. "Yoru no tsuru ni miru Abutsu-ni no karon no kōsatsu." *Kokugo kokubun* 8 (1971).
- Ōbushi Harumi. "Yoru no tsuru no karon toshite no kōsatsu." *Kaishaku* 27 (1981).

- Ratcliff, Christian D. "Telling Secrets: *Mumyōzōshi*, Abutsu, and the Transmission of Literary Expertise by Women." *Jinbun kenkyū: Kanagawa daigaku jinbun gakkai shi* (2009).
- Reizei Shiguretei Bunko, July 8, 2014 (accessed December 3, 2014, <http://reizeike.jp/>).
- Rodd, Laurel R. *Kokinshū: A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Satō Hiroaki, ed. *Japanese Women Poets: An Anthology*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2007.
- Shirane Haruo. *Classical Japanese: A Grammar*. New York: Columbia UP, 2005.
- Stevenson, Barbara, and Cynthia Ho, ed. *Crossing the Bridge: Comparative Essays on Medieval European and Heian Japanese Women Writers*. New York: Palgrave, 2000.
- Tabuchi Kumiko. *Abutsu-ni*. Jinbutsu sōsho 261. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009.
- Tyler, Royall, trans. *The Tale of Genji*. New York: Penguin, 2001.
- Wallace, John R. "Abutsu-ni" in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Vol. 203 Medieval Japanese Writers*. Ed. Steven D. Carter. Detroit: The Gale Group, 1999. 3–9.
- . "Fitful Slumbers: Nun Abutsu's *Utatane*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 43/4 (1988).
- Yanase, ed. *Abutsu-ni zenshū*. Kazama shobō, 1984.
- Yanase Kazuo and Takei Kazuto, eds. *Izayoi nikki, Yoru no tsuru chūshaku*. Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 1986.

Book Reviews

Setsu Shigematsu, *Scream from the Shadows: The Women's Liberation Movement in Japan*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012. 312 pp. ISBN: 978-0816667598, \$25.00.

Reviewed by Julia C. Bullock

Setsu Shigematsu's *Scream from the Shadows* provides a cogent and much-needed study of *ūman ribu* (denoted *ribu* for short), or the women's liberation movement that emerged in Japan in the late 1960s and is most closely identified with the first half of the 1970s. As Shigematsu notes, this radical feminist movement was not a direct import from the West, but rather emerged as a consequence of the historical, economic and political tensions inherent in Japanese society of the 1960s. While *ribu* may be said to have formed in part as a reaction to the violent excesses and sexism of Japanese student movement radicals, Shigematsu demonstrates that the birth of *ribu* was also motivated by concerns regarding Japan's implication in the violence and imperialism of the Vietnam War era in a broader sense, as well as the conservative turn in gender politics during Japan's high economic growth period.

The book is composed of five substantive chapters, an introduction and an epilogue. The introduction provides context for the emergence of the movement, a topic that is explored more deeply in Chapter 1. The discussion of language in this chapter—and particularly of the linguistic valences and implications of the terms used (or not used) by movement activists to describe women and women's liberation—is particularly helpful. Chapter 2 traces the positioning of women in the New Left struggles of the postwar era, from the Ampo (anti-US-Japan Security Treaty) riots of 1960 to the violent implosion of the United Red Army (URA) in 1972. Here Shigematsu is careful to distinguish both the tactics and theories that the women of *ribu* borrowed from the New Left and the way they distinguished themselves from this legacy of revolutionary discourse. Chapter 3 traces the course and intellectual development of *ribu*, and Chapter 4 focuses on the problematic role of Tanaka Mitsu as the iconic "leader" of this ostensibly leaderless and non-hierarchical movement. Shigematsu treads carefully here, analyzing Tanaka's philosophies as influential to the movement while emphasizing the diversity of thought that characterized the movement itself, which was not coterminous with Tanaka's "leadership." Chapter 5 examines the response of *ribu* women to the violent excesses of the URA, and the way the events of

1972 influenced the movement's theoretical engagement with the "politics of violence."

Although a wealth of primary and secondary sources exist in Japanese on the topic of *ūman ribu*, this is the first English-language study to give the movement sustained attention, and that in and of itself provides a great service to the field. In addition to this substantial contribution, Shigematsu performs a number of important discursive and theoretical interventions into scholarship on "second-wave" feminism in Japan that deserve commendation. First of all, she demonstrates the larger relevance of the movement by countering the claims of many scholars that contend that *ribu* "died" in the mid-70s (102), demonstrating that its discourse and methods live on in the practices of its adherents as well as in the recent resurgence of historical scholarship on the legacy of *ribu*. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, she engages unflinchingly with the role of violence in radical feminist thought of the 1970s—particularly in Chapter 5, though this theme runs throughout the text. This is particularly important given the presumption of many mainstream Japanese feminist theories of a natural correspondence between femininity (or motherhood) and pacifism. In contrast, *ribu* women dared to embrace the notion that women too could be violent creatures, and sought to understand this violence through support of women like URA leader Nagata Hiroko and women accused of killing their children—women resoundingly rejected and treated as aberrant by mainstream Japanese society.

In summary, Shigematsu offers a theoretically sophisticated and nuanced discussion of the positioning of early 1970s radical feminist discourse vis-à-vis its relationship with other strains of Japanese feminist and New Left discourse, contemporary "second-wave" feminist movements in North America, and the structure of imperialist and Cold War politics in the postwar era. Her discussion of *ribu* discourse is mostly sympathetic, and at times I would have appreciated a more critical treatment of its tenets. For example, Shigematsu describes the radical thrust of the *ribu* movement as directed particularly toward an attack on the patriarchal *ie* (family) system, and specifically at the way this system structured and confined women's agency to the domestic sphere via the conventional roles of housewife and mother. However, what seems missing from this discussion is that the *ie* system was legally abolished by post-WWII Occupation reforms. It is certainly true that many of its cultural presumptions lived on well into the postwar period, and there is no doubt that such cultural values intensified the gender discrimination experienced by the women of *ribu*. However, I wonder

to what degree the conventionally feminine roles against which the *ribu* movement struggled in the 1970s might have resulted from the gendered division of labor that was itself a product of the historical, cultural and economic specificities of the high growth economy of the previous two decades, rather than the prewar *ie* system *per se*. This seems to have been a blind spot of the *ribu* movement itself rather than Shigematsu's analysis of it, but I would have been very interested to know if taking the more immediate postwar context of housewife-and-motherhood into account might have altered some of the author's discussion of the movement's theoretical positioning. Additionally, while Shigematsu does a fine job in the Epilogue of tracing the tensions between the *ribu* movement and the rise of women's studies and state feminism in the following decades, it would have been interesting to learn whether these latter strands of feminism might have been influenced (consciously or not) in specific ways by the theoretical premises of *ribu*. However, these are small quibbles with what is otherwise an excellent study that promises to contribute much to English-language scholarship on Japanese feminism in the future, and should be read by anyone working at the nexus of Japanese Studies and Gender Studies.

This book will be of particular interest to graduate students and scholars in fields related to Asian Studies, feminist theory, and gender and sexuality studies. The author has done an excellent job of providing the necessary historical, cultural, and linguistic context to make this study accessible to researchers outside the field of Japanese Studies. Nevertheless, because the text assumes some familiarity with the conceptual vocabulary of "second-wave" feminism and Marxist doctrine, it may be less accessible to students of Japan who lack this theoretical foundation. While instructors of Women's or Gender Studies courses may have no trouble employing this as a text in their undergraduate classes, those working with undergraduate students with a background in Japanese Studies should be prepared to supplement the text with some introductory information, or else limit its use to a senior seminar or honors program course.

James Mark Shields, *Critical Buddhism: Engaging with Modern Japanese Buddhist Thought*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2011. 206 pp. ISBN: 978-1-4094-1798-9. \$89.95.

Reviewed by Steven Heine¹

Critical Buddhism (*hihan bukkyō*) is an innovative methodological movement that was formed by a couple of Buddhist scholars at Komazawa University in Tokyo, which houses the largest Buddhist Studies department in Japan that is affiliated with the Sōtō Zen sect. The approach initially developed in the mid-1980s in response to a nexus of sociopolitical issues that were at the time plaguing Sōtō and other Japanese Buddhist schools. As James Mark Shields explains in the “Introduction” to his new book, at a major conference on world religions held back in 1979 a representative of the Sōtō sect declared that there was no discrimination against the outcast community of Burakumin by Buddhism in Japan. Because egregious examples of such bias were well documented over many decades, the expression of denial triggered a round of protests. This, in turn, caused Sōtō leaders to respond by commissioning a group of professors to investigate the history of Buddhist teachings and attitudes that may have led to ethical lapses and an uncritical acceptance of societal problems. A related issue examined was the pre-World War II Buddhist backing, or at least a lack of denouncing, of Japanese super-nationalism and imperialism. Why was Buddhism in Japan, it was asked, operating for the most part as a force for supporting and reinforcing the status quo rather than for disputing and attempting to reform social deficiencies?

By 1985, the Critical Buddhist movement had emerged with the writings of Hakamaya Noriaki and Matsumoto Shirō, which gained a high degree of sympathy but also some disapproval from colleagues. Hakamaya and Matsumoto were particularly noted for their rather harsh manner of condemning Zen and other forms of Japanese Buddhism for failing to adhere to basic ethical principles. By allowing its moral philosophy to be corrupted over the centuries through a variety of cultural and historical factors, authentic Buddhist behavior was subverted and lost, the Critical Buddhists claimed. For example, a genuine understanding of the notion of karmic rewards and punishments was turned into an insidious justification for

¹ Author’s note: Published by permission, this book review will also be included in the Fall 2015 issue of *Philosophy East & West*.

discrimination and nationalism through an outlook that can be characterized as, “you get what you deserve.” Shields describes how Critical Buddhism was of small proportions in being constituted by a handful of scholars but with great aspirations in attacking the sanctity of the Japanese Buddhist institution and its multifarious spokespersons. This confrontation was carried out through a critical analysis of the discrepancy between fundamental Buddhist doctrines and current practices in light of modern examples of critical Western philosophy, especially Rene Descartes and his detractor Giambattista Vico, among others.

Although there is no division mentioned in the table of contents, the structure of *Critical Buddhism* seems to fall naturally into two parts. The first part consisting of the introduction and the initial three main chapters, which constitutes about seventy percent of the volume, provides an historical overview of the origins and implications of the methodological movement in relation to diverse social and intellectual developments in Japan. This major section of the book is very successful in illuminating the central features of Critical Buddhist philosophy and its connections as well as disconnections with the works of related schools of thought. These range from the writings of the Kyoto School, which Hakamaya and Matsumoto criticize for supporting imperialism, to Rinzaï Zen priest Ichikawa Hakugen, known for his condemnation of prewar Buddhist trends. Ichikawa has a great affinity, alongside differences, with Critical Buddhism that is analyzed appropriately here.

Shields’ introductory essay explains that Critical Buddhism sets up a contrast between its approach to criticism (or “criticalism”), inspired in large part by the Cartesian tradition in the West, and topicalism, or a substantive (Skt. *dhātu-vāda*) philosophical outlook that undermines Buddhist doctrines of impermanence and emptiness and detracts from a reliance on the ethical principles of causality and karmic retribution. Then, Chapter 1 on “Buddhism, Criticism, and Postwar Japan” provides a survey of a variety of societal and political issues as well as ideological responses over the course of a century since the Meiji era that helped give rise to Critical Buddhism and related approaches offering a sometimes devastating cultural criticism of Japanese modernity. In these chapters, Shields points out that the movement’s method based on a philological analysis of texts, which emerged out of the discipline of Buddhology, tends to weaken its arguments regarding the extent of collective injustice in Japan, which probably requires a more sophisticated social scientific examination.

The next chapter on the “Roots of Topicalism” investigates Critical Buddhism’s major philosophical argument for understanding the basis of problems with contemporary Buddhism’s conceptions of self and reality that have been intruded upon by Japanese nativist trends and other indigenous ideologies. This critique is seen in regard to comparable observations made by Ichikawa, although postwar Buddhist reformer Ienaga Saburō probably should have been mentioned in this context. Chapter 3, “Problems of Modern Zen Thought,” delivers a sustained examination of Critical Buddhism’s analysis of unintended topical conceptions of the absolute that support nationalism by Kyoto School philosophers, including Nishida Kitarō, Nishitani Keiji, and Watsuji Tetsurō. According to Shields’ assessment of the conclusions of Hakamaya and Matsumoto, Kyoto School representatives must be seen as “complicit in the devastation wrought by Japan on its own and other peoples during the first half of this [sic] century” (123).

While the discussion in the main part of the book is insightful and compelling, I am more skeptical of the final two chapters. This section embarks on the ambitious aim of constructively situating and critically reflecting on the role of Critical Buddhism in terms of contemporary Western philosophy. Chapter 4 on “Criticism as Anamnesis” makes a very promising start by engaging a wide variety of modern Japanese and Western thinkers ranging from Hisamatsu Shin’ichi to Ludwig Wittgenstein, Hans-Georg Gadamer and Jacques Derrida in relation to the goal of developing a “truly critical Buddhist hermeneutics” (144), although that objective remains undefined.

In Chapter 5 on “Radical Contingency and Compassion,” some problematic scholarly tendencies undercut Shields’ arguments. Shortcomings include a lack of familiarity with some of the Buddhist sources, including misleading references to the Huayan and Mādhyamaka schools on pages 172 and 173 (where the latter’s doctrine is conflated with Zen), as well as a letdown in choosing to use the best translations available, such as citing Dōgen via Thomas Cleary’s *Rational Zen* (Cleary has a lot of reliable renderings, but this is not one of them). There is also an overreliance on the early writings, up through the mid-1990s, of both Hakamaya and Matsumoto without referencing their more recent works. Newer studies by both thinkers of Kamakura-era Buddhist leaders, including Hōnen, Shinran and Myōe, who continue to exert great influence, shed much light on the underlying views of Critical Buddhism regarding modern Japanese religiosity.

Nevertheless, many of the philosophical musings in the second part of Shields’ book are rich in ideas and reflections on the role of Critical

Buddhism as a mode of thought that has worldwide significance, especially in trying to link a decentered metaphysics with a commitment to ethical behavior. Given the strengths of the opening chapters, his work overall has much of merit to offer readers seeking to relate current Buddhist conceptual trends to the complex challenges of the sociopolitical context in modern Japan, and it can be highly recommended for its many interesting and perceptive discussions of this and related comparative philosophical topics.

Robert K. Fitts, *Banzai Babe Ruth: Baseball, Espionage, & Assassination During the 1934 Tour of Japan*. Lincoln NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2012. 319 pp. ISBN: 978-0803229846, \$24.95.

Reviewed by Daniel A. Métraux

Sports can often play an important “soft power” role in the relations between states. One can argue that the current “Korean Wave” in Japan began with the 2002 World Cup where Japan and Korea shared the venue. I got a better sense of the calm in Taiwanese-Chinese relations when I attended a World Baseball Classic game between the two countries in Tokyo. It was a very routine game that produced no tensions that was won by Taiwan. Both sides seemed to enjoy the game and played excellently against each other. A week later I attended a brilliantly played game between Korean and Japanese all-stars that was won by Korea 1–0. Japanese and Korean spectators cheered loudly for both teams and when Korea won, Japanese fans in the Tokyo Dome could be seen warmly congratulating groups of Koreans in the crowd. This was a visible sign that although tensions remained between the governments of Japan and South Korea, relations on a popular level were rapidly improving.

Baseball as “soft-power diplomacy” is the topic of a fascinating new book by Robert K. Fitts, *Banzai Babe Ruth*. Fitts, an archaeologist by trade but a Japanese baseball historian by choice, is the author of two other fascinating works on baseball in Japan including a well written 2008 biography of Wally Yonamine, the first Japanese-American player to have a successful career in Japan. Fitts in *Banzai Babe Ruth* details the November 1934 tour of Japan by an all-star group of American players that included Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Jimmy Fox, future OSS secret agent Moe Berg, and aging manager Connie Mack. It was not the first tour of Japan by American players, but it was the most significant because it included so many all-stars.

The significance of this book lies not so much in what was even then a rather routine baseball tour as in Fitts' analysis of the growing tensions between Japan and the West that would result in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor only seven years later. As these tensions mounted in the 1920s and 1930s, many people in Japan and the United States hoped that the tour would lower the barrier between the two nations. The American players obliged very well through their excellent play, courtesy towards their hosts and respect for Japanese ball players. Babe Ruth was an outstanding cultural diplomat with his willingness to warmly embrace Japanese players, people, food and drink. Connie Mack later called the tour one of the greatest peace measures in the history of nations, but the good will eventually wore off. Fitts notes sardonically that several of the Japanese players, including their star pitcher, Eiji Sawamura, went on to serve in the Japanese army in World War II. Sawamura in particular developed strong anti-American feelings. His pitching arm came in handy when hurling grenades at American troops before his transport ship was sunk with no survivors by an American submarine.

The tour was sponsored by Matsutaro Shoriki, owner of the then struggling Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun*, who hoped to increase his paper's circulation through the publicity generated by the tour. The key was to attract Babe Ruth, whose playing days with the New York Yankees had just ended, but who retained a huge following both in Japan and the United States. Ruth's abilities were still apparent and one can only wonder at the fear of any Japanese pitcher might have felt having to face Ruth, Gehrig and Foxx in succession. Shoriki also correctly hoped that the tour would encourage the development of a professional baseball league in Japan.

The Americans played 18 games against all-star Japanese teams and won all the games. Most often the American squad won by wide margins, but a couple of the games were quite close. Sawamura pitched the best game against the American and had a no-hitter going through several innings in a game on 20 November 1934 before the Americans broke through with a couple of hits and runs to win a thriller. Fitts notes that the Japanese improved greatly over the course of the tour and several of their players including Sawamura emerged as strong Japanese ball players later in the 1930s as professional baseball grew in popularity in Japan.

Moe Berg, a journeyman catcher for the Cleveland Indians, emerges as one of the most interesting characters. Berg was a brilliant scholar—a graduate of Princeton and Columbia Law School who spoke 12 languages including fluent Japanese. Fitts writes that he was an odd pick. Berg could

speak many languages, but could not hit in any of them. But his knowledge of Japanese, his deep respect for the Japanese and his previous experience there played a great role in helping the Americans make meaningful contact with the Japanese. Berg became a very important OSS agent in Europe during World War II and there has been speculation that Berg was sent as a secret agent on this trip to photograph sensitive areas of Japan in case war broke out. Berg did indeed take many photos and made lengthy videos of the Tokyo skyline from tall buildings, but Fitts clearly demonstrates that Berg was acting on his own in Tokyo and was not an agent at that time.

Fitts does a remarkable job in reconstructing the socio-political climate of Japan during the 1930s. We note the political tensions both within Japan and between Japan and the West. We see the growing wave of nationalism in Japan's military and political circles at the time as well as its strong military and commercial presence in Taiwan, China and Korea. But the warm response by average Japanese to the American baseball tour makes one wonder if there was a great disconnect between powerful Japanese political and military leaders and the average Japanese citizen. The good will from the tour worked briefly, but later in the 1930s relations began to sour once more. Pearl Harbor was the final result.

Fitts' *Banzai Babe Ruth* is a meticulously researched and well written study not only of the history of baseball in Japan, but, more importantly, a very fine analysis of American and Western relations in Japan during a time of growing ultra-nationalism in Tokyo. There are times when the book sounds like a dull travel itinerary, but in general *Banzai Babe Ruth* is a smooth work of genius.

Seymour Morris, *Supreme Commander: MacArthur's Triumph in Japan*. New York: HarperCollins, 2014. 368 pp. ISBN: 978-0062287939, \$26.99.

Reviewed by Daniel A. Métraux

General Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964) remains one of the most controversial characters in American history. He is in many ways one of our great military heroes, but a greatly flawed hero. His brilliant and daring landing at Incheon in 1950 certainly turned the tide of the Korean War, but his drive north near the Chinese border at the Yalu River and his pronouncements suggesting that the U.S. drop atomic bombs on Beijing led to the disastrous intervention of Chinese forces and horrific American defeats

later that year. Too often MacArthur's huge ego got in the way of his valuable contributions to the Allied cause in World War II and the Korean War. When I teach courses on modern Japanese history I offer this mixed picture of MacArthur's legacy, but I do give a very positive analysis of MacArthur's excellent performance as chief of Allied forces during the occupation of Japan (1945–1952). This view is strongly endorsed in Seymour Morris' latest book, *Supreme Commander: MacArthur's Triumph in Japan*.

Morris argues that the huge success of the allied occupation of Japan was primarily due to the enlightened and powerful leadership of one man, General MacArthur. There is considerable evidence to support this assertion. Although he considered himself a conservative Republican, MacArthur commissioned a Japanese Constitution far more liberal in its content than the American Constitution, fostered the growth of labor unions, provided basic rights for women, engineered a major land reform, and did much more to encourage the growth of a peaceful and democratic Japan. There can be no doubt that MacArthur, the supreme commander of the Allied Powers, was the driving force behind the occupation.

Morris portrays MacArthur as a highly intelligent man and brilliant manager who was always able to see the "big picture," who came with a clear set of objectives, and who achieved virtually everything that he planned to accomplish. MacArthur saw the need to bring about major reforms across the spectrum of Japanese society. He argued that Japan must not revert to its prewar social structure, which greatly restricted the rights and potential of women, impoverished farmers, and greatly exploited workers. Japan had been ruled by a wealthy and powerful group of oligarchs who controlled both business and the government. MacArthur's initiatives gave women the vote, the right to marry whom they pleased, and to own and manage their own property. Labor unions gave workers a much stronger voice and land reform created a large class of middle-class property owners. Perhaps most importantly, MacArthur's Article Nine in the Constitution forced Japan to renounce war and forbade the creation of a military that could invade other lands.

One of MacArthur's key decisions was to support the retention of the emperor. Many leaders in the West and the rest of Asia wanted to try Emperor Hirohito 裕仁 (1901–89) as a war criminal, but MacArthur realized that keeping the Emperor on the throne would enhance social stability. MacArthur met often with Hirohito, who became a major spokesman in support of MacArthur's objectives.

Morris claims that MacArthur played a key role in keeping the Russians out of the occupation while choking the growth of the Communist Party in Japan. When a reporter asked Japanese Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru 吉田 茂 (1878–1967) what he felt MacArthur's greatest triumph had been, he responded that MacArthur's resistance to Soviet efforts to occupy part of Japan and his suppression of the Communists in Japan in 1946 were critical to Japan's revival after the War.

Morris' research and writing are excellent. His work is one of the most informative and cohesive general studies of the occupation. The inevitable flaws are few. Morris mentions the Land Reform only in passing, though many scholars argue that it was MacArthur's crowning achievement as supreme commander for the Allied Powers. And by placing so much emphasis on MacArthur's role Morris ignores both the huge contributions of other members of the occupation leadership and the willingness of so many Japanese to cooperate with the American reformers. If the Japanese had refused to cooperate, the occupation would have been a failure. But Morris correctly emphasizes MacArthur's insistence that the reform process had to start early and proceed quickly and aggressively because the Japanese would soon grow restless and demand an end to the occupation. In general Morris gives too much credit to one man, MacArthur, while often diminishing the important contributions of other Allied leaders in Japan.

All in all, Seymour Morris' *Supreme Commander* is an excellent study that would enhance any college course on the history of modern Japan or U.S.–Japan relations.

CONTRIBUTORS/EDITORS

STEVEN HEINE is Professor and Director of Asian Studies at Florida International University and a specialist in Japanese Buddhism in relation to society. He recently published *Dōgen and Sōtō Zen* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

FABIAN BAUWENS earned his PhD in Political Science at Johns Hopkins University in 2015 and will teach and conducting research at the School of International Studies at Renmin University of China, Beijing.

JULIA C. BULLOCK is Associate Professor of Japanese Language and Literature at Emory University, and specializes in modern Japanese literature from the Meiji period (beginning 1868) to the present.

PETER DOEBLER is currently the Hone Research Fellow for Museum Engagement at the Dayton Art Institute in Dayton, Ohio. His research interests include theological and comparative aesthetics.

ERIC ESTEBAN graduated this year from the University of Florida with a BA in Japanese Language and Literature. His research interests span Japanese court poetry from the tenth to fourteenth centuries.

BRADLY HAMMOND graduated from FIU with degrees in International Relations and Asian Studies in 2013. In 2015, he completed his M.A. in Japanese Studies at the University of Michigan.

JASON CHRISTOPHER JONES is a Lecturer in Japanese Studies at Monash University. He is also an active translator and interpreter, and recently subtitled the documentary film, *Tohoku Tomo*.

DANIEL A. METRAUX is Professor Emeritus and Adjunct Professor of Asian Studies at Mary Baldwin College. He has written extensively on modern Japanese and East Asian history.

YONEYUKI SUGITA is Professor of History at Osaka University. He received his Ph.D. from University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1999. He has written many articles and book chapters on Japanese health insurance.