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BASHÔ'S *FÛRYÛ* AND THE AESTHETIC OF *SHÔYÔYÛ*: POETICS OF ECCENTRICITY AND UNCONVENTIONALITY

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Introduction

In Japanese literary history, Bashô's name is always associated with the elevation of *haikai* (comic linked verse) to a high art. In order to transform the genre from a merely entertaining pastime to a serious art form, Bashô and his followers sought new poetic possibilities and principles. Of these, Chinese poetry and the Daoist classics are among the most important. This study examines Bashô's adaptation of the Daoist ideas, focusing on the relationship between his concept of *fûryû* and the Daoist notion of *shôyôyû* (C. *xiaoyaoyou*).

Fûryû is an important aesthetic concept in traditional Japanese culture, but the precise meaning of the term is a complicated issue. *Fûryû* is derived from the Chinese word *fengliu*, "wind flowing (blowing)." *Fengliu* in Chinese texts has multiple implications, ranging from a metaphor on the unpredictability of human existence, to a word for the popular customs and mores of a society, to term for exceptional literary styles, to a term for elegant but unconventional behavior and aesthetic taste inspired by the Daoist works *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* and Buddhist thought, to a term for the heightened appreciation and expression of sensual-aesthetic experience and sensibilities, and to a term inferring an amorous, flamboyant quality.¹ By the Song era (960-1279), these meanings associated with *fengliu* had already been in common use in Chinese texts.

Along with the introduction of Chinese texts into Japan over the centuries, the multiple meanings of *fengliu* (J. *fûryû*) came to be used in Japanese and blended with native thoughts. As a result, *fûryû* became a very difficult term to define. In his study of *fûryû* in Japanese literature and arts, Okazaki Yoshie provides a comprehensive survey of the multiple usages of *fûryû* in Japanese texts. According to Okazaki, the earliest Japanese text that contains the word *fûryû* is the *Manyôshû*, in which the

¹ This summary of the multiple meanings of *fengliu* is based on Richard John Lynn's article, "The Range of Meanings of *Fengliu* in Early Chinese Texts," presented at the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting (San Diego), 10 March 2000.

term is given phonetic transcriptions in a native Japanese reading as *miyabi*, meaning “elegant,” “refined love taste,” or “unworldly refinement.” However, some other early Japanese texts, particularly the Buddhist didactic literature such as *Nihon ryōiki* (Record of Miracles in Japan, ca. 823), give *fūryū* a different reading, *misao*, which means “virtuous” or “spiritual integrity.”² The later Heian texts in which *fūryū* is used, such as *Bunkyo hifuron* (Mirror of Literature: Treasured Treatises, 819-20), *Honchō monzui* (The Best Writings of Japan, ca. 1058-64), and the prefaces of the imperial poetic anthologies, are mostly written in Chinese, hence it is hard to tell how the term is read with Japanese pronunciation. But, the contexts in which *fūryū* appears, suggest that the term primarily refers to *bunga*, “the elegance of letters,” and also to, “the wonder of scenic beauty.”³

From the late Heian period to the early Kamakura period, *fūryū* was increasingly used to describe the sensuous, showy beauty of artificial objects and folk arts, as evidenced by the accounts of festivals (*matsuri*) and contests of activities (*mono aware*) popular at the time. The latter meaning was widely used in medieval Japan, and *fūryū* in that vein became the synonym of *basara* and *kasa*, both suggesting flamboyant, somewhat flashy beauty. During this period, another usage of *fūryū* advocated by the Chinese literati culture—*fūryū* as the transcendence of the mundane world and the love of nature—also found its way into Japan.⁴ This latter trend of *fūryū* was typically seen in the Five Mountains (*Gozan*) Zen poetry and tea ceremonies of the late medieval and early modern Japan. In the tea ceremony, the term was associated with *suki* (devotion to an art or pleasure), “advocating an eremitic withdrawal from the world, and devotion to simple pleasures.”⁵ Additionally, *fūryū* was used to describe musical performance in medieval Japan, referring to the florid costume and decoration at first, and then also to the florid style of the music and

² Okazaki Yoshie, “Manyō jidai no fūryū” (*Fūryū* of the Manyōshū Period), in *Nihon geijutsu shichō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1948), pp. 33-65.

³ Okazaki, “Heian jidai no fūryū” (*Fūryū* of the Heian Period), in *Nihon geijutsu shichō*, pp. 66-106.

⁴ Okazaki, “Chūsei ni okeru kasa to basara no fūryū” (*Fūryū* as *Kasa* and *Basara* in the Medieval Period), in *Nihon geijutsu shichō*, pp. 89-106.

⁵ Patricia J. Graham, *Theater of the Sages: The Art of Sencha* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), p. 60

performance.⁶ On the other hand, *fūryū* in *Nō* theories suggested the classical tradition of elegant beauty similar to *miyabi*, presenting a contrast to the popular taste for *basara* at the time.⁷

Fūryū in *haikai* has often been discussed in conjunction with *fūga* (elegance of literature). Ōnishi Yoshinori points out that in *haikai* poetics, *fūga* is used to refer to the art of *haikai* specifically, whereas *fūryū* has a much broader meaning.⁸ Komiya Toyotaka also compares *fūryū* with *fūga*, saying, “*Fūryū* is something more fundamental, something that gives birth to *kanshi*, *waka*, *renga*, and *haikai*. Only superb works of poetry can represent *fūryū*. Therefore, although *fūryū* and poetry—*fūryū* and *fūga*—closely relate to each other, they are different concepts.”⁹ Okazaki observes that in Bashō’s works, *fūga* refers to literature, especially *haikai* and *haikai* spirit. He further suggests that what gives *fūga* its poetic quality is nothing else but *fūryū*.¹⁰ In a more recent study on the thoughts of *fūryū* in Japanese culture, Fujiwara Shigekazu draws examples from Bashō to demonstrate *fūryū* as “the poetics of relations” (*tsukiai no shigaku*), which he describes as an emancipated mentality in relating to people, society, nature, and oneself.¹¹

While the importance of *fūryū* in Bashō’s poetry has been repeatedly stressed by previous studies, in what meaning Bashō uses the term remains obscure. As seen above, under the same rubric of *fengliu/fūryū* multiple, and sometimes seemingly opposite, meanings and trends have evolved. Which of them has Bashō adapted into his *fūryū*? What new contribution has Bashō made to the *fūryū* aesthetics in Japan? In analyzing the uses of *fūryū* in Bashō’s writings, Okazaki notes its connection to *miyabi* and *suki*, but he also notices that from *Oku no hosomichi* (The narrow road to the

⁶ In this context, the term was often read as *furyū* instead of *fūryū*.

⁷ Okazaki, “*Chūsei no kabu engeki ni okeru fūryū*” (*Fūryū* in the Musical Performance and Theatre of the Medieval Period), in *Nihon geijutsu shichō*, pp. 107-132.

⁸ Ōnishi Yoshinori, *Fūgaron (On Fūga)* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1940), pp. 130-2.

⁹ Komiya Toyotaka, *Hito to sakuhin (Writer and His Work)* (Tokyo: Koyama Shoten, 1843), pp. 58-61.

¹⁰ Okazaki, “*Haikai no fūga to fūryū*” (*Fūryū* and *Fūga* in *Haikai*), in *Nihon geijutsu shichō*, p. 214.

¹¹ Fujiwara Shigekazu, *Fūryū no shisō (The Thoughts of Fūryū)* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1994), pp. 166-229.

deep north, 1689) onward, Bashô's *fûryû*, "attains a dimension much higher than the world of *fûryû* in the Nara and Heian periods."¹² Okazaki points out the possible Zen influence in Bashô's *fûryû*, but he does not provide sufficient evidence to prove it. Fujiwara's observation of Bashô is extremely stimulating and brings out many important issues concerning *fûryû*, but his discussion focuses more on Japanese culture in general rather than on Bashô. He treats *fûryû* basically as a unique Japanese way of life, paying little attention to its Chinese provenance. However, as we shall see in the following pages, the significance of Bashô's *fûryû* cannot be fully explained without looking at its derivation in earlier Chinese tradition.

This study demonstrates that Bashô's *fûryû* advocates a poetics that places emphasis on eccentricity and unconventionality, or, to be more precise, on transcending the "worldly" by being eccentric and unconventional. It argues that this *fûryû* poetics inspired by Daoist thought and the *Wei-Jin fengliu* tradition in Chinese literature. When looking at the Chinese influence on Bashô, earlier studies tend to treat the influences of Chinese poetry and the Daoist thought separately. This article considers them as an organic integration in Bashô's work. It is shown in the following pages that Bashô's understanding of the *Wei-Jin fengliu* tradition and his understanding of Daoist principles cannot be discussed separately. Rather, the Chinese poetic anthologies and critical writings available to Bashô have constantly informed him of poetic traits rooted in Daoist thoughts, and the text of the *Zhuangzi* that Bashô used have also stressed the correspondences between the two. It is through the awareness of such correspondences that Bashô grasped the quintessential elements of Chinese poetry that are characteristically related to the Daoist idea of free and easy wandering (*shôyôyû*) and termed them as *fûryû*.

***Fûryû* in Bashô's Works**

One of the masterpieces of Bashô's prose poetry, *Oku no hosomichi* (The Narrow Road to the Deep North),¹³ contains the following passage:

After having arrived at the post station of Sukagawa,
I called upon a man named Tôkyû, who insisted that

¹² Okazaki, "*Haikai no fûga to fûryû*," p. 234.

¹³ Translation of the title is from Yuasa Nobuyuki, *Bashô: The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979).

we stay at his house for a few days. He asked me how I had fared at the barrier of Shirakawa. I replied that I was unable to compose any poem. I had been totally exhausted from the long journey, partly also because I had been overwhelmed by the scene of the landscape and by the nostalgic thoughts of the past. It would be regrettable, however, to cross the barrier without writing a single verse, so I wrote:

<i>Fûryû no</i>	The beginning of <i>fûryû</i> !
<i>Hajime ya</i>	The rice-planting song
<i>Oko no Taueuta</i>	In the remote north.

My verse is followed by a second and third verse, and we produced three linked-verse sequences.¹⁴

This poem was composed on Bashô's famous journey to the remote northern provinces, a journey that provided the sources for his creation of the best travel literature in Japanese history. Before he went on the trip in the spring of 1689, Bashô had abandoned his Plantain Tree Hut in Fukagawa—clearly a gesture of determination to start a new journey in his career. At the Shirakawa Barrier, the entrance to the far north, facing the magnificent landscape and with profound thoughts of the literary past, the poet composed the verse. The poem, in this background, is an important announcement of Bashô's poetic quest. At the same time, as the opening verse of a linked verse sequence, the poem sets the keynote for the collaborated composition and serves as a salutatory greeting to the host.

The multiple functions of the verse have caused different interpretations of its meaning, particularly of the first line. Scholars differ as to whether it refers specifically to the first poetic event the speaker has encountered at the remote northern area or broadly to the origin of poetry and all arts.¹⁵ Some early Japanese scholarship also has suggested that

¹⁴ All my translations of Bashô's writings in this study are based on Komiya Toyotaka, comp., *Kohon Bashô zenshu (The Complete Collection of Bashô's Works)*, 10 Vols. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1964-69). Henceforth abbreviated as *KBZ*. The passage above is from *KBZ*, Vol. 6, p. 91.

¹⁵ See, for example, the Japanese commentaries selected and translated in Makoto Ueda, *Bashô and His Interpreters* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), p. 238. For English translations of the poem, Yuasa in his translation of *Oku no hosomichi* rendered the first line into "The first

here the term means the musical performance, *fūryū*, but this point of view is not widely accepted since no solid evidence has been found that *fūryū* evolved from rice planting songs. On the other hand, Ebara Taizō and other annotators interpreted the term as the aesthetic or artistic experience the speaker had when he stepped into the unexplored area on his journey.¹⁶ The existing English translations of the poem have been relatively concurrent in translating the term into “poetry” or “the poetic.”

Given some semantic and compositional contexts, the poem presents intriguing questions to the reader: either as praise to the host’s homeland or as an announcement of the speaker’s poetic quest, the poem has assumed a natural relationship between poetry and the rice planting song in the rustic area; but on what basis is this relationship established? The orthodox *waka* and *renga* traditions apparently do not provide a congenial basis for such an assumption. Then, what kind of poetry does Bashō’s *fūryū* refer to?

Like *fūga* (elegance of literature or poetry), *fūryū* is one of the many Chinese-origin words Bashō liked to use. In “*Sanseizu san*” (Eulogy on the Painting of the Three Sages), a prose written in his later years, he writes:

A person who puts his whole heart in *fūryū* and
harmonizes himself with the four seasons would find
the things worthy of verse inexhaustible, as the grains
of sand on the beach.¹⁷

In this passage, *fūryū* can be taken as poetry in general and is almost interchangeable with *fūga*. But in Bashō’s other writings *fūryū* is more often used to describe a quality or taste that is closely associated with the life and spirit of a recluse/wayfarer. In *Oku no hosomichi*, for example, Bashō writes about his visit to a painter at Sendai. The poet tells us that when the time came for him to leave, the painter gave him some drawings and two pairs of straw sandals with their laces dyed deep blue. Bashō comments on the sandals: “It was with the last gifts that he demonstrated

poetic venture.” Haruo Shirane translated the line as “The beginning of poetry” when discussing the performativity mode of Bashō’s poetry. See his “Aisatsu: The Poet as Guest,” in *New Leaves: Studies and Translations of Japanese Literature in Honor of Edward Seidensticker* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1993), p. 91.

¹⁶ Okazaki, “*Haikai no fūga to fūryū*,” pp. 225-6.

¹⁷ *KBZ*, Vol. 6, p. 507.

most clearly his character as a connoisseur of *fûryû*.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that the poet does not pay much attention to the drawings, which are of the beautiful landscapes of famous places, but stresses the artist's taste of *fûryû* demonstrated in the sandals he sent to the traveler, objects that are often associated with rusticity and a wayfarer's life.

As revealed by his example, the taste and lifestyle of a recluse/traveler is considered a basic element of *fûryû*. Once, when commenting on his disciple's verse "Record of a humble life/Is enclosed within/The gates of the thatched hut," Bashô said, "This verse is not particularly novel. But, since it is about the thatched hut and recluse, it has certain *fûryû*."¹⁹ Bashô did not give any further explanation of his judgement here. It seems that it had become an established criterion in his school that celebrating the recluse tradition is *fûryû*.

Of the elements that typically reflect the recluse tradition, Bashô and his school seem to have valued particularly the following qualities typically associated with the recluse lifestyle: rusticity, humbleness, and deliberate eccentricity and unconventionality. These elements, whether presented together or individually in Bashô's writings, assert a *fûryû* aesthetic distinctively different from the *fûryû* as an aristocratic penchant for romance and refinement in Heian literature. Rice planting, for instance, is often associated with *fûryû* in the *Shômon* (the Bashô School) *haikai*. Bashô mentions in his commentary, "The *fûryû* of rice planting, in a place like Minô or Ômi is different from that of remote areas."²⁰ The comment apparently has assumed that it is common knowledge among his disciples that rice planting, or the experience of encountering rice planting is *fûryû*.

On the other hand, the *Shômon* poetry enthusiastically celebrates the deliberate eccentricity and unconventionality in the recluse tradition. Bashô's disciple Kyorai once writes about how the Master taught him to seek *fûryû* in eccentricity. He tells us that once he composed a verse as the following:

<i>Iwabana ya</i>	The overhanging cliff—
<i>Koko nimo hitori</i>	Here is another
<i>Tsuki no kyaku</i>	Companion of the moon!

¹⁸ *KBZ*, Vol. 6, p. 115.

¹⁹ "Hatsukaishi *hyôchû*" (Commentaries on the First *Haikai* Collection of the Year, 1986), in *KBZ*, Vol. 7, p.410.

²⁰ *KBZ*, Vol. 7, p. 414.

When the late master came to the capital, Kyorai asked: “Shadô had suggested that I change the last line to ‘The monkey of the moon,’ but I preferred ‘companion.’ What do you think?” The late master said: “What will ‘monkey’ do here? Tell me how you have come up with the conception of the poem.” Kyorai replied: “I was thinking that the speaker, enjoying the bright moonlight, wanders in mountains and fields while reciting poems. At that moment he saw another poet under the cliff.” The late master said: “It would add more *fûryû* if you make ‘here is another companion of the moon’ the poet’s self-portrait, though this will make it a first-person poem. I like this poem a lot, too, so I have included it in *Oi no kobumi*.”²¹ My taste at that time was still low, perhaps barely reaching the second or third class. However, though the reinterpretation of the late master, the poem took on the tone of an eccentric (*Kyôsha*).

Later, when thinking about it again, I realized that by making the verse a first-person poem, it created an image of an eccentric, which is ten times better than the original conception. As the author of the poem, I didn’t understand the spirit of eccentricity at the beginning.²²

This passage is revealing in examining the criteria regarding the poetic expression and appreciation of the *Shômon* School. Kyorai’s original conception of the poem focuses on the poetic sentiment of the speaker who, while indulging deeply in poetry and the beauty of the moonlit night, suddenly notices another person who also enjoys being alone as the companion of the moon. “The companion of the moon” humorously implies the loneliness of the recluse/traveler, creating an image at once lofty and comic. Although Kyorai’s original conception was not bad, Bashô found that it lacked eccentricity and suggested making the phrase “here is another companion of the moon” the poet’s self-identification. With Bashô’s interpretation, the poet’s utterance is no longer a monologue describing what he has just discovered, but a dialogue that addresses both spatially to the audience and temporally to the literary past. The use of “another” indicates that the speaker is aware of the existence of a literary

²¹ *Oi no kobumi* (Poems in the Traveler’s Satchel), is a collection of poems by the *Shômon* poets, not Bashô’s travel account that has the same title. The work is no longer found.

²² Mukai Kyorai (1651-1704), “*Kyorai shô*” (Kyorai’s Notes, 1775), in *KBZ*, Vol. 7, p. 75. The last paragraph seems to have been added later. See Miyamoto Saburô’s annotation to the work in *KBZ*, Vol. 7, p. 75.

tradition that magnifies the deliberate eccentricity of the recluse/traveler, and therefore he speaks of himself as another one of those eccentrics who are proud to be the lonely companion of the moon. It is striking that both Bashô and Kyorai consider eccentricity *fûryû*, to the degree of believing that by simply changing the persona to an eccentric, the poem is much better than the original one.

Kyorai's notes show that the spirit of *kyô*, or eccentricity, is an essential element of *fûryû*, to Bashô School. In Bashô's writings, eccentricity as a poetic quality is termed *fûkyô*, which is one of the thematic and aesthetic focuses of Bashô School at its peak. Ogata Tsutomu characterizes the 1680's in the development of *Shômon* poetry as the "years of *fûkyô*,"²³ stressing the importance of the "journeys of *fûkyô*" Bashô and his fellow poets undertook from around 1684 onward.²⁴ Konishi Jin'ichi and Hitrota Jirô also consider Bashô's celebration of *fûkyô* in the early 1680's an important formative period in his growth.²⁵ Indeed, the 1680's witnessed a series of remarkable events in Bashô's life. In 1680, he moved into a hut at Fukagawa, a rustic area on the eastern bank of the Sumida River. Four years later, in 1684, Bashô left his cottage to go on his first major journey and spent the following years wandering to the remote areas of Japan. These "years of *fûkyô*" were very fruitful in Bashô's career, based on his hut life and journey, he wrote most of his masterpieces.

Although Bashô's concept of *fûkyô* has drawn much scholarly attention, thus far it has not been examined in conjunction with *fûryû*. However, as having been shown in the examples of this article, *fûkyô* is an indispensable element of the *fûryû* tradition Bashô advocated. Bashô's peculiar way of life—as a recluse and a constant wayfarer—has garnered much attention from the western scholars in religious studies. Early treatments of this subject have attributed Bashô's unique way of life to Zen influence. Since the late 1970's, studies of the phenomenon tend to locate

²³ "Shôfû haikai shi" (The History of the Bashô-style *Haikai*), in *Haiku kôza*, Miki Akira, comp. (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1969), p. 189.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-206.

²⁵ See Konishi Jin'ichi, "Bashô to gûgensetsu" (Bashô and Zhuangzi's *Gûgen*), in *Nihon gakushiin kiyô* 18, No. 2 (1960), pp. 145-151; and Hirota Jirô, *Bashô no geijutsu—sono tenki to haikai* (The Art of Bashô—Its Development and Background) (Tokyo: Yôseido, 1968), pp. 52-128, 335-371.

his attitude in a more sophisticated tradition that is not limited to Buddhist philosophy.²⁶ On the other hand, Steven Carter argues in his recent study that Bashô's "action was as an instance of what those in the highest ranks of a profession are always wont to do: to test their competence in a wider arena, and by so doing to claim a transcendent status for themselves and their occupations."²⁷ In regard to Bashô's concept of *fūryū*, this investigation focuses on another aspect of the phenomenon. It argues that Bashô's eccentric way of life was a literary stance or gesture, an attempt to seek *fūryū*. In fact, this attempt has been revealed in the poet's own writings. In "On the Unreal Dwelling," after writing about his life in seclusion, the poet declares:

But I should not have it thought from what I have said that I am devoted to solitude and seek only to hide my traces in the wilderness. Rather, I am like a sick man weary of people, or someone who is tired of the world. What is there to say? I have not led a clerical life, nor have I served in normal pursuits. Ever since I was very young I have been fond of my eccentric ways, and once I had come to make them the source of a livelihood, temporarily I thought, I discovered myself bound for life to the one line of my art, incapable and talentless as I am.²⁸

In the passage, the writer says that ever since he was very young he has been fond of his eccentric ways, and his "eccentric ways" led him to his art. However, little is known about Bashô's childhood, and the existing materials about his life indicate that Bashô achieved the status of *haikai*

²⁶ For relevant studies, see Richard B. Pilgrim, "The Religio-Aesthetic of Matsuo Bashô," in *The Eastern Buddhist* 10, (1977), pp. 35-53; Gary L. Ebersole, "Matsuo Bashô and the Way of Poetry in the Japanese Religious Tradition" (PhD Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1981); David L. Barnhill, "The Journey Itself Home—The Religiosity of the Literary Works of Matsuo Bashô (1644-1694)" (PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 1986).

²⁷ "On the Bare Branch: Bashô and the *Haikai* Profession," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, No. 1 (1997), pp. 57-69.

²⁸ Donald Keene, trans., *Anthology of Japanese Literature* (New York: Grove Press, 1955), p. 376. The account in Japanese, *Genjūan no ki* (On the Unreal Dwelling), can be found in *KBZ*, Vol. 6, pp. 470-1.

master before abandoning his literary practice in the city of Edo to move to his hut. If the available information can be trusted, his “eccentric way” of life is more likely the result of a literary pursuit, an effort to create an eccentric self-image that is considered *fūryū*. Whether his “eccentric way” of life led him to his art or his art acquired the “eccentric way” of life, what interests us here is Bashō’s belief in the direct connection between the two. This belief, as can be seen in the following prose by Bashō, is based on his knowledge of a long poetic tradition which has its deep roots in Daoist thought. The prose was written in the autumn of 1689 as an epilogue to a *haibun* (*haikai* style prose) by his friend, Yamaguchi Sodō (1642-1761).

Epilogue to “Exposition on Bagworm”²⁹

One day, while dwelling in the desolation in my cottage, I wrote a poem. Being utterly touched by the poem, my friend Sodō inscribed a prose poem to it. His lines are beautiful like brocade, and his words are gems. Reading his inscription, I saw the artistry of *The Songs of Sorrow*.³⁰ It has a novelty of Su Shi and the ingenuity of Huang Tingjian.³¹ He mentions the filial piety of Shun³² at the beginning to remind us to learn from his virtue. He praises the incapability of the bagworm to show the

²⁹ There are two existing versions of the prose poem. My translation is based on the first draft. The other draft, which is slightly different, was signed “Bashō-an Tōsei.” Bashō wrote under the literary name Tōsei at the time. It has been pointed out that the name, whose two characters mean “Peach Green,” indicates the poet’s admiration of the great Chinese poet Li Bo’s name literally means “Plum White.” “*Bashō-an*” was the name of Bashō’s cottage, meaning “Plantation Tree Hut.” The poet later used Bashō as his literary name.

³⁰ *Lisao* (Encountering the Sorrow), a classic of Chinese poetry. The author of *Lisao* is Qū Yuan (ca. 340-278 BCE).

³¹ Both Su Shi (1037-1101) and Huang Tingjian (1045-1105), were famous poets of Song China.

³² Shun is one of the five ancient emperors in Chinese legends. The tradition has it that although mistreated by his father, he served his parents dutifully. Praising the bagworm as “he Shun of insects,” Sodō in his prose makes an allusion to Sei Shōnagon’s, *Makura no sōshi* (The Pillow Book, 1002), which associates the faint voice of the bagworm with Shun, who quietly endured the maltreatment from his father.

spirit of the *Zhuangzi*. He treasures the tiny creatures like bagworm to help us understand the value of contentment with one's lot. He also draws upon the stories of Lü Fang³³ and Zi Ling³⁴ to reveal the meaning of seclusion. At the end, he jokes about the jade worm,³⁵ exhorting people not to indulge in love. Who else can know the heart of the bagworm so well except this old gentleman Sodô! What he wrote can be described precisely as "In quiet contemplation, one finds all things have their own reasons for existence."³⁶ Indeed, in Sodô I see the meaning of this famous poem.

Since ancient times, most people who deal with the writing brush pursue embellishments at the cost of content; or take content seriously, but ignore *fûryû*. When reading Sodô's prose poem, one is attracted not only by its embellishment but, more significantly, by its essence.

There is a gentleman named Chôko³⁷ in this area. Upon learning of Sodô's prose, he drew a painting based on it. His painting is truly deep in feeling while light in color. Looking at the painting intensely, one feels as if the bagworm is moving and the yellow leaves are falling. Listening attentively, one feels he has heard the bagworm's cry and felt the coldness of the gentle autumn wind. I feel very fortunate to have the leisure in this

³³ As pointed out in the annotation to the work in *KBZ*, Vol. 6, p. 340, Bashô must have made a mistake here. Lü Fang [should be Lü Wang], a recluse in Chinese legend. It is said that he was discovered and employed by King Wen of Zhou (ca. 1100-771 BCE).

³⁴ Ziling was a virtuous recluse of the later Han time (25-220).

³⁵ *Tamamushi* (chrysochroa elegans), literally means "Jade Worm." In the inscription Sodô writes: "Bagworm, it is because you are rejected by the Jade Worm that your sleeves are wet with tears?" (See, *KBZ*, Vol. 6, p. 338.) According to *Tamamushi sôshi* (The story of the jade worm), upon which Sodô makes the allusion, all kinds of insects loved Princess Jade Worm. The Bagworm also sent her his love letter, but Jade Worm didn't even reply.

³⁶ The line is from *Qiu ri ou cheng* (Extemporaneous poems on an autumn day), a group of poems by the renowned Song philosopher Cheng Hao (1032-1085).

³⁷ Hanabusa Ichô (1625-1724). He was a painter and was considered "a representative of the Genroku era." See, *KBZ*, Vol. 6, p. 339.

hut of idleness and to have the profound friendship of the two gentlemen, as a bagworm who has been bestowed glorifying features.³⁸

Writing poems in response to each other's work was common practice in Bashô's time, and these exchanges became good sources for studying the author's critical views and aesthetic taste. However, Bashô's taste, as indicated in the writings above, is not very clear at first glance. The beginning of the epilogue is not difficult to understand: Bashô praises the writing style of his friend by comparing his work to the masterpieces of Chinese poetry, *The Songs of Sorrow* and poems of the famous Song poets, Su Shi and Huang Tingjian. The following sentence, "He mentions the filial piety of Shun at the beginning to remind us to learn from his virtue," is also self-explanatory, although Bashô did not tell the reader that when mentioning Shun, Sodô was not trying to teach a lesson of filial piety. Sodô's prose mentions Shun in a phrase praising the bagworm, "You are Shun of insects." A bagworm is the central image of Bashô's poem that has inspired Sodô's inscription, and the image is a self-portrait Bashô uses more than once in his writings. Sodô's original words, therefore, are more a compliment to Bashô, the author of the poem, than a message of moral lesson. Bashô apparently tries to show modesty by deliberately interpreting Sodô's words in a different way.

When Bashô writes about how Sodô praises the bagworm for its "incapability" and being "tiny," the implications become difficult to understand. To understand the meaning, it is necessary to first look at Bashô's poem that has inspired Sodô's inscription, and then finds out what is "the spirit of the *Zhuangzi*" to which the poet associates the bagworm.

Bashô's poem that stimulated Sodô is a seventeen-syllable short verse: "Come and listen/To the voice of the bagworm—/The grass thatched hut."³⁹ As mentioned earlier, "bagworm" is one of the metaphors Bashô likes for his eccentric self-portrait. His "On the Unreal Dwelling," for example, introduces him as a "bagworm:"

My body, now close to fifty years of age, has become
an old tree that bears bitter peaches, a snail which has
lost its shell, a bagworm separated from its bag; it

³⁸ *KBZ*, Vol. 6, pp. 340-1.

³⁹ "Zoku minashiguri," in *KBZ*, Vol. 1, p. 125.

drifts with the winds and clouds that know no destination.⁴⁰

Here, the intended metaphor “bagworm,” like several other metaphors used with it, is a creature that is incapable, useless, and solitary, drifting along with the force of nature. These qualities, as Bashō mentions in his epilogue, reflect the spirit of the Daoist classic, the *Zhuangzi*. In the *Zhuangzi*, the absurdity of conventional values is a recurrent theme. The parable-like stories (*gūgen*) in the work deliberately go against existing values and conventions; laughing at the “talented” and “useful” and praising the “incapable” and “useless” is a typical topic. One *gūgen*, for instance, relates how Zhuangzi and Huizi⁴¹ discuss the concepts of “useful” and “useless.”

Huizi said to Zhuangzi, “I have a big tree of the kind men call *shu*. Its trunk is too gnarled and bumpy to apply a measuring line to, its branches too bent and twisty to match up to a compass or square. You could stand it by the road and no carpenter would look at it twice. Your words, too, are big and useless, and so everyone alike spurns them!”

Zhuangzi said, “Maybe you’ve never seen a wildcat or a weasel. It crouches down and hides, watching for something to come along. It leaps and races east and west, not hesitating to go high or low—until it falls into the trap and dies in the net. Then again there’s the yak, big as a cloud covering the sky. It certainly knows how to be big, though it doesn’t know how to catch rats. Now you have this big tree and you’re distressed because it’s useless. Why don’t you plant it in Not-Even-Anything Village, or the Field of Broad-and-Boundless, relax and do nothing by its side, or lie down for a free and

⁴⁰ *KBZ*, Vol. 6, p. 470; translation is from Donald Keene, *Anthology of Japanese Literature*, p. 374.

⁴¹ Huizi is a logician philosopher of late Zhou times. In the *Zhuangzi*, Huizi is described as, “weak in inner virtue, strong in his concern for external things.” See Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tsu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 377. Henceforth abbreviated *CWC*.

easy sleep under it? Axes will never shorten its life,
 nothing can ever harm it. If there's no use for it, how
 can it come to grief or pain?"⁴²

In the discussion, Zhuangzi's answer seems to have dragged in all sorts of irrelevant matters, but by so doing he not only negates Huizi's opinion of the big tree, but also criticizes Huizi's way of thinking fundamentally. Taking over Huizi's comments on the gnarled tree, Zhuangzi argues that crouched things are not necessarily all incapable or useless: a crouched wildcat or weasel can be very quick in catching small animals. Yet, being capable is not necessarily good. Like a fast-running wildcat that often falls into the trap, capability can be a source of danger. On the other hand, because something is big, does not always mean that it is capable—a big yak cannot compete with the little wildcat in catching rats. In the same sense, uselessness cannot be viewed, as misfortune—an unwanted tree invites no ax to harm it. Zhuangzi's point here is that all things have their reasons for existence and should not be judged with fixed values. If one does away with worldly concerns and breaks the standards of conventional values, there will be no grief or pain. Zhuangzi's notions of "Not-Even-Anything-Village" and the "Field of Broad-and-Boundless," suggest an ideal realm for unworldly nonconformists, and the nonpragmatic unconventionality of the Daoist classics provides a philosophical basis for eccentricity. It is in this context that Bashô writes in his epilogue, "He praises the incapability of the bagworm to show the spirit of the *Zhuangzi*. He treasures the tiny creatures like bagworm to help us understand the value of contentment with one's lot." The *Zhuangzi* asserts that when one is not limited by conventional values, one can see that all things have their own reason for existence (*zide*). This important idea of the *Zhuangzi* deeply influenced the Confucian scholars of Song China. Bashô's citation in the epilogue, "In quiet contemplation, he finds all things have their own reason for existence," is from a poem by Cheng Hao, one of the vocal speakers of Song Confucianism.⁴³ However, rather

⁴² Watson, *CWC*, p. 35. Romanization of the names has been altered.

⁴³ Several studies by Japanese scholars have discussed the significance of the adaptation of the Daoist idea, *zide*, in Bashô's poetry. Ebara Taizô pointed out that the Han scholar Guo Xiang's (252-312) annotation to the *Zhuangzi* had impact on Bashô's concept. See "Bashô to Rô Sô" (Bashô and Laozi and Zhuangzi), in *Ebara Taizô chosakushû* (Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha, 1981), pp. 72-9. Nonomura Katsuhide traces the sources of the

than going deeply into Song Confucian teachings, Bashô's understanding of the concept seems to relate closely to his observation of the correspondences between the Daoist spirit and the *fûryû* tradition. He criticizes the writers who pursue embellishment at the cost of content or pay attention to the content but forget *fûryû*, implying that Sodô's work is a masterpiece of *fûryû*. Noteworthy is that Bashô separates *fûryû* from content. By *fûryû*, he implies an aesthetic tradition or taste that provides the essence of the contents. As can be detected from Bashô's epilogue, Sodô's writing draws heavily upon Chinese sources, especially the recluse tradition in Chinese literature. Bashô's praise of Sodô reveals again his belief that the eccentricity and unconventionality of the recluse lifestyle is an essential element of *fûryû*, and that the quality of poetry depends ultimately on whether the work embodies this kind of *fûryû*.

Bashô's epilogue gives a clue about the theoretical roots of his perspective of unconventionality. In Japanese literature, the association of unconventionality and poetry did not begin with Bashô; in medieval poetry, particularly the works of Zen Buddhist priests such as Ikkyû Sôjun (1394-1481), the eccentric face was already prominent. Perhaps partly because of this, the association of eccentricity and unconventionality with poetry in Bashô's writings is often taken as an established value, and no explanation is given as to why the eccentric and unconventional can be poetic, or, in Bashô's term, *fûryû*. Nonetheless, the literary significance of Bashô's *fûryû* cannot be fully understood without clarifying this question. This investigation shows that to answer how eccentricity and unconventionality became aesthetic values, an examination of the construction of the *fûryû* tradition in both Japanese and Chinese history is necessary.

The Wei-Jin *Fengliu* and the Spirit of *Xiaoyaoyou*

As mentioned in the beginning of this article, the word *fûryû*, and its original Chinese term *fengliu* as well, underwent complex, semantic changes. There is often inter-fusion of the meanings when the term is used

concept to Song scholar Li Xiyi's annotation to the *Zhuangzi* and the Song Confucian writings. See "*Bashô to Sôji Sôgaku*" (Bashô, the *Zhuangzi* and the Song Learning), in *Renga haikai kenkyû* (1957), pp. 33-9. While recognizing the influence of all these sources, Hitora Jirô suggests that Bashô might have learned the idea from Tang and Song poetry. See *Bashô no geijutsu*, p. 374.

in the contexts of literature and arts. Among the many different usages of *fûryû*, Bashô's *fûryû* shoes remarkable affinity of the Wei-Jin *fengliu* tradition in Chinese literature.

Scholars view the period of the Wei-Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties as an epoch of self-awakening in Chinese literary history. This self-awakening went hand-in-hand with the prevalence of Daoist thought. Confucian teachings were officially promoted and transformed into the ruling ideology in the latter half of the former Han Dynasty (206 BCE-24 CE), but with the fall of the latter Han in 220 CE, the political unity collapsed and Confucianism lost its supreme authority in China. Continuous war and social turmoil caused an enormous loss of life, and a strong sense of uncertainty and impermanence shook the belief of the literati in orthodox Confucian values. Many educated people sought the meaning of life in Daoist teaching and reinterpreted Confucianism in light of Daoist thinking.

The magnetism of Daoist thought during this period of social disorder had much to do with the unique nature of its philosophical presumptions. Unlike the pragmatic Confucian teaching that regulates social behavior by means of ethical codes, the Daoist tenets, namely, "free and easy wandering" and, "naturalness and inaction" (*ziran wuwei*), assert the absolute importance of the individual's freedom and postulate the spontaneous integration of man's inborn nature with the universal order. The *Zhuangzi* criticizes Confucianists as, "enlightened on the subject of ritual principles but stupid in their understanding of men's hearts."⁴⁴ The *Zhuangzi* asserts:

If we must use curve and plumb line, compass and square to make something right, this means cutting away its inborn nature; if we must use cords and knots, glue and lacquer to make something form, this means violating its natural Virtue. So the crouchings and bendings of rites and music, the smiles and beaming looks of benevolence and righteousness, which are intended to comfort the hearts of the world, in fact destroy their constant naturalness.⁴⁵

In opposition to Confucian ritual principles and ethical codes, the *Zhuangzi* advocates a different attitude towards life-free and easy

⁴⁴ Watson, *CWC*, p. 222.

⁴⁵ Watson, *CWC*, p. 100.

wandering. The basic idea of free and easy wandering is the emancipation of mind, which the Song annotator Lin Xiyi⁴⁶ describes as, “letting one’s mind wander in naturalness.”⁴⁷ Free and easy wandering denotes and requests an aesthetically oriented realm. The concept of beauty in Chinese tradition is a domain where the free purpose of individual existence is harmoniously integrated with the law of cosmos.⁴⁸ This aesthetic orientation of Daoist thought made its literary application immediately possible. *Xiaoyaoyou* and other Daoist ideas began to be widely used in literary thinking during the Wei and Jin periods, especially through the poetry of the “Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove,”⁴⁹ and the foremost recluse poet of China, Tao Qian (365-427). The following verse by Ji Kang (224-263), one of the “Seven Worthies,” for example explicitly celebrates spiritual wandering.

⁴⁶ A scholar and official of Song China. His literary name was Juanzhai. The dates of his birth and death are unknown. According to *Song Yuang xuean* 47, he became *Jinshi* (a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations) during the Duanping era (1234-37), and was once appointed Vice Director of the Office of Personal Evaluation. His annotation of the *Zhuangzi*, *Zhuangzi Juangzhai kouyi* (Juanzhai’s Explanation of the *Zhuangzi*), was reprinted in Japan during the Edo period and evidence shows that Bashō and his fellow poets read his interpretations of the *Zhuangzi*.

⁴⁷ Lin Xiyi, “*Zhuangzi Juangzhai kouyi*” (1629 Kyoto edition, henceforth abbreviated ZJK), in Nagasawa Kikuya, ed., *Wakokubon shoshi taisei*, Vols. 11, 12 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1976), henceforth abbreviated WST, Vol. 11, p. 478.

⁴⁸ For in-depth discussions of the concept of beauty in Chinese literary tradition and the aesthetic nature of the *Zhuangzi*, see Xu Fuguan, *Zhuongguo yishu jingshen (The Spirit of Chinese Arts)* (Taizhong: Zhongyang shuju, 1966), pp. 45-143; and Li Zehou and Liu Gangji, eds., *Zhongguo meixueshi (A History of Chinese Aesthetics)* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1987), Vol. 1, pp. 227-284.

⁴⁹ The “Seven Worthies,” according to literary convention, refer to Ruan Ji (210-263), Ji Kang, Shan Tao (205-283), Xiang Xiu (ca. 227-272), Liu Ling, Ruan Xian, and Wang Rong (234-305). The “Seven Worthies,” in trying to stay away from corrupt and dangerous politics, were said to have engaged in drinking and philosophical discussion in a bamboo grove outside Luoyang, the ancient capital of China during the Wei-Jin period.

Exterminated cleverness and discarded learning,
 My mind wanders in the deep and the tranquil:
 Not regretting if I committed an error,
 Nor making a show when meeting with success.
 Fishing in a deep valley,
 I enjoy my own world.
 With my hair down, I stroll and sing,
 And harmonious air suffuses all around me.
 O! Sing and celebrate—
 My mind wanders in the deep and tranquil.⁵⁰

This kind of bold celebration of the eccentric self is unprecedented in Chinese poetry. The first line marks an explicit allusion to the following words in the *Laozi*: “Exterminate the sage and discard the wise, and the people will benefit a hundred-fold;” and, “Exterminate learning and there will no longer be worries.”⁵¹ The second couplet alludes to the description of the “True Man” in the *Zhuangzi*: “Man, like this, could commit an error and not regret it, could meet with success and not make a show.”⁵² The heavy citations from the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* in the first four lines reveal the basis of the speaker’s stance, which provides the depth of the eccentric self-portrait in the latter half of the poem. As indicated by Ji Kang’s poem, deliberate eccentricity as an aesthetic preference has much to do with Daoist philosophy, which defines the unworldly free and easy wandering as a state of “perfect beauty” (*zhimei*).⁵³

Different from the “Seven Worthies” of the Wei period, who highlighted the aesthetic qualities of “free and easy wandering” with their unrestrained character types, the Jin poet Tao Qian manifests these qualities through his return to nature. Tao Qian has been considered the “foremost recluse poet” in China. The first of Tao’s “Five Poems on Returning to Gardens and Fields to Dwell,” describes his hermitage as follows:

From my youth I’ve lacked the worldly tune,

⁵⁰ The fifth poem of “*Chongzuo liuyanshi shi shou*” (Rewriting Ten Hexasyllabic Poems), in *Ji Kang ji zhu*, Yin Xiang and Guo Quanzhi, annots. (Hefei: Huangsan Shushe, 1985), p. 46.

⁵¹ D.C. Lau, trans., *Lao Tzu Tao Te Ching* (New York and London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1963), pp. 75-6.

⁵² Watson, *CWC*, p. 77.

⁵³ Watson, *CWC*, p. 225.

By nature I have loved hills and mountains.
 Accidentally I fell into the dusty net of the world,
 And thirteen years passed at once.
 The bird in a trammel longs for its former forest.
 A fish in a pond misses its native deep.
 I opened up wasteland at the southern wilds,
 Adhering to simple, I've returned to the fields.
 On a square plot less than two acres,
 My thatched hut is eight or nine measures.
 Elms and willows shade the back yard;
 Peach and plum cover the front of the hall.
 Dim in distance, is a remote village,
 Lingering vaguely, the country smoke.
 A dog barks deep in the alley,
 A cock crows atop a mulberry tree.
 My home and yard have no dusty goods-
 The empty room has sufficient leisureliness.
 For too long I have been confined in a cage,
 Now I came back again to naturalness.⁵⁴

Intimacy with nature as a literary tradition in China did not begin with Tao Qian or the Daoist classic. Since the dawn of Chinese civilization, the closeness and correspondence between nature and man have been presumed in Chinese consciousness. Nonetheless, Confucian and Daoist thinkers shed different insights on the relationship between man and nature. With man's world as the center of observation, Confucian scholars stressed nature's correspondences to man and human society. In their writings, nature has often been perceived as incarnations of patterns and operations of human culture, and interpreted with the significance and orders established by man. Daoist thinkers, on the other hand, emphasizes that man, "pattern[s] himself on nature,"⁵⁵ and that returning to naturalness are the optimal destiny of life. Taking nature as the true home of man and

⁵⁴ *Tao Jingjie (The Collection of Tao Qian)*, 1664 Tamura edition, reprint in Nagasawa Kikuya, comp., *Wakokubon kanshi shūsei* (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1977), XVII, 2/14b/p. 21; cf. James Robert Hightower, trans., *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), p. 50; Pauline Yu, *The Reading of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 144-5.

⁵⁵ Lin, *ZJK*, 10/6b/p. 118.

the natural as the cosmic order, Lao and Zhuang negate the existing institutions by alienating man from nature and naturalness. Their basic approach is to emancipate human beings from the net of significances and orders people have woven for themselves. Tao Qian's poetry exemplifies the latter set of concepts; it celebrates the realization and perfection of individuality through being one with nature and returning to naturalness. Tao Qian represents an aesthetic-recluse tradition that unifies life and art, or, to be more precise, transforms life into aesthetic experiences. In this aesthetic way of life, naturalness is the principle and, free and easy wandering is the essential state. The aesthetic nature of Tao's hermitage contributed crucially to his unshakable position in Chinese poetic history: Tao Qian was idol of the entire generation of the High Tang poets, whose achievements have been considered the apogee of classical Chinese poetry. The famous Song poet Su Shi (1037-1101) emulated him verse for verse. Since the Tang and the Song, Tao's poems were included in almost every general anthology, becoming the locus of the aesthetic-recluse tradition with which Bashō identified himself.⁵⁶

Through the articulation of the Wei-Jin poets and literati, free and easy wandering became not only the preferred way of life to literati who chose nonconformity and retreat, but also the core of a poetic and literary trend that is described later by critics as *Wei-Jin fengliu*. It is to the unconventionality of the "Seven Worthies" and the aesthetic nature of Tao Qian's hermitage, that we should look for clues to the lasting vitality of the aesthetic-recluse tradition and its influence on Bashō's *fūryū*.

Bashō's *Fūryū* and the *Xiaoyaoyou* Aesthetic

Bashō's admiration for the "Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove" and Tao Qian, can be clearly seen in his writings. One prose dedicated to his deceased disciple, Matsukura Ranran (1647-1693), for example, mentions that the Master has named Ranran's young son after Wang Rong (234-305), one of the "Seven Worthies." In the same prose, Bashō

⁵⁶ Fukunaga Mitsuji, *Chūgoku shūkyō shisōshi* (A History of Chinese Religious Thoughts), traces the relationship between Zhuangzi's "wandering of the mind" and the artistic sensibility of poets and artists of the Six Dynasties (222-589) in China, and draws a line from the concept *asobi* developed in that period to Bashō's poetry. See, Fukunaga Mitsuji, "Yūge to yūge sammai-Tōyō no 'asobi' no tetsugaku," in *Tōyō shisō*, XIII (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990), pp. 98-107.

describes his beloved student Ranran as: “He had the spirits of Lao and Zhuang and dedicated his whole heart to poetry.”⁵⁷ This evidence shows Bashô’s particular fondness for the “Seven Worthies” and Daoist thought. Concerning the actual texts through which Bashô gained his knowledge of the *Wei-Jin fengliu* and Daoist thought, the Chinese poetry anthologies and handbooks spread in Japan through the *Gozan Zen* temples during the late medieval and Edo periods might have played an important role. Nieda Tadashi and Hirota Jirô have isolated more than 30 books, including Daoist and Confucian classics, histories and a large number of poetic anthologies and handbooks, from which Bashô made quotations and allusions.⁵⁸ However, as both Nieda and Hirota have noticed, some of those citations might well have come from other sources, such as the *Nô* songs (*yôkyoku*). Other possible sources are Japanese introductory books on Chinese poetry. By the end of the 1670’s, reading and writing Chinese poems had become so popular that besides various Chinese anthologies and collections that were reprinted in Japan, a large number of works were derived from Japanese writers from the popular Chinese poetic books. The writing style of those works demonstrates an explicit similarity to the theoretical writings of the *Shômon* poets,⁵⁹ indicating that the *Shômon* may have been familiar with these materials. As for the original Chinese sources that may have informed Bashô of Chinese poetry and poetics, scholars agree that rather than collections by individual writers, Bashô probably read more through the popular anthologies, such as *San ti shi* (Three Styles of Poetry),⁶⁰ *Gu wen zhen bao* (True treasures of ancient

⁵⁷ See “*Tô Matsukura Ranran*” (Mourning for Matsukura Ranran), in *KBZ*, Vol. 6, pp. 519-520. Bashô’s allusions to Tao Qian will be discussed in greater detail later.

⁵⁸ Nieda Tadashi, *Bashô ni eikyô shita kanshibun (The Chinese Poetry and Prose that Influenced Bashô)* (Tokyo: Kyôiku Shuppan Sentâ, 1976); Jiro Hirota, *Bashô no geijutsu-sono tenkai to hakei* (Tokyo: Yôseidô, 1968).

⁵⁹ Ueno Yôzô, *Bashôron (On Bashô)* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1986), pp. 273-302.

⁶⁰ *Tang xian san ti shi jia fa*, was compiled by Zhou Bi (1200-?1257) around the Chunyou era (1242-1251) of the Song Dynasty. The book collects poems by 167 Tang poets and arranges them under three major genres of Tang poetry: quatrain, heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic regulated poems. It is believed that the work was brought to Japan by Chûgan

literature),⁶¹ *Lian zhu shi ge* (Strings of Pearls: a classified selection from Tang Song poets),⁶² and *Jin xiu duan* (Collection of Brocade Pieces),⁶³ as well as some handbooks of general poetics, such as *Shi ren yu xie* (Gem Like Words of Poets),⁶⁴ and *Yuan ji huo fa shi xue quan shu* (Practical Knacks and Workable Methods: An encyclopedia of poetics).⁶⁵ In these

Engetsu (1300-1375), a famous poet/priest of the *Gozan* Zen temples in medieval Japan.

⁶¹ A work consisting of two parts in twenty chapters. The first part contains 208 poems from the Han to Tang Dynasties; the second part includes prose and prose-style poetry of 33 writers from the age of the *chu ci* to the Song. There are different opinions about the compiler of the work. Nieda suggests that it is compiled by Huang Jian and edited by Lin Yizheng at the end of Song or early Yuan times. See Nieda, *Bashô ni eikyô shita kanshibun*, p. 160. The work was introduced into Japan in the early Muromachi period and was widely used during Bashô's time.

⁶² *Jing xuan Tang Song qian jia lian zhu shi ge*, is a twenty-chapter work compiled by Yu Ji and Cai Zhengsun. The first two chapters are classified collections of couplets. Couplets are categorized according to their locations, antitheses and themes. For example, there are categories such as "Full Matching of Four Lines" and "Matching of Natural Scenes in the Opening Couplet." The remaining chapters are devoted to the use of words, grouping lines and couplets of different poets under specific words that are employed in them. The work was introduced to Japan by the *Gozan* priests/scholars. It has long been lost in China but has several reprints in Japan.

⁶³ A poetic anthology compiled by Tenin Ryôtaku (1422-1500), one of the most important writers of the *Gozan* literature. The volume collects poems from the Tang through Ming Dynasties.

⁶⁴ *Shiren yuxie*, is a twenty-chapter work (The Tahara edition of 1639, which is used in this study, is 21 volumes.) compiled by Wei Qingzhi (fl. 1240-1244). According to *Siku zongmu tiyao*, the work was completed during the reign of Du Zong (1265-1274). It collects excerpts from the poetic remarks of the Song Dynasty, especially that of the southern Song. The first eleven chapters center on discussions of general poetics, and the remaining chapters focus on criticism of poets from ancient times until the Song.

⁶⁵ A 24-chapter manual of popular poetic themes and imagery. The preface states the work was compiled by Wang Shizhen (1526-1590), the

popular anthologies and handbooks, the aesthetic-recluse taste articulated by the *Wei-Jin fengliu* tradition has become not only an established aesthetic value, but also part and parcel of the poetic language. *Shiren yuxie*, for example, gives particular importance to Tao Qian's position in Chinese poetic history. Chapter thirteen treats major poets and poems before the Tang Dynasty with six sections. While all of the other poets are grouped by period and covered by five sections, Tao Qian alone is discussed in a special section. In defining the "Poetic Taste," the compiler sets out four categories. The second category uses Tao Qian to enunciate "The Taste of the Extraordinary." One excerpt quotes the famous Song poet Su Shi's comments on Tao Qian:

"Yuanming's [Tao Qian] poems may appear tame at first glance, but when you read them repeatedly, you will find an extraordinary taste in there. See, for example, ... 'Plucking chrysanthemums beneath the eastern fence/Leisurely I glimpse the Southern Mountain' and 'Dim in distance, is a remote village/Lingering vaguely, the country smoke/A dog barks in the alley/A cock crows atop a mulberry tree.' These lines are supreme in ingenuity and far-reaching in meaning; his use of words is so precise and mature that it can be compared to the great carpenter who leaves no trace of cutting when whirling his hatchet; those who don't know this taste will never understand these lines no matter how hard they try."⁶⁶

The comparison of Tao's control of words to the skill of the great carpenter is based on a story in the *Zhuangzi*, which describes how Carpenter Shi can skillfully slice off a speck of plaster on the tip of a man's nose without injuring him. Su Shi cites the *Zhuangzi* to praise the naturalness of Tao's poetry. More noteworthy is the taste of Tao's poetry celebrated by both Su Shi and the compiler of the book. Tao's poems cited here were famous among Chinese intellectuals until today. The first couplet, in particular, is a classic of recluse literature.

celebrated critic of Ming Dynasty, and edited by Yang Cong, but Nieda suspects that this might be forged authorship. See Nieda, *Bashô ni eikyô shita kanshibun*, p. 294.

⁶⁶ *Shiren yuxie*, 10/3a,b/p. 95.

These sources, in turn, provide Bashô with handy materials for composing poetry. Bashô's works written after his retreat to Fukagawa show clear marks of the *Wei-Jin fengliu* tradition. In describing his Plantain Tree Hut, for instance, he writes: "Chrysanthemums flourish beneath my eastern fence, and the bamboos are like gentlemen by my northern window."⁶⁷ The first half of the sentence obviously draws upon Tao Qian's verse. The second half reminds us of the image of the "Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove."

Modeling upon his Chinese forerunners, Bashô attempted to manifest *fûryû* in both his life and poetry. Indeed, Bashô's hut dwelling and travel were not like the "hermitage" or "pilgrim" in western sense. He constantly met people, visited the historical sites of literary monuments, and composed *haikai* with other poets. These activities, as Kyorai (1651-1704) wrote, were an important part of the pursuit of *fûryû*:

"There are many unusual men of *fûryû* in the world.
No wonder the late master had journeyed throughout
the country for days and months, seeking to meet
various people who are connoisseurs of poetry."⁶⁸

Having this purpose in mind, it is not surprising that Bashô's major travel accounts all center around poems that record his meetings with the "men of *fûryû*." His first major travel account, *Nozarashi Kikô* (Exposure in the Fields, a Travel Account, 1684),⁶⁹ contains many poems of this kind, such as, "Visiting a Retired Man's Thatched House," "Staying Over Night at a Priest's Place," "On Seeing a Traveler," and "Spending New Year's Eve at a Mountain House." These occasional poems dominate the development of the account, while the prose narrative functions only as rough connections between or brief introductions to them. The structure of *Nozarashi Kikô* reveals that from the first journey, creating an appropriate context or situation in order to compose poems seems to be the traveler's top priority, and Bashô often consciously associates such context and situation to the *Wei-Jin fengliu*. The nature of the poetic context Bashô values can be seen in the following paragraph in *Nozarashi Kikô*.

⁶⁷ "*Bashô o utsusu kotoba*" (On Replanting My Plantain Tree, 1692), in *KBZ*, Vol. 6, p. 503.

⁶⁸ "*Kyoriku ate shokan*" (Kyorai's Letters to Kyoriku, 1695), in *KBZ*, Vol. 7, p. 476.

⁶⁹ Translation of the title is from Donald Keene, *World Within Walls* (New York: Grove Press, 1976), p. 80. Henceforth abbreviated *WW*.

Entering the country of Yamato, we came to a place called *Take no Uchi*⁷⁰ at the province of Katsuge. Because this was my company Chiri's birthplace, we spent several days there resting our feet. There was a house deep amid the bamboo groves.

Watayumi ya The sounds of the cotton bow
Biwa ni nagusamu Are comforting like lute
Take no oku Deep amid the bamboo groves.⁷¹

The comparison of the sounds of the cotton bow to music reminds us of the poem on the rice planting song, in which listening to a rice planting song is described as *fûryû*. Although the poet does not say explicitly, the theme of this poem is also one of *fûryû*. The connection between this verse and the *fengliu* tradition is made more explicit in another short prose introducing the circumstance of the poem.

Amid Bamboo Groves

When I was staying at a place called "Amid the Bamboo Groves" in Yamato, the village chief often came to see me in the mornings and evenings to, I assume, comfort me in the tedium of my travels. This gentleman is truly unusual. His mind wanders freely in the high, while his body mingles with common people, such as grass-mowers, woodcutters and hunters. Carrying a hoe, he enters the garden of Tao Qian; leading an ox, he identifies himself with the recluse at Mount Ji. He is diligent and tireless at his duties, and he also appears humble, taking pleasure in poverty. This village chief must be the kind of man who seeks retreat amid a city and his really attained it.

Watayumi ya The sounds of the cotton bow
Biwa ni nagusamu Are comforting like lute
Take no oku Deep amid the bamboo groves.⁷²

Although the village chief was not a recluse in the strict meaning of the word, this did not stop Bashô from linking him to Tao Qian and other

⁷⁰ The meaning of the name is "Amid the Bamboo Groves."

⁷¹ *KBZ*, Vol. 6, p. 56.

⁷² "*Take no oku*," pp. 306-7.

famous Chinese recluses, or from praising him for the detachment of his mind. Mount Ji, a mountain in modern China's Henan province, is known as the place where the famous recluses Xu You and Cao Fu lived. The *Zhuangzi* describes Xu as a lofty recluse who values individual freedom more than power and wealth.⁷³ Without proper knowledge of the spirit of *xiaoyaoyou* and its embodiment in Chinese recluse tradition, the meaning of Bashô's narrative in the account is difficult to understand. However, Bashô and his disciples seem to see the Daoist ideals and the recluse taste as one aesthetic tradition. In their vocabulary, "recluse" represents sheer poetic qualities, and to discover these qualities and to compose poems on them are *fûryû*. In this meaning, Bashô's short prose above is more an assertion of the poetics of *fûryû* than a depiction of the village chief.

The assertion of *fûryû* was a major theme of Bashô and his school in the 1680's. Besides the popular Chinese poetry books, the reading of the *Zhuangzi*, especially Lin Xiyi's interpretations of the work, the *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi*, also played an important role in shaping Bashô's perspective of the recluse tradition as *fûryû*. Bashô's interest in the *Zhuangzi* has long been noticed by Japanese scholars,⁷⁴ and it has been proven that Bashô read the *Zhuangzi* through Lin Xiyi's annotations. When discussing the relationship between *haikai* and the *Zhuangzi*, Japanese scholars have concentrated on the philosophical connotations of Lin's words. Although this kind of examination is necessary and helpful in accessing the philosophical influence of Lin's text on *haikai* poets, an important feature of Lin Xiyi's explanation of the *Zhuangzi* has been virtually overlooked; throughout his interpretation, Lin frequently cites poems, even those that are not traditionally considered as representing Daoist traits, to explain Daoist principles. He also ascribes the achievements of a number of great Chinese poets to the reading of the *Zhuangzi*. As a result, he leaves the reader with an impression of the prime importance of the Daoist traits in Chinese poetry. For example, of *Zhuangzi*'s words: "Harmonize them all with the Heavenly Equality, leave them to their endless changes, and so live out your years," Lin writes:

Not waiting [for one shifting voice to pass
judgement on another] but emphasizing
harmony, so one can "harmonize them with the

⁷³ Watson, *CWC*, pp. 32-3.

⁷⁴ For information on earlier studies on the topic, see "Bibliography" attached.

Heavenly Equality;” harmonizing them with the Heavenly Equality, then one can wander freely along with the changes as one likes, and live out one’s years as one wishes. This is what Zhuangzi means by “leave them to their endless changes, and so live out your years.” To “live out your years,” is what Du Fu has written: “Being natural and unrestrained (*xiaosa*), I spend my days and months.” Being so, one not only can live out one’s years, but also can forget the years and months, forget the meanings and reasons, hence, rouse oneself freely in the realm of Nothingness. The word “rouse” here has the same implications as those of *xiaoyao*—to enjoy oneself free and easy in the realm of Nothingness, and spend one’s whole life in the realm.⁷⁵

Du Fu’s (712-770) verse cited in Lin’s explanation is from “*Zi jing fu Fengxian-xian yonghuai wubai zi shi*” (A 500 character poem singing of my feelings: moving from the capital to Fengxian Prefecture, 755). The poem was written right before the outbreak of the An Lushan rebellion, which brought Tang China into years of political turmoil in the middle of the eighth century. The poem begins with a discursive, self-mocking analysis of the poet’s unsuccessful pursuit for office and, in the thirteenth and fourteenth lines, puts forth the statement, “I do have an aptitude for rivers and seas/Being natural and unrestrained, I spend my days and months.” The expression “rivers and seas” was traditionally used to indicate retreat in Chinese literature.⁷⁶ Although Du Fu is never considered a typical recluse poet in Chinese literature, Lin takes Du Fu’s verse as an example of the life of a Daoist recluse and as an illustration of “free and easy wandering.” Ishikawa Hachirō argues that Lin’s interpretation has affected Bashō’s understanding of Du Fu. He notes that Bashō characterizes Du Fu’s poetry as “*share*,” which refers to an unrestrained temperament similar to Lin Xiyi’s interpretation of Du’s

⁷⁵ Lin, *ZJK*, p. 436.

⁷⁶ In the fifteenth chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, men in retirement are referred to as “men of rivers and seas.”

poem in the *Zhuangzi Juanzhai kouyi*.⁷⁷ Du Fu's poetry is well known for its complexity and has been characterized by commentators in many different terms, but has rarely been described as "unrestrained." Bashô's peculiar characterization of Du Fu, according to Ishikawa, has much to do with Lin's interpretation quoted above. The word *share* in Japanese has a *kanji*, *sha* (C. *sa*), which also appears in *xiaosa* (natural and unrestrained), the word in Du's verse. Ishikawa points out that the *Shômon* poets always use *share* in the same sense as *xiaosa* in Lin Xiyi's interpretations of the *Zhuangzi*. He suggests, therefore, that Lin's interpretation of the *Zhuangzi* has led the *Shômon* poets to locate Du Fu in the Daoist recluse tradition.⁷⁸

Findings like this show that Lin Xiyi's interpretation greatly reinforced Bashô's impression of the correspondences between the Daoist principles and the recluse tradition in Chinese poetry. In his world, Daoist ideas are enthusiastically used because this practice is considered poetic, and Chinese poems are often cited for their embodiment of the spirit of *xiaoyaoyou/shôyôyû*. Following this *fûryû* tradition, Bashô shares his aesthetic experience with his Chinese forerunners, yet he creates a world entirely new. In "An Impression of My Thatched Cottage," Bashô writes of the leaky roof of his Plantain Hut, a topic that has been repeatedly treated by the great Chinese poets.

<i>Bashô nowaki shite</i>	Plantain leaves in the storm—
<i>Tarai ni ame wo</i>	Tonight I spend listening
<i>Kiku yo kana</i>	To rain drip in a tub. ⁷⁹

The implicit connection between this poem and Chinese poetry is revealed by Bashô's prefatory note to the poem in *Ise kikô* (A Journey to Ise).

Du Fu wrote a poem on his grass-thatched roof ruined by the wind. Su Shi, deeply touched by Du's poem, also composed a verse on his leaky roof.

⁷⁷ The term Bashô used is recorded in Hattori Ransetsu (1654-1707), "'Preface' to *Inaka no Kuawase*" (Hokku Contest in the Boondocks, 1680), in *KBZ*, Vol. 7, p.357.

⁷⁸ "*Bashô no To Ho juyô shôron*" (An Examination of Bashô's Reception of Du Fu), in *Nihon bungaku Kenkyû shiryô* (Tokyo: Yûsei Dô, 1977), VII, pp. 47-51.

⁷⁹ *KBZ*, Vol. 1, p. 63.

Listening to the rain beating plantain leaves from the world of Du Fu and Su Shi, I lie alone in my grass-thatched cottage.⁸⁰

Du Fu's poem mentioned here is "*Maowu wei qiufeng suo po ge*" (My Thatched Roof is Ruined by the Autumn Wind, 761). The title of Su Shi's poem, however, is not clear. Some Japanese scholars have suggested that "*Lian yu jiang zhang*" (Continuous rain: the rivers have overflowed, 1095) is likely to be the one in Bashō's mind. While both poems portray a lonely, rainy night, they are completely different in style and approach. Du Fu's poetic vision focuses on reality. The poet depicts in detail how autumn wind tears the thatch from his roof and blows the stalks everywhere, and how the children from the nearby village make fun of the speaker who is impotent with age. Facing the ruthless wind and people who took his thatch away before his eyes, he "screamed lips dry and throat raw, but no use." He sighs, "Then I made my way home, leaning on staff, sighing to myself."⁸¹ Miserably drenched under the leaky roof at night, the poet wishes to own a mansion of a hundred thousand rooms to house the poor scholars of the world. On the contrary, Su Shi's protagonist is calm and detached. Living in exile in his sixties, the speaker projects in the poem not only the scene of a rainy night, but also the state of his existence. He portrays himself like an eccentric who is in the scene yet remains beyond, laughing at the reality with a transcendent smile. Listening to the noise of the rain on the leaves of the banyan, the speaker does not care if it stops or keeps raining. "Even if it clears I have no place to go—" he says, "let it keep on all night pelting the empty stairs."⁸²

In Chinese literary criticism, these two poems are considered as representing two different trends: Du's is praised for its verisimilitude and social consciousness, while Su's is celebrated for its attitude transcending the reality. Interestingly, Bashō mentions neither Du's social concern, nor Su's attitude. He preserves, however, the central images that have appeared in the poems of Du Fu and Su Shi—the wind, the rain, the leaky roof and the sleepless protagonist—and focuses his vision on an aesthetic moment, in which the present experience of the poet resonates with and

⁸⁰ KBZ, Vol. 6, p. 296.

⁸¹ Stephen Owen, trans., *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 207-8.

⁸² Burton Watson, trans., *Su Tung-P'o* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 124.

fuses' into the poetic past. In this vision all the details of life have disappeared. There is only the speaker who listens and the rain that is heard; the rain, according to the poet, is from the world of his Chinese forerunners. With the rain as a transforming agent, the poetic horizon becomes symbolic: the storm connotes the force of nature; the sound of the leaking raindrops evokes loneliness and solitude; and the opening image, "plantain tree" (*bashō*), implies the poet's eccentric self. The image of the plantain tree, as described in Bashō's "On Replanting the Plantain Tree," signifies a typical eccentric in the Daoist spirit:

Although the plantain tree occasionally blooms, the flowers are not the least showy; its trunk is thick, yet not worthy of a timberman's hatchet. It belongs to the kind of "useless" trees in the deep mountains,⁸³ and has a venerable character. Priest Huaisu⁸⁴ used to wield his writing brush on plantain leaves; Zhang Hengqu⁸⁵ was spurred in learning by watching the new plantain leaves grow. But I follow neither of them. I simply enjoy the shade of the plantain tree, love it for the ease with which it is torn in the wind and rain.⁸⁶

In classical Japanese poetry and *Nō* texts, plantain leaves were conventionally used as a metaphor for the transience of man's life because

⁸³ An allusion to the "*san mu*" (The Mountain Tree) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*. See Lin, *ZJK*, 6/45a,b/p. 25.

⁸⁴ Huaisu (634-707?), a famous calligrapher of Tang time. It is said that he was poor and used to practice writing on plantation leaves.

⁸⁵ Zhang Zai (1022-1077), a celebrated Neo-Confucian scholar. He has a poem on the plantain tree—"...that I could cultivate new virtue, as the new hearts of the plantation tree/and make progress in learning, like its shooting new leaves." See *Zhangzi quanshu* (The Complete Works of Zhangzi), *Sibu beiyao* edition, p. 13/12b. Both the story about Huaisu and the poem by Zhang Zai are cited in the entry "*Bajiao*" (Plantation Tree), in *Yaunji huofa*, p. 18/34. Bashō must have gotten these materials from that source.

⁸⁶ *KBZ*, Vol. 6, p. 504.

they were easily broken by the wind.⁸⁷ A poem by Bashô's beloved poet Saigyô clearly employs the image in this vein.

<i>Kaze fukeba</i>	When the wind blows
<i>Ada ni nariyuku</i>	It proves transience—
<i>Bashôba no</i>	The plantain leaves laid waste;
<i>Areba to mi o mo</i>	Is this a symbol of the world,
<i>Tanomubeki ka wa</i>	Upon which men depend? ⁸⁸

Although Bashô, too, captures the fragility of the plantain leaves, the qualities he emphasizes are the uselessness of plantain, its contentment in solitude, and its submissiveness to forces of nature. This celebration of the nonpragmatic quality of a plant is reminiscent of the following words Zhuangzi said to Huizi about a mountain tree: “Now you have this big tree and you're distressed because it's useless. Why don't you plant it in Not-Even-Anything Village, or the field of Broad-and-Boundless, relax and do nothing by its side, or lie down for a free and easy sleep under it?”⁸⁹ This idles, “worthless,” somehow eccentric yet venerable image is the characteristic self-portrait in Bashô's poetry. Perhaps it is also the poetic self that Bashô sensed and abstracted from the poems of Du Fu and Su Shi.

As shown in the examples above, Bashô's poetry is highly intertextual. He draws widely upon Chinese sources in order to enrich the meaning and capacity of the brief *haikai* form. In building intertextual structures, Bashô is also highly selective. He is particularly interested in the elements of eccentricity and unconventionality—elements he considers as *fûryû* and associates with the Daoist spirit in Chinese aesthetic-recluse

⁸⁷ According to Donald H. Shively, the name used to refer to the plantation plant in Japanese poetry, *niwakigusa* (plant shunned in the gardens), indicates that some prejudice or even taboo existed against the plantation plant. It was shunned probably because Buddhist texts often use it as a metaphor for the fragility of the human body. See “Bashô—The Man and the Plant,” in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 16-17 (1953-1954), p. 148.

⁸⁸ Watanabe Tamotsu, annot., *Saigyô Sankashû zen chûkai* (A Complete Annotation of Saigyô's: The Mountain House Collection) (Tokyo: Kazama Shobô, 1971), p. 571. Saigyô, a late Heian-early Kamakura *waka* poet and priest, is a paramount figure in Japanese poetic history. His legacy, especially his poems on nature and travel, exerted a great influence on Bashô.

⁸⁹ Lin, *ZJK*, 1/13b, 14a/p. 418; trans. from Watson, *CWC*, p. 35.

tradition. Bashô often abstracts these elements from a text without paying much attention to the general tendency of the work or the author, as seen in his allusion to Du Fu. However, in pursuing the true *fûryû*, Bashô did not simply borrow the stock materials from the Daoist classics and Chinese poetic handbooks. Instead, he chose to relive the aesthetic experience of “free and easy wandering,” to seek what his forerunners had sought, not to trail along behind them. In this meaning, Bashô’s “eccentric ways” opened a poetic horizon where the present and the past met, and the spatial and temporal dialogic contexts merged. On this horizon of *fûryû*, Bashô and his school elevated *haikai* to a true art.

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**WARTIME NATIONALISM AND PEACEFUL REPRESENTATION:
ISSUES SURROUNDING THE MULTIPLE ZENS OF MODERN JAPAN**

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The term “Zen” often conjures up images of hermitages on misty mountains, Zen eccentrics tearing up scriptures and paradoxical utterances aimed at triggering Enlightenment in the confused. Modern representatives of Zen have portrayed Enlightenment as transcendence of the ordinary human ego and an attainment of wisdom and non-violent compassion. When one looks at Japanese Buddhism over the past century, however, one encounters contrasting images. From the Meiji Restoration (1868) until the end of the Second World War, Buddhist institutions assisted Japan’s nation-building and expansionist imperialism, earning them the label, “Imperial Way Buddhism” (*Kôdô Bukkyô*), inclusive of “Imperial Way Zen” (*Kôdô Zen*).

Zen and other established Buddhist sects contributed to the Japanese war effort in a number of ways. They participated in propaganda campaigns; formed patriotic groups; encouraged lay Japanese to fight in the war, make sacrifices on the home front, and buy war bonds; made rounds of “patriotic alms begging;” donated funds for the construction of warplanes; ran training programs for officers; chanted *sutras* and performed ceremonies to promote Japanese victory; assisted the families of soldiers killed overseas; served as military chaplains; and propagandized in colonies and occupied areas, particularly by helping colonial officials in their efforts to “pacify” (*senbu*) those areas and turn colonized Asians into imperial subjects.¹

Buddhist nationalists also lent ideological support to the reigning imperial ideology and the warfare it justified. For example, throughout WWII, in sermons, short essays for newsletters, and journal articles Buddhist leaders advanced a range of arguments legitimating Japanese

¹ I outline Japanese Buddhist participation in the war effort in an unpublished piece, “Buddhism and the ‘Spiritual Mobilization’ of Japan, 1912-1945.” Also, see Kashiwahara Yôsen, *Nihon bukkô-shi, kindai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1990); Yoshida Kyôichi, *Nihon no kindai-shakai to bukkô* (Tokyo: Hyôronsha, 1970); and Brian Victoria, *Zen at War* (New York: Weatherhill, 1997).

militarism. Two main arguments were that, 1) the war was an expression of compassion, and 2) self-sacrifice during the war was a way for Japanese to repay their debt to the emperor. With the second argument, they linked the largely Confucian idea of the benevolent emperor with Buddhist formulations of *on*, the blessings one receives and the indebtedness one incurs because of those blessings.² In this way they aligned a central Buddhist doctrine with the crux of the imperial ideology: a benevolent emperor bestowing blessings on grateful and obedient subjects who, in turn, are willing to sacrifice themselves for the emperor in repayment of their debt to him.³

But why is it that ostensibly wise, compassionate, non-violent Zen Buddhists would lend their support to Japanese imperialism and even justify the killing it entailed? In his controversial book, *Zen at War*, Brian Victoria argues that the historical relationship between Zen and *bushidō* (the warrior ethos or code), or what has been termed the “unity of Zen and the sword” (*zenken-ichinyo*), “is the key to understanding the eventual emergence of ‘imperial-state Zen’ (*kōkoku Zen*).”⁴

While Victoria is correct in arguing that Zen has had numerous connections to samurai, their swords, and their ethos, and that this relationship was championed by certain modern Zen masters and writers like Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933), one must ask whether that relationship is “the key” to the emergence of nationalist Zen in the 20th century. From the thirteenth century to the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Zen did indeed maintain close ties with the samurai and influence their ethos,⁵ but Victoria does not provide adequate evidence that it was the Zen-*bushidō* connection per se, as opposed to other factors, that constituted the main cause of Zen nationalism

² In the Buddhist context, the four main *on* (*shion*) are the blessings one receives from 1) one’s parents, 2) the Buddha, 3) the ruler, and 4) all sentient beings.

³ For an expanded discussion of these ideological moves, see my article, “The Mobilization of Doctrine: Buddhist Contributions to Imperial Ideology in Modern Japan,” in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 26:1/2 (Spring 1999).

⁴ Victoria, *Zen at War*, p. 95.

⁵ In his book, though, Victoria tends to construe *bushidō* as more Zen and less thoroughly Confucian than it actually were.

during the war.⁶ And at one point he even undermines his causal argument when he writes, “what did post-Meiji Zen adherents find in the relationship between Zen and *Bushidô* that justified their own fervent support of Japan’s war effort?”⁷ With that statement Victoria shifts from viewing the historical Zen-*bushidô* connection as the main cause of Zen’s support for the war to viewing that connection as grist for ex post facto justifications of that support. Moreover, Victoria allows for causal factors broader than the Zen-*bushidô* connection when, in raising the “question of the doctrinal and historical relationship between Buddhism and the state,” he mentions the broader historical pattern of “nation-protecting Buddhism” (*gokoku Bukkyô*).⁸ Granted, the Zen connection to samurai and *bushidô* did constitute one dimension of “nation-protecting Buddhism,” but, as I will outline later in this article, there were larger and arguably more important social, economic, and political dimensions as well.

One of Victoria’s mentors, Zen scholar Ichikawa Hakugen (1902-1986), offered a different explanation. While noting historical connections between Zen and the samurai, Ichikawa focused on the non-dual epistemology of Zen, especially the notions of “becoming one with things” (*narikiru*) and “accepting and according with one’s circumstances” (*ninnun*). Insofar as one is steeped in Zen, “One tends to engage in a way of living that does not fight the pre-existing actuality pressing upon oneself but, contrariwise, accommodates it.”⁹ To Ichikawa, this accommodationist, non-conflictual approach has led Zen to accept socio-economic conditions, submit to the government, and, especially at the time of WWII, get co-opted by those in power, all the while lacking any basis on which to resist or criticize.¹⁰

But to what extent does the Zen epistemology account for Zen nationalism during the war? Even allowing for the kind of epistemology

⁶ For a detailed analysis of Victoria’s arguments, see my forthcoming article in *The Eastern Buddhist*, tentatively entitled “Protecting the Dharma and Protecting the Country: The Continuing Question of Buddhist War Responsibility.”

⁷ Victoria, *Zen at War*, p. 95.

⁸ Victoria, *Zen at War*, p. 157.

⁹ Ichikawa Hakugen, *Ichikawa Hakugen Chosakushû*, Vol. 3 (Kyoto: Hôzôkan, 1993), p. 101.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

Ichikawa sketches,¹¹ how could we measure the degree to which Zen leaders actually experienced things in that mode, especially when it entails subjective states said to be beyond “words and letters?” And even if many Zen leaders did in fact see reality in that characteristically Zen way, did that epistemology, as opposed to other possible factors, constitute the major cause of Zen nationalism? Might there not be other, less mystical reasons?

I argue that while the Zen link to *bushidō* and Zen’s epistemology do help us account for the religion’s jump onto the bandwagon of modern Japanese imperialism, we can find a better explanation in Zen institutional history, especially since the mid-nineteenth century.¹²

From the time of its introduction to Japan in the sixth century, Buddhism has usually functioned interdependently with those in political power, whether aristocrats, the imperial family, warrior governments, shoguns, oligarchs in the late nineteenth century, or military leaders during WWII. With few exceptions, Buddhists and rulers have cultivated a mutually beneficial and mutually legitimating relationship. This symbiosis has taken the form of patronage offered by those in power and, in a quid pro quo arrangement, Buddhist support for the “state.” Buddhists offered their support ritually by performing ceremonies and chanting sutras deemed to protect the ruler and his realm; institutionally with temples playing administrative roles for the state; and doctrinally through political readings of key Buddhist doctrines. One can safely construe the “nationalism” if not militarism of modern Buddhist institutions as a continuation of this traditional symbiotic relationship between Buddhism and the government.

The contours of and motivations for twentieth century Buddhist support for the state were further shaped by the particular historical context of modern Japanese Buddhism. From the 1860s, the institutional security of Zen and other Buddhist sects was threatened and in some cases undermined by a string of crises: the lingering effects of the loss of land, buildings, and revenue in the early Meiji period; the decline of the parishioner system (*danka seido*), which had given Buddhism a substantial economic and social niche during the Tokugawa period (1600-1867); doctrinal struggles; the loss of parishioners to “new religions” (*shink-shuky*) as urbanization from the late nineteenth century weakened traditional

¹¹ Many scholars would not accept Ichikawa’s portrayal of Zen.

¹² Though Victoria and Ichikawa acknowledge this causal factor in their writings, they subordinate it to their central arguments concerning the Zen-*bushidō* connection and the Zen epistemology.

linkages between the laity and family temples in rural areas and led to anomie in dislocated, disenfranchised industrial workers; government restrictions on Buddhism in the 1930s; external criticism by Marxists and Shinto ideologues; and internal criticism by a host of reformers since the Meiji Restoration.

The 1920s provided one of several opportunities for overcoming those setbacks. At that time Buddhist sects aligned with the state in a shared adversarial relationship with new religious movements and communism,¹³ as seen when, for example, Buddhist leaders collaborated with officials in the Home Ministry and Ministry of Education to run edification (*kyōka*) campaigns to eradicate “dangerous thought.” Much to the chagrin of established Buddhist sects, new religious movements and communism were siphoning off parishioners; and from the state’s perspective, they were lifting up objects of allegiance and ultimacy that were transcendent of the emperor and constituting mass movements the state could not control.¹⁴ Later, in the 1930s and early 1940s, though under increasingly tight government control, Buddhist leaders, by cooperating with the war effort in the ways sketched above, could further protect and strengthen their sects.

In short, while recognizing the possible roles of the *Zen-bushidō* connection and the Zen epistemology as lifted up by Victoria and Ichikawa, I would argue that it was primarily as part of the historical pattern of “Buddhism for the protection of the realm” (*gokoku-bukkyō*), accentuated by the desire to ensure institutional survival in the face of a series of crises, that Zen Buddhists collaborated with the Japanese state, offered rhetorical support for imperialism and the war effort, and thereby earned the label, “Imperial Way Zen.”

This leaves us with the question of how one might account for the popular images of Zen as compassionate, peaceful, and non-violent. Several scholars have pointed out how much of the modern Japanese discourse about “Zen,” and by extension, much of what we read in English about “Zen,” bears traces of conditions at the time of the formulation of that discourse in the late nineteenth century. As mentioned earlier in this article,

¹³ In a broad sense, inclusive of not only Marxist thought with its critique of religion but also the communist and socialist political parties and unions with their criticisms of religion in Japan and, in some cases, allegiance to Moscow and the Comintern. See Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), Ch. 2.

¹⁴ Garon, *Molding*, pp. 83-4.

Japanese Buddhists were recovering from persecution caused by policies aimed at creating a new political order based on “Shinto,” or more precisely, on a new formulation of “Shinto.” After being denounced for supposed degeneration and parasitism on Japanese society, Buddhists in late nineteenth century Japan were attempting to portray the tradition as a constructive social force and essential component of Japanese culture.¹⁵

On the international front, Japanese Buddhists were formulating arguments to the effect that Buddhism was a world religion, just as Japan as a whole was attempting to construct itself as a world power.¹⁶ One strategy for making Buddhism out to be a world religion is evident in the writings of such Zen missionaries as D.T. Suzuki. As Robert Sharf and others have pointed out, Suzuki attempted to represent Zen as having an underlying essence: a pure and immediate experience, a “trans-ego” and trans-cultural experience, a clear perception of truth that is beyond all cultural conditioning and particular religious systems.¹⁷ This emphasis on experience was not unique to Suzuki’s discourse on Zen in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Suzuki and other Japanese intellectuals were aware of the attacks on religion in the west since the Reformation and the Enlightenment, and they were influenced by William James and other western thinkers who were attempting to defend religion by taking their last stand in the subjective inner sanctum of religious experience after conceding points about rituals, clerics, institutions, and theological systems that stood in tension with reason and empirical verification. Along these lines Suzuki often claimed that Zen is not a religion per se, but rather something universal at the base of all religions.¹⁸ (Interestingly, the universal truth was represented as being instantiated *only*

¹⁵ For an extended discussion of these facets of Japanese Buddhism in the nineteenth century, see James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

¹⁶ Ketelaar, *Of Heretics*, pp. 138-9.

¹⁷ Many Buddhologists, especially those with Kantian and constructivist theories of knowledge, have challenged the accuracy and plausibility of Suzuki’s Zen epistemology.

¹⁸ In this paragraph, I am paraphrasing Robert H. Sharf’s argument in “The Zen of Japanese Nationalism,” in *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism Under Colonialism*, Donald S. Lopez, Jr., ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

in Japanese culture, and this discursive strategy has provided ready support for claims of Japanese cultural uniqueness and superiority.)

That Suzuki and other modern Japanese Buddhists attempted to privilege Buddhism in these ways should come as no surprise, for they faced the same western imperialism by which their Chinese, Indian and other Asian neighbors had been subjugated. In one respect the essentialist and exceptionalist moves in Zen circles were directed toward formulating a universal Zen that could hold its own in its encounter with Christianity and western claims of religious and cultural superiority.

The divergence between representations of peaceful Buddhism and the actuality of “Imperial Way Buddhism” during the war derives in part from this type of Orientalist discourse, which permeated the transmission of Buddhism to the west. Since the nineteenth century, Buddhism and other “Oriental” religions have held the imaginations of westerners seeking a peaceful, mystical alternative to ostensibly intolerant, violent and spiritually moribund western religions. In key respects western seekers have been on a quest for a projection, and their gurus in Asia have responded by representing their religions partly in consonance with the Orientalist projections of their followers, thus displaying what some have termed “secondary Orientalism”¹⁹ or “reverse Orientalism.”²⁰ For example, in *Zen and Japanese Culture*, D.T. Suzuki preaches an intuitive, non-violent Japan over and against a rational, violent west, about which he writes, “The [western] intellect presses the button, the whole city is destroyed and hundreds of thousands of human souls are crushed ignominiously to the ground. All is done mechanically, logically, systematically, and the intellect is perfectly satisfied, perhaps even when it destroys itself together with its victims.”²¹

¹⁹ See Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), Ch. 2.

²⁰ See Bernard Faure, “The Kyoto School and Reverse Orientalism,” in *Japan in Traditional and Postmodern Perspectives*, Charles Wei-Hsun Fu and Steven Heine, eds. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).

²¹ Daisetz T. Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 338; quoted by Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights*, p. 70.

The idealized, ahistorical, “mystical” representations of Zen and other Asian religions also derive from a main venue for those representations in the century since the “1893 World’s Parliament of Religions: Interfaith Dialogue.” In interfaith dialogue and the many English books on Zen it has spawned, the portrayal of “Zen” has been ahistorical, essentialist and focused on religious experience and metaphysical doctrines as opposed to the rituals, popular beliefs, and institutions constitutive of the religious life of most Zen Buddhists in Japanese history.

For Zen Buddhists like Victoria and Ichikawa, more than the issue of representation, the key issue is that of whether postwar Zen has wrestled with its activities and rhetoric during the war, at least insofar as those actions and words stand in tension with broader Buddhist values of compassion, non-violence, and vows to liberate all sentient beings, not just imperial subjects. Since 1945, Zen leaders and institutions have shown little inclination to look squarely at, analyze, and discuss publicly the issue of war responsibility. Some have claimed that while Zen writings and sectarian declarations about the war are few, Zen Buddhists have in fact reflected on and evolved beyond the political stances they took during the first half of the twentieth century. But actual evidence to support that claim is scarce, for Zen leaders have almost never spoken publicly about widely debated postwar issues related to those of the 1930s and 1940s, such as politicians’ attempts to legalize government support of the Yasukuni Shrine for the war dead, the scant portrayal of Japanese imperialism in textbooks that must be approved by the conservative Ministry of Education, the postwar retention and recent official recognition of the national anthem and flag of wartime Japan, attacks by rightists on public figures critical of the imperial system, and the human rights problems faced by resident Koreans, the *burakumin* and others. Some might argue that social ethics is not the proper domain of Zen, and that attention to such issues would distract Zen leaders from their proper focus on religious practice in the monastery. But those leaders, and the institutions they direct, have never been and could never be divorced from society, politics, the state, and all the moral challenges they present over the course of history.

OYASAMA, GOD THE PARENT AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN TENRIKYÔ

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The name Tenrikyô comes from *Tenri*, meaning heavenly or divine principle of wisdom or reason. Considered one of the older New Religions of Japan, was founded in 1838 in the city of Tenri, six miles south of Nara, the ancient capital of Japan. The Foundress was a simple peasant woman. In her forty-first year, while assisting in a ritual to heal an ailment that had stricken her family, Miki Nakayama became convinced that she had become the shrine of God. After a short period of great skepticism, Miki managed to convince those around her that God now resided within her body and that every word she spoke, therefore, emanated from the mind of God. In fact, her mind was now that of God, who wanted to use her to reveal divine truths concerning human salvation. Shortly afterwards, Miki began to teach the truths that God had revealed to her, spending the remaining 50 years of her life as the mouthpiece of God. As the years passed she managed to gain a substantial following and established a center of worship for Tenrikyô practitioners (the place of the origin of humanity according to her teaching) together with a worship service. She authored two of the three scriptural texts of Tenrikyô. Written by Miki between 1869 and 1882 the *Ofudesaki*, a book of revelations, contains 1,711 poems and is made up of seventeen chapters. The *Mikagura-uta*, or "Book of Sacred Songs," is a collection of songs she compiled to be sung in the holy service.

One of the factors that appeared to attract followers to Miki and to convince them of her divine favor was her power as a healer of the sick. To the many whom she had healed or who had become convinced of her divine status, Miki became known as a living goddess. Consistent with this hallowed title, Miki herself used the first person in revealing the will of "God the Parent" through her own writings and teachings. (*Ofudesaki*, I: 3) When she spoke of God Miki used two main titles, *Tsukihi* (Moon-Sun), and *Oyagami* (God the Parent). Her followers knew her herself as the Parent of the Divine model. As a result, in Tenrikyô teaching God is worshipped as "God the Parent," and Miki Nakayama, the shrine of God, is referred to as *Oyasama*, "worthy parent."

The main objective of this paper is to assess the impact of Miki Nakayama as a role model as well as the effect of her teaching upon the roles of women in Tenrikyô. In order to do so, however, it is essential first to examine Miki's status as the shrine of God and her teaching concerning God the Parent as presented in the two scriptures attributed to her.

Exactly what status are we to give to Miki's role as the shrine of God? Could it be that she was simply a channel for God's message, in the same way that in the Middle Ages in Europe female mystics claimed that, through visions, God used them as a channel for divine teaching. Or was Miki Nakayama making a claim for herself as the incarnation of God on earth in the same way that Jesus is claimed by Christians to have been God incarnate or as Ann Lee of the Shaker tradition was assumed to be the female Christ? According to Robert S. Ellwood, author of *Tenrikyô, A Pilgrimage Faith*, "the Japanese faith does not have a doctrine as precisely formulated as the Christian concept of the incarnation of the Second (or Third, in the case of Ann Lee) Person of the Trinity, but it has been concerned to show that in Tenrikyô experience God and *Oyasama* are inseparable and the manifestation of God through her continuous and complete." (Ellwood, 86)

In the *Ofudesaki* we are informed that "38 years ago, *Tsukihi* descended," (*Ofudesaki*, VII: 1) and that *Tsukihi* has "entered a body and speaks." (*Ofudesaki*, VIII: 50) We are also instructed that in entering into her, God borrowed Miki's mouth while she was lent God's mind. (*Ofudesaki*, XII: 67-8) One might conclude from this that Miki is not God, but rather a vehicle of God's revelation. And yet, a little later on in the *Ofudesaki* followers are warned not to underestimate Miki's status, "Listen! You are mistaken in thinking of Me as being human, the same as you." (*Ofudesaki*, VIII: 72) Traditional Tenrikyô teaching maintains that God the Parent did reside in *Oyasama* and that her teachings emanated from God, just as human life emanates from God. Moreover, when in 1887 Miki's life came to an end, her followers maintained that she had simply withdrawn from physical life while remaining alive in non-physical form. To this day she is thought to reside at the Foundress' sanctuary in the main worship center at Tenri city where she continues to teach the intention of "God the Parent." Pilgrims and worshippers come to the Foundress' shrine to pay their respects and to give offerings. In light of a promise made in the *Ofudesaki* concerning trouble free labor (*Ofudesaki* VII: 80) pregnant women in particular come to her shrine to enlist *Oyasama's* blessing for a

safe childbirth. Thus, not only was Miki Nakayama the voice of God during her physical life, but also she continues to this day to be the center of worship in the Tenrikyô faith.

It is perhaps inevitable that Miki's power to heal would lead some to consider her a living goddess, but for Tenrikyô practitioners her revolutionary teaching concerning our relationship to God is equally responsible for what led to the foundation of a new religious tradition in Japan. In the *Ofudesaki*, Miki presents *Tsukihi* as the one supreme deity: "The true and real God of this universe is *Tsukihi*. The others are all instruments." (*Ofudesaki*, VI: 50) *Tsukihi* is the creator of all else, including the traditional Gods of Japanese religion and by means of them, human life, "I drew forth Izanagi and Izanami and taught them the providence of how to begin human beings. At the origin were a fish and a serpent in the muddy ocean. I drew them up and began the first couple." (*Ofudesaki*, VI: 31-2)

The implied monotheism of these passages has intrigued scholars of religion, some of whom have attempted to find the source in the impact of western thought upon Japanese tradition in the late nineteenth century. More important for our purposes, however, is the symbolism of the designation *Tsukihi* (Moon-Sun) for God and its significance for Miki's interpretation of the nature of God as well as the act of creation. In the fragments of the creation account offered in the *Ofudesaki*, Miki appears consistently to appeal to pairs. *Tsukihi* is the pair: Moon-Sun, Izanami and Izanagi are the pair of traditional *Kami* (deities) of Shinto mythology (male and female respectively) used in the act of creation, a fish and a serpent become a pair: the first couple. Perhaps most significantly, "I began human beings, taking a fish and a serpent as seed and seedbed." (*Ofudesaki*, VI: 44) The pair of fish and serpent is used to begin human beings, who, in their turn as a pair, represent seed and seedbed. As will be shown later in this paper, the gender significance of the "pairs" symbolism used by Miki becomes vital to Tenrikyô teaching concerning male and female roles.

The parental image that becomes the focus of Miki's attention when she attempts to teach her followers about God and our relationship to our Divine Parent in the *Ofudesaki* is not blatantly infused with pair's symbolism. But Miki does eventually introduce a highly significant "pairs" symbolism to the concept of Divine Parent. Initially the divine image Miki presents to her followers is simply that of a Parent who tends to the needs of her children, "To God, people throughout the world are all My children.

All of you equally, know that I am your Parent.” (*Ofudesaki*, IV: 79) “The true Parent of this universe is *Tsukihi*. It is I who protect you in everything.” (*Ofudesaki*, VI: 102) Miki’s parenting God is a personal, nurturing God: “Because of My love for all my children, I exhaust My mind in every kind of way.” (*Ofudesaki*, IV: 62) Yet, eventually, the pair’s symbolism finds its way into Miki’s concept of God the Parent: “The earth and heaven of this world is your real Parent. Out of this, human beings were born.” (*Ofudesaki*, X: 54) Thus, not only is God Moon-Sun (*Tsukihi*), but also God is also heaven and earth, another symbolic pairing. This pair’s symbolism for the Divine has come to have immense significance for the Tenrikyô conception of God. Based upon Miki’s instructions, worship services in Tenrikyô involve the enactment of a sacred dance performed by male and female participants in equal numbers. The dance symbolizes the act of creation, and each of the participants represents God the Parent in one or other aspect. Thus, Miki instructs, “Among the ten performers of this service, there are those who take the role of the Parent of the beginnings of origin.” (*Ofudesaki*, VI: 30)

The *Mikagura Uta*, the second Tenrikyô scripture authored by Miki, is a collection of poems used as the text that informs the sacred dance. As well as reinforcing the conception of God proffered by Miki in the *Ofudesaki*, a highly suggestive passage in this scripture appears to set forth Miki’s understanding of the relationship between humans and God the Parent. Just as she has informed us in the *Ofudesaki* that the true parent is “heaven and earth,” so in the *Mikagura Uta* she informs us that, “Representing heaven and earth I have created husband and wife. This is the beginning of the world.” (*The Song for the Kagura, Mikagura-uta*) This analogy between God the Parent as heaven-and-earth and husband-and-wife as “representing heaven and earth” implies that husband and wife are created in the image of God and symbolize heaven and earth respectively. Even more significant, Tenrikyô interpretation has led to a two-way deduction of the analogy, such that husband and wife in turn symbolize dual aspects of God the Parent. In other words, Tenrikyô scholars have come to speak of a “oneness-in-two” in God the parent: husband and wife, or male and female as together integrated into the single nature of God.

Thus, it is claimed, when Miki speaks of God the Parent she is speaking of a God who unifies what are traditionally male and female elements into one single whole. Tenrikyô practitioners have concluded from this characterization of the divine that Miki advocated an androgynous

conception of God. Androgyny, literally defined, is the affirmation of both maleness and femaleness in one Being and not sex neutrality. Needless to say, if God is considered to be both male and female in Tenrikyô then this conception of the divine may have a major impact upon the roles of women as well as those of men in Tenrikyô. Our aim in what follows will be to assess the gender implications of Miki's status as the shrine of God and of her teaching concerning God the (androgynous) Parent in Tenrikyô tradition.

Tenrikyô practitioners are eager to highlight the positive and empowering role model that Miki Nakayama provided for women. Her status as the shrine of God gave her the authority and perhaps the courage to teach and emulate what were often revolutionary ideas and practices for women in her day. Not only was it an anomaly for a woman to be considered divinely inspired, it was also dangerous for a woman to be a religious leader in nineteenth century Japan. Miki was imprisoned several times by the Japanese authorities for her teaching and refusal to concede to the constraints placed upon her by the government of her day. Miki's status as the shrine of God provided her with ammunition with which to fight traditional notions of female inferiority in Japan. Repeatedly, in the *Ofudesaki* she implied that there was no distinction of social standing between men and women as far as doing the work of God is concerned. She spoke of men and women as trees, and claimed, "I do not say whether male pine or female pine. *Tsukihi* has an intention for any tree." (*Ofudesaki*, VII: 21)

For Shinbashira Shozen, Nakayama Miki's status as the shrine of God also gave her the authority to counter cultural as well as traditional religious teaching regarding women. Religion in practically every corner of the world has, at some time or another associated pollution, especially menstrual, with women and generally considered them inferior to men. Even women themselves have tended to regard menstruation as unclean, a shameful period "the trouble of the month." Citing anecdotes of the Foundress recorded by her followers, Miki argues that at no time did she teach that woman, or her menstruation, was a source of pollution. Instead, Miki maintained equality between men and women and characterized menstruation as a period of flowering preceding fruit bearing, "The world says woman is unclean, but there is nothing unclean about woman. Man and woman are equally children of God and there is no discrimination. Woman has a duty, a duty to bear children. Her monthly period is the

flower. Without the flower there is no fruit. Understand this well...To bear fruit without any flower is impossible. Ponder deeply. There is nothing unclean about it." (*Anecdotes*, 128) Removing what had been a religious and cultural stigma for women, and in particular one that had been a major excuse for the exclusion of women from roles of leadership and authority in religion and wider cultural traditions was a major achievement for Miki Nakayama. There can be little doubt that when she suggested that women and men are equally children of God and that there should be no discrimination between them that such teaching had an entirely positive impact upon the women around her.

Miki's teaching on equality for men and women with regard to the work of God has led to a situation in which many women today act as heads of Tenrikyô branch churches. These are women who take primary responsibility for the guidance of their congregations. Out of approximately 17,000 churches, over 4,000 churches have a female principle priest. Out of the total number of close to 100,000 priests, women occupy over 50%. Thus, the female is applauded within Tenrikyô tradition as an admirable means of the expansion of the faith. (These figures were provided by the Tenrikyô Overseas Mission Department, Tenri, 1994)

As the woman found worthy of use by God the Parent as the tool for exemplifying the path to human salvation and as a teacher, Miki Nakayama appears to have been an exemplary figure and role model. We shall now assess the extent to which her theological understanding of God the (androgynous) Parent was also potentially revolutionary. Accounts of androgynous deities are not uncommon in ancient religious traditions. In creation accounts such deities occasionally resulted from the fusion of two originally independent deities such as a sky father and an earth mother, or, alternatively, led to the creation of such gender specific deities. Androgyny is popularly supposed to stand for a kind of equality and balance between the sexes, a system in which both male and female bear equal responsibility. As such, it is considered an attractive alternative to patriarchal traditions, and in particular to androcentrism, according to which femaleness is seen in opposition to maleness and implicitly degraded. It can also, however, be an antidote to matriarchal traditions, in which male superiority is often simply replaced by female superiority. Androgyny is claimed by some to be an attempt to overcome the sexual antagonism that arises when patriarchies come into conflict with matriarchal systems.

Religious philosophies that advocate some form of androgynous God are also often applauded as philosophies that overcome the traditional dualisms to be found in patriarchal and matriarchal traditions. Making possible a transition towards a more holistic conception of divine nature, and consequently, of their relationship to the divine, and equality between male and female in human nature. Such a goal can, of course, only be achieved if what has traditionally been thought of as female (qualities such as compassionate and nurturing) are found to be not only qualities of leadership but qualities that inhere in men as well as women. Likewise, what has traditionally been thought of as male (qualities such as autonomy and rationality) are found to be not only qualities of leadership but also qualities that inhere in women as well as men. It is only with this kind of androgyny, whereby the genderizations of characteristics are broken down, that the dualisms that have been at the root of divisions between men and women in patriarchal and matriarchal traditions and in particular at the heart of androcentrism have any chance of being replaced by a new kind of androgynous holism.

Often, however, androgynous systems, far from breaking down detrimental genderizations of characteristics and qualities, represent an undesirable distortion of the male-female relationship. Androgynous concepts can, for instance, be used to affirm culturally acceptable values and gender roles that are based on an unequal distribution of power. Theories of androgyny can even encourage dualist conceptions that are detrimental to one, other or both sexes, especially when they presuppose the coincidence of gender opposites or of the merging of complementary gender opposites. An important consideration therefore, as we examine the evidence for androgyny in Miki's conception of God, will be whether or not such androgyny does in fact have equality implications for women in Tenrikyô, or whether it endorses cultural tendencies that are detrimental to or at least constraining so far as the roles of women are concerned.

The ideal of God as androgynous (male and female) Parent has become standard Tenrikyô teaching. Thus, "Since a parent is a father or a mother, the question may arise whether God the Parent is a father God, or if God the Parent is a generic name for the two. In fact this question is often asked. God the Parent is the one and only Being and is never a mother God or a father God, nor does God the Parent comprise two Gods. It is one Being who has the two fundamental functions of nurturing-that of the mother and that of the father. God the Parent is the only God who protects humans with

these two fundamental functions integrated by the principle of “oneness in two.” In this sense, God the Parent is truly the original Parent and the true and real Parent.” (*The Teachings and History of Tenrikyô*, 28) The consequences of this androgynous ideal for human parenting are well documented by Taketo Hashimoto in *Husbands and Wives, Parents and Children*. According to Taketo, “Androgyny is one of the symbols that expresses wholeness and perfectness.” (Taketo, 14) When speaking of parenting, he claims, “Usually the parent in actual life consists of a father and a mother. So the word should be ‘parents.’ The concept of ‘parent’ is the unification of paternity and maternity. When man becomes a parent in the true sense of the word, it does not mean that he becomes a father or she becomes a mother, but that he or she becomes the existence that unifies these two elements into one.” (Taketo, 19) Scholars such as Taketo maintain that Miki’s androgynous God ideal was also an equality ideal for men and women, affirming male and female as equal participants not only in parenting but also in the wider realm of the life of faith and religious practice. Taketo is eager to point out, however, that such equality does not imply that male and female become indistinguishable, but rather that, “two contrasting principles complement each other to produce a complete entity, while preserving their own distinct quality, as is true with two sounds in harmony.” (Taketo, 8)

It is precisely this idea of contrasting principles that complement each other that can mask traditional and potentially detrimental dualisms between male and female. The passages analyzed earlier in our examination of Miki’s teaching concerning God the Parent tend to have an androgynous (male and female) conception of God. *Tsukihi*, Moon-Sun, can be thought of in terms of male (moon) and female (sun). Moreover, the pairs that Miki utilizes in her account of creation in the *Ofudesaki* have male and female designations: *Izanagi* (male), *Izanami* (female), fish (male), serpent (female). These same male and female pairs, however, also tend to have dualistic conceptions of male and female, implicit within them is a potentially detrimental genderization of qualities or characteristics. This is shown most clearly with the symbolism of seed and seedbed as associated with fish (male) and serpent (female), respectively. The symbols of seed and seedbed have a very long history, in western as well as Asian religious traditions. As early as 6 BCE in Greek tradition, male was associated with seed and female with the seedbed. This pair made up one of the many pairs in the Pythagorean table of opposites, and was associated with other gender

associated characteristics and qualities, such as active (male) and passive (female), rational (male) and emotional (female).

Interpretations of Miki's pronouncements concerning human nature and the divine have led to the genderization of qualities and characteristics, not to mention behaviors in Tenrikyō. The extent to which this genderization of qualities and characteristics continues to have implications for the roles of men and women in Tenrikyō today is demonstrated by the following passage taken at length from Ian Reader's *Japanese Religions*. The passage concerns spiritual counseling offered by a Tenrikyō priest (Hisanori Konani) to a childless couple, "One day, a young couple came to visit me seeking advice. They confessed that they had decided to get a divorce after only one month of marriage. I was completely bewildered at this sudden decision, and as the husband explained I listened carefully. 'I became impotent on our wedding night and have been ever since, although I thought I had sexual capacity and desire before that night. We cannot understand why this strange occurrence has happened. And my wife, thinking that I have deceived her about my impotency, is very upset and angry with me. We have tried our best in various ways to make a normal married life, but it just has not worked out. So we have decided to get a divorce.' After the husband's statement, I considered this couple and their differences very carefully and came to this conclusion...God the Parent taught us that representing heaven as male and earth as female, He had created husband and wife. Nevertheless, in the above case the relationship between this husband and wife was quite contrary to that which God the Parent had intended. She was living spiritually in the sky and he, on the earth, and therefore this was not the natural and right situation to bring about rain. Because of such reversed stand in spirit, rain (the husband's affection) could not fall well to his wife. I said to them, 'As far as the sexual problem is concerned, you need not get a divorce. You got married because of your love for each other. Is this not true?' They agreed. 'I am going to tell you the intention of God the Parent in order that you may receive His divine grace. Please listen carefully.' I continued as follows: 'God the Parent had created the female spiritually and physically in order to take the role of *Kuni-toko* as the earth. And He gave to the male the divine name of *Kunitokotachi-no-Mikoto* and its role to stand (*tatsu, tachi*) on the base, which is the earth. Accordingly, the female is represented as the principle of the earth, and the male as heaven. Therefore, when at first having sex, it is natural that the man be on top, as heaven, and the woman be on bottom,

as the earth. No matter how aggressive a woman may be, at first she cannot be on the top. In your case, I believe that the position of heaven and earth is spiritually reversed. God the Parent says that at the time of the creation of mankind, He gave the divine grace of water to the prototype of man. The water, symbolizing one of the spiritual tendencies of men, is to flow into a lower direction. It should never rain from the earth to heaven. The problem which you are now facing is indeed as if the rain or water, which is the man's love, is incapable of falling onto the earth, which is the woman. If you both solemnly promise to God the Parent that throughout your lifetime you will live with the attitude of woman as the earth and man as heaven, God will be sure to manifest His blessing to you.' They replied that they would follow sincerely the divine principle of God the Parent. I then administered the Holy Grant (*sazuke*) on the husband. After the prayer, I invited them to stay for the night at my church and they did so. (The Holy Grant is a prayer to God the Parent asking for His divine protection.) The next morning, I asked the wife if there was any change in her husband. She shyly told me to ask her husband. The husband said to me: 'Such a tremendous miracle has happened to me...' and he smiled. Ten months and ten days later, a cute baby boy was born to the couple, and they now have two more children." (Reader, 138-9).

From the above it would appear that the fragments of Miki's teaching concerning God the Parent and the relationship between God and human beings as presented in the two scriptures authored by Miki have led Tenrikyô scholars to draw theological conclusions that reinforce differences in the roles of men and women in Tenrikyô. Shozen Nakayama, writing as Shinbashira in 1962, made it very clear that in Tenrikyô each sex has their own different function. Even though 'two are united into one' is a fundamental teaching, this means that, "both sexes, different in function yet co-operating with each other will perform the same task." (Shozen, 25) In this way, Shinbashira Nakayama echoes a very common refrain amongst Tenrikyô scholars who address the question of status and roles for male and female in Tenrikyô, "different roles, equal status."

It is far from clear, however, that equal status is preserved in the story recounted above. The underlying philosophy in this account of the couple that cannot manage to become pregnant assumes that the appropriate role for male is that of seed, and female that of seedbed, not to mention the inseparability of this pair with that of male as representing heaven and female as representing earth. The association of male with seed (active) and

female with seedbed (passive) has been common in many patriarchal societies, as has the association of men with reason and women with emotion. This association of specific characteristics and qualities with specific genders has often been used in arguments formulated to exclude women from education, from certain professions and from roles of leadership within religious institutions. The association of male with heaven and female with earth also has dubious implications. In western patriarchal traditions this kind of association has even led to the notion that men have higher spiritual capabilities than women. For these reasons alone, it is far from clear that equality of male and female is assumed either in Miki's conception of God the (androgynous) Parent or in her account of creation. In *Women in New Religions: In Search of Community, Sexuality and Spiritual Power*, Elizabeth Puttick claims,

“Often the founders of religion have had progressive, compassionate theories of gender, but these have been subverted by succeeding priesthoods and theologians who produce orthodoxies in line with socially entrenched sexism...one of the primary functions of successful religions may well have been the subordination of women to male authority.”
(Puttick, 175)

In the case of Miki Nakayama it seems clear that we have a woman who was in many ways a progressive. Her activity as a healer and helper of women in childbirth helped to liberate women from the blood taboos with which they were traditionally associated and by means of which they were often isolated. In this way, she may have helped to overcome the oppressive attitude of former religions concerning female sexuality. She also advocated equality between men and women both in creation and in salvation. Exemplifying the capabilities of women as autonomous and, especially as spiritual leaders, Miki Nakayama must have been a source of great encouragement to the women who flocked to Tenrikyô. Traditional stories suggest that she was always surrounded by women (i.e. daughters, granddaughters and practitioners of her faith).

According to Ulrike Wöhr, Miki Nakayama would have been disappointed by some of the more patriarchal tendencies that have taken root in Tenrikyô since her death. In *Frauen und die Neue Religionen*, Wöhr argues that Miki had hoped that her youngest daughter, Kokan (who she did not appear to want to marry and sent off to engage in missionary activity in

Osaka) would become her successor. Unfortunately, Kokan died before her mother. It is notable that the line of successors since the passing of the Foundress has been entirely male. Male *Shinbashiras* (spiritual and administrative leaders of Tenrikyô) were rapidly accompanied in Tenrikyô by the tradition of male inheritance of house churches. Thus, even though today Tenrikyô boasts many female priests, tradition still supports the passing of head churches from father to son.

One must wonder, however, if in some part the explanation for the patriarchal tendencies that have taken root in Tenrikyô since Miki's death can be attributed to Miki's inability to move beyond some, if not all, traditional gender stereotypes. If Miki did in crucial ways help to expand the roles and enhance the status of the women around her, she was nevertheless a woman of her day, with some of the traditional conceptions of male and female steeped deep within her theological mind-frame. As liberating as her conception of the androgyny of God the Parent might have been for the relationships between men and women in Tenrikyô, Miki did not seem able to take advantage of the tools within her theological framework for deconstructing the patriarchal genderization of qualities, characteristics and roles that have proven detrimental to women. What may appear as potentially revolutionary doctrines and behaviors may have had an easy home in the environment from which Miki came. Shaman tradition, in which female possession is typical, must provide at least one possible explanation for the role of Miki as healer and as one possessed by the divine. Added to which, Miki's use of sun and moon as characteristics of the divine were far from novel. As Carl Becker points out in "Concepts and Roles of God in Tenrikyô," the use of sun and moon as deific figures was neither new nor unique to Miki Nakayama. And of course, the dialectic between male and female, heaven and earth, as used by Miki echoes the polarizations of the Yin-Yang philosophy of earlier eastern traditions, not to mention the 6 BCE Pythagorean Table of Opposites. If indeed Miki was attributing androgyny to God, this may well have come from the conjunction of matriarchal traditions in Japan with patriarchal cultures that seeped into Japan from Confucianist China.

To mention these things is not in any way to detract from the significant role Miki Nakayama played in nineteenth century Japan. Rather, we might find great meaning in some of the traditions from which she is able to draw for her religious philosophy. It is perhaps thanks to a shared culture in which the high God of the indigenous Shinto tradition is female

and the high priests at the Ise shrine are women, as well as a shared history, in which there had been female emperors, that a woman like Miki Nakayama, and others like her who founded new religious movements in the nineteenth century, could live and grow and have their being. It is also perhaps women like Miki Nakayama who serve as constant reminders to Japan, a country that seems at times to suffer from amnesia with regard to its matriarchal history, that women are resilient beings who have not, do not and will not accept religious, political or social subversion.

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THE INDUSTRIAL POLICY DEBATE MINUS PUBLIC RELATIONS: DEPOLITICIZING THE HISTORY OF SEMICONDUCTOR INDUSTRY DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN

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Summary

The history of the development of Japan's semiconductor industry has been distorted by public relations by both the Electronics Industry Association of Japan and the Semiconductor Industry Association in the United States, due to the highly politicized trade disputes. This article will examine pre-dispute sources in the original Japanese literature, and consult third-party sources of semiconductor users, in order to reconstruct the distorted history. Through a multi-disciplinary history approach, I find that the Japanese semiconductor industry's strength lay not only in government policies, and in Japan's corporate structure, among other factors.

The semiconductor industry has been at the forefront of American technology in recent decades. Increasing economic challenges by the Japanese and Asian NICs and the loss of domestic industries such as steel, consumer electronics, and automobiles forced the United States to push itself upward on the ladder of structural adjustment. The last resort of structurally devastated industries is to rush to Washington. Congress is flooded by the voices of workers and businessmen from these industries asking for government help.

The US Semiconductor industry has not been exceptionally secure either, especially during the last two decades. Beginning with its petition to the US Trade Representative (USTR) in the late 1970s to restrict the inflow of Japanese chips, its political activities in Washington have been persistent.

Debates about the semiconductor industry in Washington and elsewhere tend to be one-sided due to the politicized nature of the issue. The American Semiconductor Industry Association (SIA) propagated its "targeting theory" (that the Japanese government designated the semiconductor industry as a key growth industry and subsidized its growth through various means) in criticizing the Japanese chip industry. The SIA's goals were to protect its domestic chip market, to get the US government to assist the American chipmakers, and to sell its chips to the Japanese market. With strong American faith in liberal non-interventionist economy and free trade, the first two goals were difficult to achieve. The SIA termed

Japanese diversion from the *laissez-faire* economy as “unfair practice,” thus providing an excuse for the American chip industry to do the same. Meanwhile, the Japanese side responded by attacking mismanagement of American chip firms and low quality of American labor and chips. Japan’s cooperative labor-management relations and unique industrial structure were given credit for promoting quality control in this industry. Both the SIA and the Electronics Industry Association of Japan (EIAJ) amplified these two streams of arguments through systematic public relation efforts since the late-1970s, deeply penetrating journalism, business and economic scholarship.¹

The purpose of this article is to de-politicize the history of the Japanese semiconductor industry development. What are the over-simplifications, exaggerations, or misconceptions in the American argument? What are those in the Japanese argument? What aspects of the developmental history were purposely omitted? By answering these questions, this article will attempt a more objective, holistic, and multi-disciplinary assessment of the role of industrial policy in the development of the Japanese semiconductor industry.

The Sprouting Stage—Transistor Industry

In 1948, transistor technology was invented at the Bell Research Institute in the United States. Its vacuum tube and transformer engineers first introduced this new technology into Japan. During the occupation of Japan, the General Headquarter (GHQ) of the Allied Occupation required that top Japanese engineers report on their on-going research. The Electrical Testing Center (ETC), *Denki Shikenjo*, of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) Industrial Technology Institute was thus in regular contact with the GHQ. The ETC’s head, Sakuji Komagata, was one of those who developed ties with the GHQ. His and others’ contacts with GHQ enabled the Japanese engineers to access up-to date

¹ The EIAJ frankly talked about MITI’s guidance and the EIAJ’s lobbying efforts until both became controversial in the early 1980s. The earlier EIAJ arguments on the positive role of government-business relations were no different from the SIA’s arguments in its petitions to the US government. Later publications by EIAJ, in contrast, hardly places any focus on government-business relations. Without access to the earlier Japanese resources, western scholars often receive biased interpretation of the Japanese industrial policies.

information on the invention of transistors. Study groups were formed within the same year, and members made many trips to the GHQ libraries to get the latest journals. (AIDA, 1991a: 105-116, 119-125) As early as 1949, Nippon Telegraph and Telephone (NTT)'s Electrical Communication Laboratory, Nippon Electric Company (NEC), and other makers started basic research for the development of transistors. MITI began subsidizing the research in 1951. NTT Laboratory succeeded in producing proto models of transistors in 1953. In the same year, Tokyo Tsushin Kogyo (later, the SONY Corp.) requested MITI to permit a purchase of transistor technology from Western Electric for \$25,000. It was only reluctantly accepted by MITI in 1954. (Nakagawa, 1981: 57-60) MITI's initial reluctance was often cited as evidence of MITI's shortsightedness. (Okimoto, 1989: 65) As Japan's industrial policy later became the target of American criticism in US-Japan trade disputes, the Sony incident became a public relations tool to discredit the mighty MITI theory.²

In 1955, Tokyo Tsushin Kogyo applied transistors to its portable radios, and the export of the radios accelerated the production of transistors. By 1958, Japan caught up to the United States in both production volume and technology in the transistor industry. (*Nihon Denshi Kikai Kogyokai* [hereafter, EIAJ], 1979: 159-160) The transistor's application to portable radio was not Tokyo Tsushin's original idea, however. Texas Instruments had already produced a large profit from the transistor radio boom a year earlier. (Aida, 1991a: 308-311)

MITI's initial reluctance is often interpreted as evidence of a lack of foresight.³ Nevertheless, articulation of industrial policy was done through close consultation between MITI and the industry, not by an imposition of

² For a more balanced account of the SONY incident, see Leonard H. Lynn, "MITI's Successes and Failures in Controlling Japan's Technology Imports," in *Hitotsubashi Journal of Commerce and Management* 29 (1994), pp. 27-30.

³ MITI officials today often cite the SONY incident, explaining MITI's lack of power. Another often-used example of MITI's lack of foresight is Soichiro Honda of the Honda Motor Co., who rebelled against the MITI's initiative to consolidate the automobile manufacturers into Toyota and Nissan groups. The MITI bureaucrats repeatedly cite these exceptions to the extent that some journalists are now aware of the coordinated public relations ploy. See Marvin J. Wolf, *Nippon no Inbo*, Kenichi Takemura, trans. (Tokyo: Kobunsha, 1984), p. 106.

pre-determined MITI plans.⁴ Seeing the Nippon Telephone and Telegraph Laboratory produce a proto model of semiconductor chip in the same year, MITI was quick to respond to SONY's export success.⁵ In fact, MITI seems to have been well aware of the importance of the transistors, but was simply concerned about the shortage of foreign currency reserves. The MITI created an Electronics Division in 1954 upon the initiative of Hiroshi Wada, a government-sponsored student at Massachusetts Institution of Technology (MIT). The division's main objective was proliferating transistor knowledge by promoting basic research, at the time top corporations kept their research totally secret.⁶ Hiroshi played a key role in a legislation promoting the Japanese electronics industry. (Aida, 1991a: 206-9)

The 1957 Electronics Industry Promotion Temporary Measure Law (seven-year limited legislation) designated the semiconductor and other electronics-related industries as key industries. (Sugiyama, 1982: 31) The law aimed at:

- 1) Maintaining and raising [the number of engineers;
- 2) Providing subsidies and preferential tax treatment for
 - a) Infrastructure improvement at universities and research institutes, and
 - b) Technological development by the private sector, in order to facilitate the development of indigenous technology;

⁴ Chalmers Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), p. viii, differentiates the Japanese system from the "fully bureaucratized planned economy" of communist countries that "misallocate resources and stifle initiative."

⁵ NTT was a public corporation under the jurisdiction of MITI's archrival, the Ministry of Postal Services.

⁶ MITI officials often talk about the *yokonarabi* (horizontal, head-to-head) rivalry among the Japanese firms, which disadvantage them at international deals, and the need for MITI to coordinate them in order to strengthen their collective bargaining. The author heard the same argument in an interview with MITI officials on Japanese electronics industry's investments in China.

- 3) Providing long- and short-term loans and preferential treatment for improving, extending, and modernizing the production and testing facilities; promotion of [domestic] joint ventures for the purpose of specialization in production; and
- 4) Creating domestic demands and promoting exports. (EIAJ, 1979: 56)

Within the ceiling amount negotiated with MOF every year, MITI had a free hand in giving tax breaks to designated industries. (Okimoto, 1989: 88) Upon MITI's request, MOF backed SONY by lifting commodity taxes on transistor radios for the first two years in the market. (*Economisuto Editorial Board*, ed., 1977: 36-8) The effect of the law was significant in closing the gap with the US semiconductor technology that later led to integrated circuits (IC).

Robert Noyce disclosed the behind-the-scenes deal of the MITI's exception. Instead of simply selling the Kirby patent (a patent for basic IC structure invented by Jack Kirby) through licensing, MITI in 1967 threatened to file lawsuits against all Japanese producers, which violated the patent. The building of manufacturing sites in Japan was a concession MITI won through tough negotiations. (Kano, 1980: 110-1) The Kirby patent was sold, in the late 1960s, to the Japanese companies for a 3.5% royalty. (Kano, 1980: 100)

After September 1967, MITI's control over foreign capital was gradually relaxed in the face of foreign criticism. In 1967, foreign investment was liberalized in 50 industries (50% or 100% ownership depending on the industry). The number of the liberalized industries increased to 204 in 1969 and 524 in 1970. Nevertheless, according to the EIAJ, only industries that were not vulnerable to foreign investments were chosen until the 1970 liberalization. (EIAJ, 1979: 98-9)

Protection of the domestic semiconductor and computer industries by the Japanese government was problematic for the Nixon administration. Early in the summer of 1971, William Eberle, Special Trade Representative (STR) of the United States, and Pete Peterson, Commerce Secretary, were facing demands from domestic corporations, such as Motorola and Texas Instruments (TI), that the US government push Japan for trade and investment liberalizations. Eberle, in May, went to Tokyo with a threat of filing a GATT suit. (Dryden, 1995: 162) On August 15, 1971, Nixon also announced a 10% surcharge on imports, creating bargaining leverage for the

United States in the exchange rate negotiation. According to a Commerce official, lifting of the 10% surcharge was also linked with Japan's trade and investment liberalization in the semiconductor and computer industries. (Dryden, 1995: 151, 158) However, the policy split within the US administration was clear.

The liberation did not alter MITI's techno-nationalism. The legal relaxation left MITI with its favorite tool: administrative guidance. TI's Michael Rice also admits that MITI, through administrative guidance, limited the number of wafers TI could send from the United States to its factories in Japan until 1976. (Kano, 1980: 108) A similar story can be heard from another company as well. Jones (first name unknown), sales manager and vice president of Advanced Micro Devices (AMD), discloses his struggle with MITI:

“In 1974, when AMD established its local subsidiary in Japan, we tried to insert ‘production of Ics’ in the company’s charter. Nevertheless, because of this [phrase], MITI’s permission was not easily granted, and we had to delete the phrase.” (Kano, 1980: 111-2)

Computer Industry

The Japanese semiconductor industry benefited from the promotion of the domestic computer industry because the technology was closely connected to it, and because major semiconductor manufacturers were also general electronics makers involved in computer manufacturing. MITI's promotion of the domestic computer industry was a direct response to IBM's predominance in the Japanese and world computer markets. In 1955 and 1956, subsidies were provided for, “disassembling and analyzing the parts of foreign-made computers.” (EIAJ, 1979: 223) The 1957 Electronics Industry Promotion Temporary Measure Law assisted the computer industry as well. In 1960, the Japanese government forced IBM Japan to disclose their basic patent of computers in return for a permit to start production of computers in Japan. (EIAJ, 1979: 223) The other leverage of MITI over IBM was the Foreign Currency Control Law.⁷ Because of the

⁷ MITI often selectively intervened in technology transfers, and issued guidance to lower royalties. Nevertheless, in the case of the NEC-Fairchild deal, MITI failed to quiet infighting of domestic companies. Hitachi and Toshiba were reluctant to profit NEC by purchasing the planar patent. The

law, IBM Japan needed MITI's permission to transfer its profits to the United States. MITI also used this leverage to make IBM disclose its patent. (Kojima and Ikebata, 1984: 20-1)

In August 1961, major domestic computer manufacturers under the 1957 Electronics Industry Promotion Temporary Measure Law formed Japan Electronic Computer Co., Ltd. (JECC). JECC engaged in a computer rental business to promote sales of domestic computers. Its starting fund was 1.05 billion yen (\$2.9 million), and the Japan Development Bank (JDB) loaned 400 million yen (\$1.1 million). 1.1 billion yen (\$3.1 million) were spent for the purchase of domestic computers. By 1971, its capital expanded to 53.4 billion yen (\$173.4 million), the accumulated sum of JDB loans reached 109.7 billion yen (\$356.2 million), and computer purchases for the year hit 87.4 billion yen (\$283.8 million). (EIAJ, 1979: 77-8) MITI first suggested in 1960 that JECC be financed half by the government and the rest by the private sector. The plan was changed to a completely private sector-based one in the next year. (EIAJ, 1979: 224)

In 1962, under the Promotion Measure Law, research to produce a prototype model of a large high-performance computer began. The research resulted in co-development of FONTAC computers by Fujitsu, Oki and NEC. (EIAJ, 1979: 224) Between 1966 and 1978, 45 billion yen (\$150 million) of Computer Research and Development funds was provided by the Japanese government under the Large-scale Industry Technological Research and Development Contract System. (EIAJ, 1979: 271) NEC reports, "as a research outcome from the MITI's Large-scale Project, [NEC] developed 144 byte high-speed N-channel MOS IC memories in March 1968." (*Nihon Denki Kabushiki Kaisha Shashi Hensanshitsu*, 1980: 103)

Japanese firms started automation of their production line with the help of MITI. In 1969, NEC received MITI's subsidy to study automation of the semiconductor wafer process. (*Nihon Denki Kabushiki Kaisha Shashi Hensanshitsu*, 1980: 160) Furthermore, as the anticipated deadline of market and capital liberalization in the computer and IC industries neared in the mid-1970s, the Japanese electronics industry asked the Japanese government for financial assistance for technological development. (EIAJ, 1979: 288-9) For the fiscal years 1972 and 1973, 3.5 billion yen of IC

two companies decided to develop their own manufacturing technology that would bypass the planar patent. Their inventions resulted in lowering of electrical noises, which worked in their advantage in commercial application of silicon transistors.

Development Subsidy was paid within the 20 billion yen (\$66.7 million) Computer and Other Development Promotional Subsidy. In addition, some 1 billion yen was paid for the development of IC manufacturing equipment under Important Technology Research and Development Subsidy and other programs since 1968. (EIAJ, 1979: 271)

In 1971, major Japanese computer firms formed three companies: Fujitsu-Hitachi, NEC-Toshiba and Mitsubishi-Oki. Under the Specific Electronics and Machinery Industries Promotion Temporary Measure Law (which combined the 1957 Electronics Promotion Law and the Machinery Industry Promotion Law), MITI provided a 68.7 billion yen (\$229 million) subsidy between 1972 and 1976 to these three companies. The three companies announced their new models in 1974. (EIAJ, 1979: 226-8)

The Contribution of the JECC (rental firm) was recognized by EIAJ in its own publication. "Since 1961 when JECC's rental operation began, purchase of domestic computers [in Japan] exceeded that of foreign machines." (EIAJ, 1979: 224) The SIA cited the JECC as yet another example of unfair economic practices. In contrast to its own earlier comments, the EIAJ responded by saying, "there is a citation of the area unrelated to semiconductors: regarding the JDB loans to JECC. (EIAJ *Denshi Debaisu-shitsu*, 1983: 27) The fact that all new models of Japanese computers after 1968 were equipped with ICs (EIAJ, 1979: 224-5) hardly denies the relationship between JECC and IC development. In fact, the entire amount of the Computer Development Promotion Subsidy in 1977 was spent for Very Large Scale Integration (VLSI) research and development (R&D). (EIAJ, 1979: 159)

Semiconductor Industry in the Advanced Stage

By the late-1970s, the semiconductor industry had become increasingly capital-intensive. Therefore, the development of new chips became very costly. Investment in infrastructure increased from 12.5% of sales in 1978 to 18.4% in 1980 in the case of the Japanese semiconductor industry, while the American industry increased from 12% in 1973 to 16% in 1980. Investment in R&D is estimated to reach five to ten percent of sales. Considering the fact that the volume of sales also increased, this increase in R&D is significant. Thus, "competition in accessibility to capital and technological development determine the future of the American and Japanese semiconductor industries." (Itami, 1981: 39-45)

The life cycle of semiconductor chips was extremely short, while the cost for development had increased. The integrity of mass-produced chips

increased from 256 bytes in 1970 to 1 kilobytes in 1973, 4 kilobytes in 1975, 16 kilobytes in 1977, and 64 kilobytes in 1979. (Shimura, 1980: 272-294) Older generation products have been pushed out of the market. Thus, producers had to advance to the next stage as soon as possible.

In addition, the learning-curve theory can be applied to the semiconductor industry. In the semiconductor industry, the production cost declined by 27.6% when the production doubled. (Shimura, 1980: 290) Therefore, the more a company produced, the lower each chip cost to produce. This production cost related to the ratio of yield (non-defect chips). The ratio was calculated by multiplying the ratio of non-defect chips per wafer and the ratio of non-defect wafers. (Hizuka, 1988: 90-113) By improving purity of the silicon wafers, cleanliness of the production environment to prevent dust and increasing the accuracy in the circuiting process, the yield ratio could be increased and cost reduced.

These characteristics created a strong incentive for higher market share. Early domination of the market reduced production costs, while preparing the company for cutthroat price competition against the late entries during the latter stage of the product cycle. Capital abundance created from this early domination could also be used for development of new chips to enable early entry into the next product cycle. Thus, in the semiconductor industry, a loss in one stage would put a company in a highly disadvantaged position. Increasing R&D costs made most non-captive chip makers in Silicon Valley unable to compete vis-à-vis captive makers and general electronics firms (both Japanese and American) on a VLSI was already risky enough to take individually. It was in such a context that the Japanese government launched its VLSI research association.

VLSI Research

In the wake of the liberalization, the Japanese electronics industry needed a final technological push to compete evenly with American producers. The 1971 law that combined the promotion of the machinery and electronics industries under one legislation clearly aimed at close coordination between the electronics industry and the manufacturing tool industry. (Kodama, 1991: 123-5) At the up-stream of the semiconductor industry, the computer industry was always tied with the semiconductor industry. From 1972 until 1976, a "Computer Development Promotion Subsidy" was provided. In 1973 and 1974, an "IC Development Promotion Subsidy" was also provided. Mitsubishi's corporate history book writes, "This Company, through participation in both projects, achieved a big

technological advance including production of proto models of 16 kilobyte (16K) dynamic random accessible memory (DRAM) chips. (*Mitsubishi Denki Kabushiki Kaisha Shashi Hensanshitsu*, 1982: 601) A test by Hewlett-Packard (H-P) revealed that Japanese 16K DRAMs achieved better quality than American-made 16Ks. (*House Subcommittee on Trade*, 1980: 36-41)

With the production of 16Ks, the automated lead bonding process became the norm, and Japanese producers had an advantage in this area. NEC, first in the world, developed a micro computer-controlled automatic bonder in 1973. In the next year, NEC introduced a pattern recognition system; thus, completely eliminating workers in the bonding process. NEC also improved its computer-controlled IC testers. (*Nihon Denki Kabushiki Kaisha Shashi Hensanshitsu*, 1980: 159-161) Franklin B. Weinstein, Michiyuki Uenohara and John G. Linvill (1984: 65) note:

Although some US companies pioneered the automation of the semiconductor industry, there seems little doubt that the Japanese made more extensive use of automatic lead bonding machines and have been doing so for a longer period of time.

The delay in automation by the US manufacturers could partly be attributed to their initial decision to take advantage of cheaper labor costs at offshore (Southeast Asian) assembly facilities. (Weinstein, Uenohara and Linvill, 1984: 63) Nevertheless, it is also true that the Japanese government encouraged investment by domestic firms in updating production facilities through subsidies and tax incentives. Until 1983, MITI provided a 13% tax credit on the purchase of, “robots, numerically controlled (NC) machine tools and other automated assembly-line equipment.” (Okimoto, 1984: 101)

In March 1976, MITI coordinated a four-year co-research project to, “study and develop basic and manufacturing technology in order to realize VLSI for the next generation computers.” (EIAJ, 1979: 156) The VLSI Technology Research Association was formed by five major electronics firms: Fujitsu, Hitachi, Mitsubishi, NEC, and Toshiba, and cooperated with NTT and MITI’s Electronics Technology General Research Institute. MITI was to shoulder 30 billion yen (\$107.1 million) out of the total research fund of 72 billion yen (\$257.1 million). (EIAJ, 1979: 156) MITI actually paid about 29.1 billion yen (\$103.9 million). (Denshi, 1983: 10) This subsidy came as a direct response to IBM’s new model computer, “Future System,” expected to be released in 1980. Shoei Kataoka, Electronics

Section Chief at the Electronics Technology General Research Institute recalls:

“This co-research project originated in the urgent need to establish micro manufacturing technology, in response to the speculation that IBM’s “Future System” computers used micro-structured semiconductor devices.” (*Tsusan Journal*, 1982: 24)

In response to the SIA’s charge of unfair trade, EIAJ says, “the VLSI project subjected very basic fields including micro manufacturing technology of semiconductors, but it did not subject development and commercialization of 64K DRAMs.” (*Denshi*, 1983: 10) Weinstein, Uenohara and Linvill (1984: 19), cite a 1981 *Electronics* article to show the reluctance of the participating firms to send their best engineers to the project.⁸ Nevertheless, a directly conflicting view came from within the Japanese chip industry. NEC’s Atsuyoshi Ouchi recalls:

“The theme, as well as the timing, [of the project] was good. If the VLSI [project] focused only on the extension of the optical technology which each maker had, advanced companies would try to hide the newest technology, and the lagging companies would only try to take, thus [the project] would not go well. But, in good timing, it became known that the VLSIs for IBM’s “Future System” computers did not need the extension of optical technology, but rather electron beams and X-ray technologies. If so, there was a sense of crisis that even Japan’s relatively large makers could not individually develop such devices, and there was no room for suspecting each other since the starting point was zero for everybody. I heard one young engineer, who participated in the co-research, say, ‘I was sent without instruction. I thought I would damage the company’s image if my work were inferior. So, I tried hard.’ It seems that everybody did the best in such a mood. I think this is one of the reasons of success.” (*Tsusan Journal*, 1982: 24-5)

⁸ Another article, John P. Posa, “Special Report: How Japan’s Chip Makers Line Up to Compete,” in *Electronics* (6/2/81), pp. 113-132.

The operation committee of the project consisted of vice-presidents of the participating firms sent to smooth the decision-making. Each firm sent its best human resources to the joint research laboratory. (Moritani, 1981: 158) The result of the project was striking. The VLSI project's Co-research Institute Chief Yasuo Usui commented, "Compared to IBM, I think, the Co-research Institute's technology broke the even level. Especially, I think, [the institute] surpassed IBM in electron beam lithography devices." (Moritani, 1981: 145)

In April 1977, NTT's Musashino Electric Communication Laboratory was first in the world to announce development of 64K DRAMs. In May, the VLSI project team succeeded in an experiment of electron beam lithography for VLSI production. In November, NTT succeeded in production of 1K MOS memories and masks for 64Ks, using the newly developed electron beam lithography. (*Nippon Denki Kabushiki Kaishi Hensanshitsu*, 1980: 103, 105) The major participants of the project, NEC, Hitachi, and Fujitsu developed 64K DRAMs in 1978 and 1979. (Ouchi, 1979: 863-9; cited in Kato, 1988: 4) The project applied for more than 1,000 manufacturing patents in electron beam lithography, micro manufacturing, silicon crystallization, wafer-processing, designing, testing and device technologies. (Kato, 1988: 3) The significance of the research results can be measured by IBM's request that Japan disclose these patents, and by MITI's reluctant disclosure in March 1978. (EIAJ, 1979: 156-7) Thus, EIAJ's recent claim that the VLSI research had nothing to do with 64K DRAM production is not true. The research played a major role in both basic and manufacturing technologies. Its focus on basic manufacturing technology enhanced close coordination of the electronics industry, between computers, semiconductors, and semiconductor manufacturing equipment industries. It was around this time that some Japanese semiconductor manufacturing equipment exceeded the capacity of the American-made ones. (Kato, 1988: 12; Moritani, 1981: 153-7)

Public relations penetrate academia. Prominent Japanese speakers on electronics have industrial ties, which are usually not disclosed very well. One of the authors of the above-cited Okimoto book, Michiyuki Uenohara, was an associate senior vice-president of NEC. (*Electronics*, 1981: 60) Furthermore, Michiyuki is an editor of *Look Japan*, a journal distributed overseas under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs budget. Hiroshi Inose, a Tokyo University researcher, was a director of the School of the National Computer Center and, like Michiyuki, is a *Look Japan* editor. (*Electronics*, 1981: 60; *Look Japan*, 1994: 2)

Financial Advantages

SIA's charge against the Japanese semiconductor industry included the government role in loan allocation. It charged that the JDB loans funneled necessary funds and stimulated commercial loans to the semiconductor industry. EIAJ counter-argued that the JDB loans were small, and that it did not have any influence over the commercial bank's loan making decisions. (*Denshi*, 1983: 13)

Japanese corporations relied heavily on commercial bank loans. According to a former MITI official, "Commercial banks rely on MITI's judgment in making their loan decisions." (Ojimi, 1972: 126) Shoichi Akazawa, who retired from MITI and became vice-president of Fujitsu, commented that [while he was at MITI] he never asked commercial banks to lend money [to the particular private companies]. (Shimura, 1980: 280) However, such a comment needs critical examination. Shoichi heads the MITI-affiliated Japan Economic Foundation, which publishes a public relations journal, *Journal of Japanese Trade and Industry*. (*Zenkoku Kakushu Dantai Nenkan*, 1991: 27)

In addition, Japanese law allowed commercial banks to send managers to the loan recipient firms in case of bad credit. Therese M. Flaherty and Hiroyuki Itami (1984: 155-6) argue that, in the case of the semiconductor industry, such a close relation between commercial banks and manufacturers made possible sophisticated analysis of the industry's prosperity. MITI's designation of the industry as a developing target, therefore, enhanced consensus building between the industry and banks.

Authorization of expenditures, or approval of credits by Japan's public banks such as the JDB, was done by MITI. (Johnson, 1982: 79) However, EIAJ argues the amounts of JDB loans were small, and the interest rate difference was minor (based on data from 1982). (*Denshi*, 1983: 13) Until the early to mid-1970s, most JDB loans were poured into basic infrastructure industries, such as electrical power generation and transport, and the interest rate difference was over 3%. However, Japan's excess savings over business demands curtailed the role of government banks. Though the computer, electronics and machinery industries combined, received over \$300 million from JDB in 1981, the rate differential was only one percent and the signaling role of such loans was less important. (Okimoto, 1984: 130-1) Unfortunately, for those other than managers of the semiconductor manufacturers, the significance of the one percent interest rate difference is largely dependent on subjective interpretation.

However, in my interview, EIAJ's Harada suggested that less visible tax breaks were more important than more visible direct subsidies in the development of the Japanese chip industry.⁹

NTT's procurement, MITI's subsidy, cartelization, and JDB's loans played important roles at critical times during the infant stage of the Japanese semiconductor industry up to the early 1970s. Nevertheless, since the late-1970s, difference in corporate structures between the American and Japanese semiconductor firms, which affected their ability to raise ever-increasing investment capital for production of higher integration chips seems to have accounted for the industry's growth.

During the 1970s, Hitachi, Toshiba and Mitsubishi were already big general electronics makers. To a lesser extent, NEC, Fujitsu and Oki also had diversified, but still integrated, product lines. As R&D costs and investment in infrastructure skyrocketed, they gained financial advantage over the non-captive chipmakers of Silicon Valley. (Itami, 1981: 39-40) While R&D and infrastructure investments by American firms stagnated in 1974 and 1975 in the wake of the 1973 oil crisis, Japanese firms kept spending 20% of their sales for R&D for the same period. In the late 1970s, they started large investment in 64K production facilities, though this did not seem to result in immediate profits. (Moritani, 1981: 149-150) Concerning the nature of massive simultaneous investments by Japanese firms, AEA's John P. Stern suspects MITI's role in this decision. He pointed out that MITI's Industrial Structure Council, which dealt with investment strategy, refused participation of foreign firms for several years. (Stern, 1985: 15) However, it seems more plausible that the excessive investment drive simply reflected the extremely short product cycle of the memory chips and the resulting urge for early market domination, which allowed firms to collect "back rent." The financial advantage of the diversified Japanese companies that have technologically caught up with the US rivals by the early-1980s, made it possible fully to take advantage of the learning curb and drive out the competitors through price-cutting.

Conclusion

Despite the politicized nature of the US-Japan semiconductor disputes and the distortion of media information and academia on this subject, earlier publications by EIAJ and other Japanese sources clearly show MITI's orchestrating role in the development of Japan's semiconductor industry.

⁹ Interview with author, Tokyo, 27 April 1995.

The more visible legal protection, such as tariffs, quotas, or import bans, was lifted by the early-1970s. Nevertheless, less visible measures, such as control of foreign direct investments, encouragement of technology transfer, government-directed research, NTT's closed procurement system, and cartelization were practiced under MITI and MPT's administrative guidance.

Though the amount of direct subsidy was relatively small, the importance of such subsidies, particularly during the infant stage of the industry, as well as indirect effects of such subsidies, and other means of protection and promotion including tax exemption, cannot be overlooked. Some advantage of Japanese firms could be attributed to Japan's closely coordinated industrial structure and bank-centered *keiretsu* system, but it is also important to note that these structural characters may very well disadvantage the Japanese firms, as we see in the 1990s.

Most previous explanations of the growth of the Japanese semiconductor industry were mono-disciplinary and paradox-free. This multi-disciplinary study of the history of the development of the Japanese semiconductor industry reveals richness in paradoxes. Protection of the domestic market from competitions with foreign firms was done through quotas and tariffs. However, the domestic industry was also made aware of the coming end of such protection. Promotion of the domestic firms clearly aimed at upgrading their technological competence within a given time before the trade and investment liberalization. MITI encouraged cooperation among the domestic firms, but at the same time, maintained competition between plural groups of firms. Also, MITI's disciplining of domestic firms was often imperfect, and major breakthroughs often originated in the "black sheep" companies SONY and NEC's early switch from germanium to silicon, NEC's purchase of the planar patent, and the growth of the silicon material industry in Japan attest to this view. While research cartel was used to avoid redundancy among domestic firms, jurisdictional competition between MITI and MPT created a built-in redundancy in Japan's industrial policy for electronics. NEC and Sharp's early calculator success owed more to MPT than MITI. Also, support of MPT allowed NEC and other "NTT-family" firms a degree of freedom from MITI.

The paradoxical mixture of policies worked and failed from time to time, and this one case study does not allow me, nor do I intend, to draw a generalization theory of industrial growth as such. Throughout the semiconductor industry's development stage, MITI listened to the industry

and tried to build consensus among domestic firms. Once consensus was achieved, MITI enforced it strong-handedly. Occasional resistance of some domestic firms could not be avoided. When complaints amounted to a level where enforcement of the original consensus was threatened, MITI responded to the complaints quickly. Such examples are seen in the tax break for SONY's transistor radio export and subsidization of NEC despite NEC's repeated disobedience to MITI. Thus, constantly learning from its own failure seems to have been MITI's real strength. Although MITI's industrial policy did play a role in the development of the Japanese semiconductor industry, findings of my study suggest that MITI's record of success is not as rosy as the SIA would like to portray. Neither the EIAJ's recent version of "incompetent MITI" explains the success of the Japanese semiconductor industry.

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FEATURED ESSAY

CIRCLE K RECIPES

Karen Tei Yamashita

Gohan

Wash rice until the water runs clear. For each cup of rice, add a cup of water. Place in rice cooker, and push the button.

Arroz

Rinse rice and drain. Sauté chopped garlic, onion and salt in oil. Add rice. Add water. For each cup of rice, add about two cups of water. Bring to a boil. Lower heat and cover until tender. (If you live in Japan, dump the sautéed rice into the rice cooker, add water, and push the button.)

One day at a restaurant that specializes in tofu, I heard the people at the next table ordering “*raisu*.” “*Raisu, hitotsu*.” I thought I had misunderstood, but eventually I could also read the side order in *katakana* on menus in other restaurants. That you can order rice at a Japanese restaurant seems obvious, but that it’s called “rice” is one of those things in Japan that has a reason you can only guess. My guess is that the word *kome* means rice, the grain, and the word *gohan* means rice, but also refers to food generally. No word for just an extra bowl of rice. So *raisu*. But, it used to be that if you were eating food (*gohan*), you were eating rice (*gohan*).

My grandfather came from the small village of Naegi, now incorporated into the larger city of Nakatsugawa in Gifu Prefecture. His family apparently owned enough land to parcel a portion out to tenants who paid in rice. In those days, rice was legal tender. A large storehouse used to stand where the family turned that rice into *sake*. My father once speculated that the fall of this family may have come about from drinking that legal tender. Recently the family who since owns and farms the land in Naegi sent us a large sack of rice produced on that very land. *Naegi no okome*. I washed and cooked several cups of it very carefully in the rice cooker, and

we all ate it very carefully, trying at first to taste each grain. It was an odd little ritual like eating your ancestors. Or eating legal tender.

I was born in the Year of the Rabbit. On evenings with a full moon, I look up to decipher the outline of a rabbit pounding rice into the giant *omochi* that is, they say, the moon. When I was a child, my grandmother stuck a few grains of rice to the lobes of my ears. I always thought my ears were too big, but my grandmother said big lobes were good luck; if you can stick rice to your lobes, you'll be rich. *Kanemochi*. The sticky rice knows. Legal tender here.

In Japan, rice must be the sticky sort and also polished white. One eats the purity of it. It doesn't matter if its nutrition is negligible. You can rarely find in stores any other sort of rice or grain for that matter. No brown rice. No barley. No cracked wheat. No corn meal. No long grain. A Brazilian woman explained the difference between the short and long grains, "Japanese rice: *Juntos venceremos!* /Together we will succeed! Brazilian rice: *Sozinho, consigo!* /I can do it myself!" But, heaven forbid that the Japanese should eat the long grain rice of Thailand.

Everyone can tell you how Thai rice was introduced into the Japanese market only to be given a bad rep and thrown away by the tons. They complained, "It had a funny smell. Someone found a piece of insect in it. It wasn't sticky." It was cheap. It was just a food staple from a poor country. In that sense, it wasn't rice. It wasn't legal tender. Who's eating it now? Probably the Brazilians.

It's the rainy season in Japan. Water fills rice paddies across the countryside. Houses, mini-marts and factories encroach upon the planted land, replacing the fields gradually, but nothing yet replaces the reign of rice. Rare in some parts of the country to see plantings of vegetables or fruits. And rarer still: corn, beans, other grains, or cover crops. From the looks of the supermarket offerings, variety and quantity are sacrificed for an almost cloned perfection in the produce. For example, every eggplant looks like every other eggplant in size and shape. The same goes for cucumbers, tomatoes, onions, potatoes, apples, oranges, melons, etc. Someone produced the incredible statistic that Japan throws away imperfect vegetables and fruits in quantities that equal the weight of the total production of rice each year. You pay for this statistic: One tomato=\$1.00.

One apple=\$1.00. One head of lettuce=\$2.00. 1/4 head of nappa cabbage=\$1.50. Ten kilos/Twenty pounds of rice=\$40.00.

Although food (*gohan*) is rice (*gohan*), obviously rice is not really food. Certainly it is also *sake*, *nuka*, roof thatching, paper, glue, starch, matting, and even in the past, footgear and raincoats. But beyond these byproducts, its production, its purity, its mythic qualities, its value, define every other thing called food. Everything is measured against it. Legal tender. The stubbornness of rice. The persistence of rice. The gold standard was abolished years ago, but not this rice standard.

Miso-shiru

Bring a pot of water with dashi to boil. Add a scoop of miso paste, and chopped vegetables, seaweed, mushrooms or tofu.

Feijao

Separate the beans from any pebbles or insects. Wash and soak the beans. Cook in pressure cooker until tender. In a separate pan, sauté onions, garlic, and salt in oil or fat. Smash a cup of the cooked beans into this mixture to make a thickening paste, then stir everything back into the cooked beans. Add more salt and pepper to taste.

Rice-and-beans. *Arroz-e-feijao*. Inseparable. For Brazilians, the only food that sustains. When the early Japanese immigrants to Brazil arrived on coffee plantations in the 1920s, they received a ration of rice, beans, salt, coffee and sugar. Sugar has always been plentiful in Brazil, and in those days the Japanese knew only to add it to the beans. After several weeks of the sweet stuff, the salty fare might have been a pleasant surprise. In any case, rice and beans became an accepted staple, the food that makes the people, the daily blessing, a *comida sagrada*. If *gohan* (and probably miso soup) is food to Japanese, *arroz-e-feijao* is *gohan* to Brazilians.

Thanks to this cultivation of the Brazilian palette, the first commercial ventures among Brazilians in Japan have been related to the making and sale of Brazilian food. What is it that the food of your homeland, of your mother's kitchen, will provide you? Why do we crave it so badly? Why do our tongues pull us home? Was mom's cooking really that good? When Japanese immigrants got to Brazil, they spent much of their years laboring to make vegetables, tofu, miso, and shoyu. Now, the *dekasegi* in Japan

finance a lucrative network of imports from Brazil, New Zealand, Australia, and the Philippines to eat the stuff that pleases the literal mother tongue: *mandioca*, *Sonho de Valsa*, *Guarana*, *pão de queijo*, *linguiça*, *goiabada*, *fubá* and *suco de maracujá*.

In the center of every enclave of Brazilian life in Japan, you find food. Sometimes it is a restaurant; sometimes a cantina and grocery store, or a karaoke bar. Sometimes it is a truck stocked with Brazilian goods making designated stops to the lodgings of factory workers in remote towns. Often it is the *obento/marmita* lady, the woman who delivers boxed lunches and dinners to factory workers.

The *obento* lady brings a boxed lunch with the always-dependable *arroz-e-feijao*, a piece of meat, and a side of vegetables. She says the young Brazilian men say that the Japanese lunches don't "sustain." Rice and pickles don't make it. They need food that sticks to your ribs. Some don't care for fish. In the first months that they arrive, they all lose weight quickly. The *obento* lady also brings news, gossip, and motherly advice. Often she's walking social services; she'll give you information about health insurance, your visa, and your driver's license. She's been here awhile, started her own business, and knows the ropes. Her cell phone rings constantly as she delivers her food. "Carlos, listen, you perforated your lungs once already. Forget the overtime for a while. Give it a rest. Do you hear me?" "Luis? I heard you moved to Toyota. Of course there's a friend of mine over there who makes *obento*. Do you want her telephone number?"

Arroz-e-feijao, the daily blessing, the tie that binds, not just food but also a social construct.

Yaki-Niku

Arrange thin slices of file mignon on a plate with a variety of cut vegetables, tofu and mushroom. Cook at the table on a hot plate with a little oil. Serve with rice, beer and sake.

Bife Milanese

Pound slices of beef flat. Dip them in egg and breadcrumbs and fry. Serve with rice and beans.

About seven years ago, a small butcher shop in the town of Yoro in Gifu put out a flyer offering imported meat from Australia at extraordinarily

cheap prices. The flyer attracted several Brazilians who came to buy the meat and who also returned on the following Sunday, despite the fact that the offer was for one week only. The Brazilians peered past the counter and asked about some pieces of meat on the block. This was meat cut away from the fine rib eye or perhaps from the mignon that Japanese customers expected to buy, but the Brazilians offered to take this unwanted meat. Every weekend, the Brazilians returned for more meat, for the side cuts and the tougher meats. Finally, the owner found herself too busy to handle these Brazilians and invited them into the shop to cut away the pieces they wanted: *picanha*, *colchão duro*, *colchão mole*, *ponta de agulha*.

In time, Brazilians came by the busloads, set up barbecue pits on the empty lot on the side of the shop, roasted meat, played music, sang and danced. The owners covered the empty lot when it became cold, and the *churrasco* and the music continued. They gave up trying to sell fancy cuts of fine Hida and Kobe beef at 1,200 yen (\$12.00) per 100 grams, and transformed the business to provide imported Australian meat cheaply for a more voracious clientele, for Brazilians whose families can be counted on to each buy as much as ten kilos of meat—beef, chicken, pork, bacon, ham and sausages—per week. Brazilian grocery items were added to the shop. The empty lot turned into a *churrascaria* restaurant complete with live music and karaoke. It only remained to sponsor a soccer team to turn completely Brazilian. Now there are four other such shops in four other cities in Japan, and they also do a mail order business, shipping meat directly to the homes of individuals in places as far as Okinawa and Hokkaido. For this purpose, 100 tons of meat is shipped from Australia every month.

As for the owners, the husband is Japanese; the wife is Korean. It's one of those Creole situations: Korean Japanese buying Australian meat and selling it in Japan to Brazilians and Peruvians.

Gyoza

Fill gyoza wrappers with a mixture of ground pork and chopped vegetables. Arrange them on a pan, frying them all on one side in a small amount of oil. When browned, spill about a 1/4-cup of water into the pan, lower heat, cover and cook until tender.

Pastel

Fill pastel wrappers with cheese, hearts of palm, tomatoes, or ground beef. Fry until crisp and golden.

I learned from my grandmother that after rice, everything else is *okazu*. At her house, lunch was always a bowl of rice and every jar of *tsukemono*, pickled fish, salted squid, she could bring out of the refrigerator. I imagine *okazu* to be an old term, not used much in Japan today. The Hawaiians still use it; in Hilo, I tried a sushi they call *okazu-maki*. The Brazilians have a similar term: *mistura*. Everything after rice and beans is *mistura*. *Gyoza* is *okazu*. *Pastel* is *mistura*.

I don't know if anyone has ever done a study of the origins of the *pastel* in Brazil. I assume the Chinese brought fried wonton to Brazil and adopted it to Brazilian tastes. But it was the Japanese immigrants who also became attached to its production, frying it behind stands at the *feiras* or open market places. In Brazil, fried wonton became much larger in size. Instead of a pork filling, there is cheese, hearts of palm, tomatoes, or ground beef. The dough is thicker; the secret in the recipe they say is *pinga*, that most potent of cane brandies. Now *pastel* is back in Asia, but it is back as *pastel*. It is not Chinese or Korean or even Japanese; it is Brazilian. And the secret in the dough is *pinga*. Still, the other day, I ate a fried wonton filled with cheese and *omochi*.

We visited the very traditional village of Shirakawa where all the houses are 200 years old and have thatched roofs. Also special to this area is the mountain cooking which includes fern sprouts, bamboo shoots and mushrooms gathered from the mountain side. Curiously we visited a factory that packages these mountain veggies because we had heard that a Brazilian family works in this factory. As it turns out, all the materials—fern sprouts, mushrooms, shoots—for this local specialty are imported from China and Russia, and have been from the last twelve years. To use the local produce would be far too expensive. So there you have it: unknown to thousands of tourists who pass this way, the packages of mountain vegetables bought as *omiyage* come from China and Russia and are made and packaged by Brazilians.

An Okinawan nutritionist in Yokohama opened a Brazilian restaurant because she noticed that the young Brazilians coming to work in Japan were

all losing weight, all seemed to have difficulty eating Japanese food. She wondered about this and went to Brazil to learn to cook Brazilian dishes. A Brazilian cook came to Japan to study Japanese cuisine; now she is the chef at a Brazilian restaurant in Nagoya whose fine food attracts a clientele both Japanese and Brazilian. A *nikkei* whose family traveled from Okinawa to Bolivia to Brazil to Yokohama recently opened her kitchen in Kawasaki offering both Okinawan and Brazilian dishes. Everybody is making *okazu*. Everybody is making *mistura*.

Chawanmushi

Beat eggs and a clear dashi soup together. Place pieces of chicken, ginkgo nuts, bamboo shoots, mushroom and fish cake in ceramic cups. Pour egg-soup mixture on top. Steam over boiling water until set. Serve hot in cups

Pudim

Beat eggs, sweetened condensed milk and cream in blender. Pour into a pan lined with sugar caramelized with cinnamon and cloves. Steam over boiling water until set. When cool, turn the pudim over on a plate to serve.

Lately I have been using the *chawanmushi* cups to make Brazilian *pudim*. The last time I made *pastel*, I tried it with cheese and *omochi*. Using *omochi* in this way reminded me that some California company makes pizza *omochi*, garlic-cheese *omochi* and raisin-cinnamon *omochi*. Another company specializes in jalapeno and smoked tofu. The other day we received a fancy box of chocolate covered *sembei*. In Japan, McDonald's has a teriyaki-chicken burger, the pizzas all have corn on them, and curry-rice comes with *tsukemono*. I heard some Brazilian women have used the rice cooker to bake cakes. Nothing is sacred. Your tradition is someone else's originality. It's a big taste adventure. And then again, "*raisu, hitotsu.*" *Gochisosamadeshita*.

CIRCLE K RULES

Japanese Rules

1. Remove your shoes when entering houses and buildings.
2. Always bring *omiyage* when you visit as a guest.
3. Don't leave your chopsticks stuck in your rice bowl like two posts.
4. Avoid the number four.
5. Dress according to your age and the season.
6. For the same work: Pay men 1,200 yen per hour; pay women 900 yen per hour.
7. Use the toilet slippers, but don't forget to leave them with the toilet.
8. *Enryo* until your host insists.
9. Wash outside the bath before soaking, and don't bring the towel in with you.
10. Drive on the left side of the road; if it's too narrow, drive in the middle.
11. When wearing a kimono, wrap yourself left over right.
12. Follow the table for incremental salary increases and title changes according to a man's age.
13. His opinion is her opinion is my opinion is your opinion. I agree.

The Rule Board

(A large sign in Japanese and Portuguese at Homi-Danchi, condominium complex housing some 8,000 people—2,000 of whom are Brazilian—in Homi-gaoka, Toyota City)

Let's respect the rules of the residential condominium!

Please do not park without requesting permission.

Let's stop driving motorcycles at high speeds.

Please don't use the plaza late at night before the sun rises.

Let's stop throwing cans and bottles in the streets and around the buildings.

Please don't write on the walls or objects.

During parties or reunions in apartments, please take care with the noise.

**Lets stop barbecuing on the verandah.*

Lets take care with pollution.

**Please regulate the volume on your television and stereo system.*

**Conversing in loud voices bothers your neighbors.*

Please put trash out in accordance with the determined models and in the appropriate location.

Do not throw objects or trash out of apartment windows.

**In particular, the throwing of cigarettes is common; please do not throw them.*

The residential condominium is a place where many people live communally. Let's collaborate to have a pleasurable daily life, thinking also of our neighbors.

*Municipal Corporation for Habitual Conservation
Chubu Branch/Nagoya Office*

In addition to the Rules Board, flyers are also distributed throughout Homi-Danchi explaining the following regulations in Portuguese:

Precautionary Notice for Daily Living

- 1) In these public housing units live various people, each with a different rhythm of life. Furthermore, the culture and customs of Japan are different from that of other countries. Thus, we ask that each person respect the regulations of communal life, to avoid any problems with your neighbors.
- 2) Do not turn on radios and televisions at high volume, principally in the early morning and late hours at night. Also during this time, take care not to make noise in the corridors or even in your apartment.
- 3) It is prohibited to raise cats, dogs or any other animal in the apartment because this may cause inconveniences for your neighbors.
- 4) In each home, the trash must be separated by category. This trash should be left in specific locations and on specific days of the week. It is prohibited to throw trash out on the previous night or at other inappropriate times. Stray dogs and other animals can spread the trash during the night, causing inconvenience to the residents and neighbors.

- 5) The activities of the Association are realized through the financial resources received monthly from residents to the Residential Condominium Association. These monthly revenues are used for the operational costs of the Association, such as the realization of events, printing of bulletins, acquisition of equipment, celebratory notices and condolences, etc.

Condominium dues serve to cover the costs of indispensable services for the daily activities of the condominium, such as the cost of electricity to illuminate stairs, corridors, passages, halls and rooms for reunions, maintenance and repairs of installations, cleaning the land, piping and drainage, and water for collective use, etc.

Any late payments will cause delays in the operation of the Association and this will cause in the last analysis, inconveniences to the proper residents. Do not forget to pay your monthly Residential Condominium Association dues before the due date in the same manner as your rent.

- 6) Notifications of the Association of Condominium Residents and the City are circulated through clipboards. As soon as you have read these notices, pass them to the next resident.
- 7) From time to time, the Association of Condominium Residents has a clean up, cutting of grass and weeds, etc., in the form of a group event. The residents realize this work and the cooperation of everyone are requested. On the other hand, there are also festivals and other events of fraternization. Try to participate to promote friendship with other residents.

The Brazilians have had difficulty following all these rules. No loud music. No late night conversations in the plaza. No *churrasco*. No speeding around on motorcycles. An extremely detailed categorizing of trash (burnables, cans, bottles, breakables, large items) with specific methods for disposal, specific days and times, and specific locations for specific removal. Brazilians forget to pass the clipboard or don't read the contents. Finally, the group clean-up days are monthly on Sunday mornings from 8:30 AM. While their Japanese neighbors are outside trimming hedges, sweeping paths and cutting grass, the Brazilians turn over in their

beds, preferring to pay the fine rather than to wake on a Sunday at such an ungodly hour.

In the meantime, the Japanese residents are at their wit's end. The Brazilians are unruly. Their presence has made a muck of a quiet routine. Not living in these housing units, it's difficult to imagine this complaint. A tour of Homi-Danchi and its environs gives you a sense of an oppressive quiet—the sound of sleeping people who work the night shift, the sound of a silent majority who want very badly to be accepted, the sound of people trying very hard to be quiet. Even the children seem to play quietly. This is as quiet as Brazilians can possibly be. This is probably as *ruly* as it gets.

Brazilian Rules

- 1) There are no rules.
- 2) All rules may be broken or avoided.
- 3) Dar um jeitinho. (There is always a way.)
- 4) Always bring your babies and small children to parties.
- 5) Men on the verandah with beers; women in the kitchen.
- 6) When leaving a party, give yourself an hour to kiss or hug each person good-by.
- 7) Females: Two kisses in greeting; three kisses to marry; four to avoid living with your mother-in-law.
- 8) Males: Left hand on his shoulder. Right hand patting his belly.
- 9) Nothing is sacred; tell a joke.
- 10) Taking advantage of a situation is not necessarily stealing.
- 11) Since nothing works, doing nothing may be the best approach

Brazilians are a very physical people. They touch each other a lot. They kiss and hug. They kiss and hug when meeting, and kiss and hug when taking leave. It takes some mastering to get that close to someone's face with just the right brush of the cheek. Even though it all seems so natural and friendly, there are rules about all this touching. One Japanese man got carried away and grabbed a woman's breasts. She hauled out with a metal pipe and nearly beat him to a pulp. Later he explained his impulsive excess; those breasts were just too beautiful to believe.

Still, Brazilians have an expectation about the "abra□o." They send embraces in their messages. They send "*beijos*." Their expectation is that

this show of affection is a demonstration of warmth and openness. Without this, the world is a cold place; thus, others who may find this kissing disconcerting are a cold people. *Frio*. Americans and Japanese hardly show affection in public; to kiss a mere acquaintance seems a little over-done. A handshake is just fine. Or how about a little bow. It's probably not about cold or hot; it's more like what's comfortable for a body to do. Brazilians kiss. Japanese get naked together in hot baths.

One of the well-known *nisei/sansei* traumas has been that their parents don't show physical affection for each other or their children. A lack of such affection among Nikkei in Brazilian or even American society is cause for an identity crisis: "I thought my parents didn't love me." Since one side of my family is the distant sort and the other, touchie-feelie, I've had to learn that affection is made of many things. Still, growing up and seeing that Japanese never even shook hands, I had some idea that they also never touched each other. Working with a Japanese director on one of my plays and seeing her put my Japanese characters in physical contact with each other finally abolished this assumption. Announcement: Japanese do in fact touch each other.

Abracos e beijos. It's a fine art among the Latins. It's easy to think that the rule is not hugging and kissing, that rules separate us. But it's also possible to think that hugging and kissing are rules in themselves, that otherwise we shall be separate. And then again, I embrace you from a great distance. It's a long embrace without rules.

American Rules

- 1) Speak English.
- 2) He who has makes the rules.
- 3) Smoking is prohibited in public places and on airplanes.
- 4) Just do it.
- 5) When in doubt, consult your attorney.
- 6) Drink Coke. Enjoy the real thing.
- 7) We are the world.
- 8) We are the happiest place on Earth.
- 9) We accept American Express, MasterCard or Visa.

I remember years ago seeing a pamphlet for Japanese travelers explaining with cartoons a series of possible scenarios in foreign places and the appropriate behaviors. There was everything from shaking hands to sitting (not stepping up) on the toilet seats. The stepping up on the toilet seats had to do with the nature of the Japanese toilet, which is on the floor. You have to crouch over it. The Brazilians have fondly dubbed it the “*motoquinha*” meaning that you “ride” it much like a motorcycle. Now public places often have stalls marked “Western Toilet,” and hotels and homes boast of the most sophisticated toilets in the world.

A company named Toto sells a toilet with a heated seat, bidet and air-drying system. Truly amazing. Somehow the nozzle for the bidet can squirt you in the vagina or the anus. Yes, there are clearly two pictures signs to choose from. My friend’s father demonstrated his home model and asked me if we didn’t have such toilets in America. When I said probably not, he jokingly said, in that case, he probably couldn’t travel there. Furthermore, since he got his new toilet, he never uses toilet paper anymore. In any case, I began to feel that I needed a pamphlet with cartoons explaining a series of possible scenarios and appropriate behaviors. If I pressed the button for bidet, how could I raise the temperature of the water? More importantly how could I make the squirting water stop?

Then there’s this odd feature in women’s toilets in some public places: *the sound of flushing*. On first inspection and unable to read the Japanese explanation, I kept trying to flush the toilet by passing my hand over a sensor. Curiously, all I got was the recorded sound of flushing. No water. Just the sound. Finally I dragged an interpreter into a bathroom for an explanation. Ah! Apparently Japanese women have found the sound of peeing offensive; to mask this sound, they flush and pee at the same time. It’s an enormous waste of water; so, Toto invented *the sound of flushing*.

Finally, Japanese bathrooms, even the most luxurious (marble counters, *ikebana*, perfumed soap, and all), never have paper towels. You’re supposed to bring your own towel, and I always forget. As a result, the bathrooms are quite litter-free. Who knows? With Toto, one day they may be paper-free.

A Brazilian friend, Ana Maria Bahiana, has written a book, *America: A to Z*, sold in airports, detailing all the habits and situations of American life that Brazilians find exasperating, funny, unexplainable or odd. Under “B”

is bidet. There are no bidets in the USA, she notes. Ana Maria misses her bidet, but I can't remember that anyone really used it in Brazil; it was usually filled with dirty laundry in most houses. Women use them to wash their panties. Nevertheless, all houses seem to have them. The construction outlets sell the toilet with a matching bidet. It's a pair, you see.

Public places in Brazil of course don't have bidets. Some don't have toilet paper or paper towels either. In this case, there might be a woman who offers you these essentials for a small fee. This woman supposedly also cleans the bathroom, scrubbing the toilets and mopping the floors. The fee you pay is probably her dinner. But every now and then, you may not have any change for the toilet lady; you've got to run out of the lady's room and hope she doesn't come chasing after you.

American women did away with pay toilets a long time ago. This was a major act of feminism at the time. In fact, an Asian American woman rose to political fame on this platform: pee for free. Still there's ground to cover here. Queuing up in endless lines for the women's room in theaters always reminds you that a man was probably the theater's architect.

The thing about American public toilets is the great amount of paper in them: gigantic toilet paper rolls so you will never be without, and paper towels that finally fill and spill over the trash receptacles. Most importantly, American toilets usually have paper seats. You can hear the women in the other stalls ripping them out of the containers and slapping down on the seats. You never know what could be yucking up the seat of a toilet. Some women must use the hover method where you sit without touching. Heck, some people must just sit on the seat anyway. Who knows, maybe someone is stepping up and crouching.

What all this toiletry has to say about rules is probably not erudite. The Romans invented plumbing. If you've ever tried to fix the plumbing, you feel as if nothing has changed since the Romans. At Versailles, we're told that no toilets existed; you simply disappeared for a moment behind the velvet curtains along the walls. At the Iso Gardens in Kagoshima, a guide dressed in a kimono shows you the toilet where the Lord Shimazu sat, his bowel movements falling into a bed of fragrant cedar leaves. You look in the toilet and sure enough: branches of cedar leaves. Some rules are rituals, some habits.

Circle K Rules

- 1) Immigrate into your own country.
- 2) Learn to cook your favorite meals.
- 3) Ask the next question.

***Just Do It in 24 Hours 1997 Nike Brazil World
Tour: Osaka World Cup Exhibition Game:
Brazil vs. Japan August 13, 1997 *7 PM***

The preceding announcement may or may not excite the imagination depending on your attachment to soccer, to Brazil or to the World Cup. Despite our scheduled departure from Japan on August 15, an invitation to see this game could not (I repeat) could not in the minds of my Brazilian husband and our son be passed up. Dunga, Ronaldo, Roberto Carlos, the coach Zagalo, Brazil's finest. They would all be there. And they would test the mettle of the new Japanese team and its aspirations to join the fury over the most contested of games across the entire world.

August 13, 1997 at 1 AM

I am awake writing as usual as everyone else sleeps. I am doing this on the floor because we no longer have any furniture in preparation to leave this rented house.

My friend and translator, Kenichi Eguchi, will be working as an interpreter for Nike at the exhibition game in Osaka. He has faxed information about where to pick up free tickets and the best way to get around Osaka to the stadium. His instructions are based on taking the Shinkansen from Nagoya to Osaka, but Ronaldo has called Brazilian friends to catch a ride. In any case, I set this information aside for Ronaldo and Jon. I putter around the last of our preparations for packing. I might under other circumstances prepare a snack for them, but we no longer have a refrigerator, not to mentioned kitchen supplies. We are living out of the Circle K *kombini* in the mean time.

4 AM

Despite the hour but charged over the promise of this daybreak, Ronaldo and Jon rush out to the corner Circle K to meet our Brazilian friends. They load up with a Circle K regimen of Morinaga aloe-vera juice, assorted *musubis* and breads for the road.

Jorge and Masaye Takahashi pull up in a Delica van with three young men, all members of the Viva Brasil soccer team at Homi Danchi. Jorge is the team captain; Masaye is the team mom. The team members are between 17 and 25; they are exemplar of the youth and energy that drive the subparts factories in and around Toyota. On weekends, these men spend their frustrations and retrieve their youth in traveling soccer competitions. Today, a Wednesday, they've skipped out of their jobs in order to see live for the first time the Brazilian champions, the team that sustains their dreams and self-perceptions in a distant home. To lose a day of work is no small thing, but the choice is a particularly Brazilian one, steeped in a confusion of identity, rebellion and *saudades*.

It's a three-hour ride over the *kosoku* (highway) to Osaka. It's also three hours of storytelling. There is jokes and prankster tales revealing a childhood full of a humor unimaginable in Japan or even the US. My son revels in the stories—escapades to steal a free pizza, how to avoid detection of radar when speeding, stolen car radios recycled. The stories aren't focused on dishonesty; they are told to reveal the trickster, cunning, a good joke, the stodgy made foolish, the system turned on its side. This is a world of hilarity encapsulated in a Delica van. Outside the severe landscape, paid for by tolls at about ten cents a kilometer, rolls out along the *kosoku*.

7:30 AM

At this hour, clearly the first arrivals by car, the Delica van gets the closest parking space to the stadium, some kind of miracle one guesses. Its seven occupants tumble out and survey the situation. Along the sides of the stadium, people in sleeping bags have overnight staked their claims to places in a long winding line of fans, hopeful of getting the choice seats in general admission. Two of the young Brazilians take off to scout the stadium, slipping through the gates, wandering through the empty stands, making use of the bathrooms, taking photographs like accomplished spies.

8:45 AM

Ronaldo meets Kenichi at the appointed time and place and receives four coveted tickets to the game. The story is that this game sold out months ago in the first hour of sales. The value of these tickets is compounded by the moment. Scalpers with wads of cash buy and sell, offering a \$40 ticket for as much as \$150. The Delica crew needs three more tickets, but \$ 150 is too high.

10 AM

Ronaldo and Jon make a run for McMuffins at McDonald's. The crew scarfs down three Big Macs apiece. Some children have a ball and are playing soccer. The Brazilians are soon playing with the kids.

Masaye has spread out a mat to sit; some nod off to nap.

12 Noon

The concession booths begin to open, stalls selling food and soccer paraphernalia. Other Brazilians gather in bunches, their carousing and jocular repartee evident. They sport the soccer shirts of their home teams, dozens of local affiliations. A Japanese man with missing teeth appears with a bag full of J League soccer shirts, which he proudly displays one by one, his collection, his local affiliations. A meeting of minds is quickly understood; soon he is trying to learn Brazilian songs and yelling Brazilian slogans.

Meanwhile a group of Japanese women has already joined the festivities, gamely trying to learn the *Danca da Garrafa*. It's a lewd dance, its raunchy movements swaying and pumping over a strategically placed Coke bottle. The Brazilian men demonstrate a few steps. The Japanese women follow along in good humor. Things are getting heated up.

1 PM

About this time, large booster groups are being ushered into a second inner courtyard beyond the gates. These special fans are in lines, getting their special booster tickets. One of the Delica crew slips into this line, pretends to be part of the group, and scores a ticket. These tickets are encased lovingly in plastic covers with special shoelaces that allow you to wear the ticket like a necklace. Moreover, special stamps are glued to the

covers indicating the booster status of the bearer. One ticket down; two to go.

Now the rest of the booster group invades the scene with large flags, and three of the crew find themselves swept through the gates into the stadium. They pull away from the crowd and gain access to the inside of the stadium itself. Sneaking in and out of bathrooms, wending their way to the top of the stadium, hiding in the stands, they communicate all the while between themselves and their friends outside the stadium with cellular phones. "We are in the bathroom on the north side." "We are now at the top of stands above the reserved section." "There's a security guard at the south door. *Cuidado!*" It's "Mission Impossible."

2 PM

By this time, the security guards have caught the three crewmembers and kicked them out, but not without causing some commotion between the guards themselves, some who are reprimanded by superiors for allowing this situation to have occurred. However, the young man with the special booster ticket and stamps is allowed to stay.

Cellular phone calls reach out to Brazilians on the road approaching Osaka. Someone has scored some tickets for this group; they are on their way. But they get into an accident. No one is hurt, but the car looks totaled. The group abandons the car, rents another car, and arrives at the stadium. No one is going to miss this game.

3 PM

Masaye overhears three Japanese girls talking about friends who haven't arrived. They have two extra tickets. The Delica crew quickly takes in the three Japanese girls. Suddenly they are part of a Brazilian thing. The joviality of the young men, their easy banter and friendly joshing surround the girls like a tropical beach. For one day, they are in Brazil. There is nothing in the world, short of being in Brazil that can match this. The girls agree to sell their extra tickets at price. That's it. The two final tickets. Seven Brazilians. Seven tickets.

5 PM

Things are intensifying at the front. A samba group is drumming it up. Brazilians can't be without their rhythms. The noisy ruckus and hilarity are infectious. The sensation of it swells with expectation.

The crewmember with the special booster ticket with the stamps gets in early with the designated fan club. He moves in quickly and stakes out fifteen choice seats at the very front of general admission. There are places for all his old and new friends, including the three Japanese girls. Folks back in those lines packing up their sleeping bags never had a chance.

Nike is passing out the Nike fans, the Nike stickers and the Nike face tattoos. No doubt there are Nike hats, Nike shirts, Nike buttons. This is a Nike World Event. The crew gets in line to get the freebies. They get some, pass them out, get in line again, and get some more.

Ronaldo and Jon move to their reserved seats, but the hoopla is definitely back in general admissions with the Brazilian samba band and the Delica crew and their trickster ways.

6 PM

There is a capoeira and samba show before the game starts as well as a taiko show.

The game happens. It's 1 to 0, Brazil-Japan, after the half. During the first half, a Brazilian is seen running into the field to shake hands with the players on the team. It's all on national TV. The man is ushered off the field and kicked out.

At half time, Ronaldo and Jon rejoin the partying crew in general admissions. The three Japanese girls are trying to learn the Danca da Garrafa.

Second half; 3 to 0, Brazil. Neither Ronaldo nor Jon will later remember who made the goals. The steam of Brazilian revelry that filled the very air gradually seeps away. The rhythms tire. The carnival reveals its *tristeza*. That Brazil wins the game is a given. It wasn't the game after all.

10 PM

Leaving the stadium, the Brazilian who was seen running on to the field is met by his friends. He shrugs off having missed the second half of the

game. He had run onto the field to be on television. He was certain that his family in Brazil must have seen him on international TV. For the moment, he is exuberant with his success. At midnight, he will turn back into a *dekasegi*.

The three Japanese girls who have attached themselves to the Delica crew hang on to their last moments with Brazil. One girl bursts into tears as they take leave.

The crew piles into the Delica, pulls out of Osaka, continuing and taunting banter filling the van. “Hey Jon, you made that girl cry. What did you have to do that for?” Then everything settles into the light snoring of sleeping men. Three hours back again to Nagoya.

1 AM

Back at the Circle K. I’m up writing as usual. The guys fill our now empty rented place with their still high energy and wild sense of excess, an excess that has little to do with the game they have struggled for the past 24 hours so valiantly with others to see. My questions: How was the game? What was the score? Who made a goal? All irrelevant.

Seven Brazilians went 24 hours and 250 kilometers with only the hope of seeing a soccer game sold out months in advance. What could they lose but a chance to test their ingenuity, their infallible charm, their cunning, and their facility with play? This was the game at hand. At midnight—the Delica churning its engine across the highway, they would have stirred in their old roles; peons they would call themselves, *dekasegi*. No matter. At one o’clock, a wild sense of excess, the trickster’s success, momentary but marvelous havoc, filled our house one last time in Seto, Japan.

BOOK REVIEWS

John W. Dower. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. NY: W.W. Norton, 1999. pp. 677. ISBN 0-393-04686-9.

Reviewed by John Tucker

John Dower's latest contribution to Japanese history, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, will leave no reader disappointed: it is a monumental study of occupation Japan, extraordinary in its multifaceted analysis, quality of research, and, equally importantly, as a model of exceptionally lucid historical prose. Dower's earlier works, *Empire and Aftermath: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience: 1878-1954* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1979), *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (NY: Pantheon, 1986), and *Japan in War and Peace: Selected Essays* (NY: The New Press, 1993)—each a five-star entry in any bibliography of mid-twentieth century Japanese history—have no doubt created high expectations. *Embracing Defeat* easily satisfies them, but leaves readers wondering how Dower will take Japanese historiography to even higher levels of scholarship that, most virtuously, can be appreciated by general readers and advanced specialists in the field. Though many claim to direct their work to one community or the other, it is rarely the case that academics meet the needs of both nearly as well as Dower does.

In significant ways, *Embracing Defeat* marks Dower's completion of what can be viewed as either a trilogy, or perhaps even a four-volume study of Japan at one of the most critical junctures in its entire history: as it sought, in an incredibly tragic national gamble, to establish itself as the imperial hegemony of Asia and the Pacific, against the determined military will of the United States, and then as it sought to rebuild itself, socially, politically, and ideologically, under American "neocolonial" guidance, in the wake of an utter, even cruel defeat. Earlier, *War Without Mercy* examined the wartime struggle, especially as it related to representations and misrepresentations of the "enemy," by both Americans and Japanese; *Japan in War and Peace*, an anthology of stellar essays, examined similar issues, as well as a host of topics related to the postwar occupation and its aftermath.

With *Embracing Defeat*, Dower continues the second theme of his previous book, while returning to the core of his first, *Empire and Aftermath*, that of the postwar reconstruction, as led and misled by Japanese and their American overlords. Dower's "Introduction" explains that *Embracing Defeat* seeks to explore the postwar occupation as "a lived Japanese experience," rather than as some accounts have, in glowingly positive, self-congratulatory terms as an "American Interlude," or as others have, more negatively and critically, as a "forced Americanization." (p. 24) Dower relates that *Embracing Defeat* attempts to "convey from within" some sense of the Japanese experience of defeat by focusing on social and cultural development as well as on that most elusive of phenomena, "popular consciousness." (p. 25) In taking this approach, Dower's angle differs, as he admits, from that followed in most historical accounts, including his own, which have tended to focus on the thinking, decisions, and deeds of high-level power brokers, such as Yoshida Shigeru, SCAP General Douglas MacArthur, Harry Truman, and others. While the latter figures inevitably enter Dower's analysis at every turn, *Embracing Defeat* more seeks "to capture a sense of what it meant to start over in a ruined world by recovering the voices of people of all levels of society." (p. 25) Dower avoids any simplistic analysis casting the early postwar mood in terms of a "single, or singular Japanese," emphasizing instead the "kaleidoscopic" nature of the response to an often "schizophrenic" occupation, which mixed visions of "democratization" with "severe authoritarian rule." (pp. 26-7)

Embracing Defeat is divided into six sections, the first of which, "Victor and Vanquished," opens with the chapter, "Shattered Lives," exploring Japanese memories of and reactions to the broadcast of the emperor's "euphemistic surrender" (p. 34) statement, juxtaposing it with the later acceptance, by Japanese diplomats but not the emperor, of "unconditional surrender" on September 2, aboard the Missouri. Yet the analysis quickly moves away from the main stage of high-level history that of nations, leaders, generals, and treaties, to the popular level, where Japanese experienced a shattering of the ideological unity so intensely articulated and popularly reaffirmed throughout the war. Dower especially focuses on "the country's new outcasts" (p. 61) i.e., the "despised veterans," (p. 58) their families, their orphans and their widows who now became *pariahs* (p. 60) in their own land. The second chapter, "Gifts from Heaven," while highlighting the postwar cartoons of Katô Etsurô, as well as photographs of poignant moments in the remaking of Japan, has as its main

theme the perceived “gifts from heaven,” i.e., the “democratic revolution from above,” (p. 69) largely decreed by MacArthur’s GHQ, as well as anxieties among some Japanese that they had not done enough to make it their own, and others, such as Yoshida Shigeru, who doubted that democratization would ever succeed in Japan

Part II, “Transcending Despair,” opens with one of the most haunting chapters of the text, “*Kyodatsu*: Exhaustion and Despair,” examining the psychological rather than political aspects of the surrender. Here, Dower links *kyodatsu*, an intensely felt sense of physical and mental exhaustion, dejection, despair, and demoralization, with the emperor’s surrender statement asking Japanese to “endure the unendurable,” (pp. 97-104) making the latter request far more meaningful at the personal level than its oxymoronic phrasing might seem to suggest. Chapter four, “Cultures of Defeat,” probes the emergence of new forms of popular culture that accompanied, and in some cases, succeeded the experience of *kyodatsu*. Dower analyzes three key “subcultures” that “electrified popular consciousness,” the world of *panpan* prostitution, the black market, and the *kasutori demimonde*. Combined, these subcultures “celebrated self-indulgence and introduced such enduring attractions as pulp literature and commercialized sex.” (p. 122) Chapter five, “Bridges of Language,” explores the semantic transformation, including puns, sarcasms, and jokes, that were simultaneous with the socio-political one, often inextricably bound to it. In this context, Dower examines everything from cigarette brand names, to the names of liquors, clothing styles, etc., as well as “catchwords” such as reconstruction, brightness, culture, and new, postwar lexicons, works of popular literature, journals, and the publishing houses that emerged, quickly and relentlessly, to present this new discourse of “liberation.”

Part three, “Revolutions,” opens with the sixth chapter, “Neo-Colonial Revolution,” highlighting Dower’s comprehensive assessment of the occupation. Rather than indulge in a pro-American, congratulatory account, Dower emphasizes the contradictions inherent in the occupation, and especially the extent to which it and its leader, General Douglas MacArthur, were removed from the Japanese. In one telling observation, Dower relates that, “[MacArthur] never socialized with Japanese; and, according to one intimate observer, “only sixteen Japanese ever spoke with him more than twice, and none of these was under the rank, say, of Premier, Chief Justice, president of the largest university.” (p. 204) Elsewhere, Dower adds “while the victors preached democracy, they ruled by fiat; while they espoused

equality, they themselves constituted an inviolate privileged caste.” Moreover, he observes that “almost every interaction between victor and vanquished was infused with intimations of white supremacism.” Thus, Dower concludes, “for all its uniqueness of time, place and circumstance the occupation was but a new manifestation of the old racial paternalism that historically accompanied the global expansion of the western powers.” (p. 211)

Chapter seven, “Embracing Revolution,” paraphrases the title of the book and in many respects conveys its quintessence: that “spontaneous popular responses to the victors” were “more vigorous” than predicted. (p. 227) Not only was this “embrace” directed, metaphorically, toward MacArthur, the SCAP command, its ideals, and ideologies, but also to European thought, Marxism, and other ideologies alien to either the wartime state or the postwar victor, but nevertheless validated due to their associations with earlier opposition to the wartime regime. In examining the Japanese “embrace” of occupation, Dower includes poignant, tragicomic examples. Thus, he notes that even in Nagasaki “residents welcomed the first Americans with gifts and shortly afterward joined local US military personnel in sponsoring a ‘Miss Atomic Bomb’ beauty contest.” (p. 241) Chapter eight, “Making Revolution,” further explores the reappearance of socialist and communists groups in newly liberated postwar Japan, though this time following the strategy of “peaceful revolution,” “lovability” and extraordinary willingness to participate in cultural accommodation (appealing to both SCAP and the Emperor for support of their various proposals) (pp. 262-3). Dower recognizes, of course, that the Communists and Socialists were marginalized by the “reverse course,” but adds that these same left-wing groups nevertheless became “the staunchest defenders” of the “initial occupation ideals of demilitarization and democratization.” (p. 273)

Part four, “Democracies,” comprised of six chapters focusing on the emperor and the postwar constitution, is by far the longest. It opens with chapter nine, “Imperial Democracy: Driving the Wedge,” analyzing the SCAP decision to “resituate” Hirohito at “the center of their new democracy” while, at the same time, “driving a wedge” between the emperor and military leaders, suggesting that the latter were “gangster militarists” (p. 281) who had to be prosecuted, while he was an innocent who should be salvaged. Dower sharply criticizes the “arbitrary” justice that allowed imperial wartime responsibility to remain unexamined. Indeed, he states that the postwar constitution’s definition of the emperor as

symbolic of “the unity of the people” amounted to, in certain respects, “a new way of phrasing the old ‘family nation’ ideology.” Furthermore, it permitted the emperor to remain the “the incarnation of a putative racial purity as well cultural homogeneity,” “high priest of the indigenous Shinto religion,” and “the supreme icon of genetic separateness and blood nationalism.” (p. 278) In chapter ten, “Imperial Democracy: Descending Partway from Heaven,” Dower continues his examination of the rehabilitation of the emperor, noting how postwar pedestrians seem to have assumed the role of largely indifferent “spectators” in observing the fate of their emperor. The much vaunted emperor worship appeared, Dower notes, as so much *tatema*. (p. 303) Dower offers especially insightful analysis of the January 1, 1946 New Year’s Day rescript in which Hirohito supposedly renounced his divinity, highlighting the extent to which the emperor diverted attention away from the renunciation by reiterating, beforehand, the Meiji Charter Oath, and then, rather than unequivocally renounce his divinity in omnibus fashion, Hirohito only denied that he was an *akitsumikami*, or a “manifest deity.” In renouncing this obscure attribute, Hirohito avoided doing what he deemed “absolutely unacceptable:” declaring imperial descent from the gods to be a “false conception.” (p. 316) Dower thus concludes that Hirohito’s descent from divine status was only “partway,” “more obscure than was apparent,” and that “when all was said and done, the sovereign had not changed his color.” (p. 318)

In chapter eleven, “Imperial Democracy: Evading Responsibility,” Dower describes the “successful campaign to absolve the emperor of war responsibility,” sarcastically noting that in it, the “prosecution functioned, in effect, as a defense team for the emperor.” (p. 326) Dower points out that while many thinking Japanese thought that Hirohito ought to abdicate so as to absolve himself of guilt and purify the throne, in the end there was no pressure from SCAP for him to do the same. Consequently, Hirohito shuffled into the postwar a free man; doing otherwise would have, apparently, required more strength, courage, and selflessness than he had ever been able to muster. At the same time, while he remained emperor, Hirohito was transformed into a “manifest human,” Dower facetiously suggests, by massive efforts to parade the awkward, inarticulate, physically unassuming, and socially ill at ease man among the public as often as possible. These tours, known as common *junkô* rather than august *gyôkô*, turned “the monarch into a celebrity.” (p. 330)

Chapter twelve, “Constitutional Democracy: GHQ Writes A New National Charter,” details the dialectic of initial Japanese efforts, in the

form of the Matsumoto Committee, to offer acceptable “revisions” of the Meiji constitution, and then the SCAP’s idealistic but highhanded rejection of the same, and its drafting of a new constitution based on a distinctly American model, with clear “echoes of the Declaration of Independence, the Gettysburg Address, and the US Constitution.” (p. 370) Chapter thirteen, “Constitutionalizing Democracy: Japanizing the American Draft,” follows up on this analysis by noting how even this most American document, in English draft, was diluted in translation via use of obscure and ambiguous Japanese terminology, of which, not surprisingly, SCAP had little clear grasp or immediate concern. One example, the ambiguity in Article Nine’s “renunciation of war,” resulted in numerous constitutional disputes when it was related to issues of self-defense and security alliances. Chapter fourteen, “Censored Democracy: Policing the New Taboos,” brings to the fore the extent to which the occupation forces fostered a sense of “the inviolability of the nation’s second emperor, General MacArthur,” (p. 405) so much so that they “continued socialization in the acceptance of authority—reinforcement of a collective fatalism vis-à-vis political and social power and a sense that ordinary people were really unable to influence the course of events.” (pp. 439-440) Along the way, to preserve the appearance of democratic revolution it was necessary to censor “the existence of censorship itself” and cultivate a “mystique of the immaculate allies,” something that “cast a taint of hypocrisy on the Americans and compared poorly with the old system of the militarists and ultranationalists.” (p. 410)

Part Five, “Guilts,” opens with chapter fifteen, “Victor’s Justice, Loser’s Justice,” an examination of the controversial Tokyo war-crimes trial. Dower highlights numerous anomalies related to the Tokyo tribunal, including MacArthur’s criticisms of the trials, their theatrical nature, total exclusion of the emperor, and their “white man’s” bias, associating these aspects with “victor’s justice.” True to his focus on the Japanese experience, however, Dower also emphasizes Japanese expressions of the logic of “loser’s justice” which alleged, “Japan had been led into ‘aggressive militarism’ by a small cabal of irresponsible militaristic leaders.” Interestingly, Dower suggests that the net-effect of “loser’s justice,” especially in the figures that it would have targeted, might not have differed significantly from “victor’s justice,” and it would furthermore have benefited Japan by allowing it to assume final responsibility for the war. Nevertheless this was not allowed, which compromised the integrity of “victor’s justice” and weakened Japanese efforts to resolve matters related

to war guilt and responsibility. Chapter sixteen, “What Do You Tell the Dead When You Lose?” answers its question, simply put, in terms of “the most ubiquitous passive verb after the surrender,” *damasareta*, meaning, “to have been deceived.” More complexly, Dower examines the more intellectual responses of postwar thinkers such as Nanbara Shigeru, president of Tokyo Imperial University, Prince Higashikuni, the Kyoto University professor Tanabe Hajime, and others in their efforts to formulate explanations of what had happened, and how it might be dealt with.

Part Six, “Reconstructions,” opens with chapter seventeen, “Engineering Growth,” a brief examination of the postwar recovery as it developed during the occupation, especially as a reversal of the “hands off” policy decreed by MacArthur, stipulating that SCAP would “not assume any responsibility for the economic rehabilitation of Japan or the strengthening of the Japanese economy.” (p. 529) At best, Dower shows, American planners envisioned “a neutered version of the old Japanese economy—of a trading nation weaned from massive military production and turning out cheap exports of the five-and-dime variety, ‘Oriental’ specialties, or labor-intensive products.” (p. 536) John Foster Dulles thus “blithely” suggested to a high Finance Ministry official that Japan consider exporting “cocktail napkins to the United States.” (p. 537) Japanese planners, however, formulated their goals after the advances of the revved up, wartime economy. True to the confines of his subject matter, postwar occupation, rather than the much ballyhooed story of the postwar “economic miracle,” Dower concludes his examination of material recovery noting that prospects were improved, somewhat disturbingly, due to “gifts from the gods,” i.e., “special procurements” from the US during the Korean War, providing for an economic recovery that left Japan still “dependent on military demands,” (p. 543) and operating within the confines of an economy “closely controlled from above.” (p. 546) Dower’s epilogue, “Legacies/Fantasies/Dreams,” briefly sketches, among other things, the remilitarization of Japan during the Korean War, with the creation of the National Police Reserve, yet without the support of the Yoshida government, business circles, or popular support. The epilogue also launches into reflections about the “hybrid legacy” of the neocolonial revolution, one that provided for “genuinely progressive change and a reaffirmation of authoritarian structures of governance.” (pp. 547, 561) Dower offers no easy forecasts, ominous or otherwise, regarding Japan’s future, though he readily laments the relative loss of idealism among many, especially in relation to demilitarization and democracy. While reviewers

should be cautious in faulting work of this scale and magnitude, it does seem that if readers have any complaints they will be that the final page (p. 564) comes much too quickly, leaving them with a thirst for more of the superb attention to detail and penetrating analysis provided them throughout the text.

Hamaguchi, Eshun (editor). *Nihon Shakaitowa Nanika: Fukuzatsukeino Shitenkara (What is Japanese Society?—From The Perspective of the Complex System)*. Tokyo: NHK Books, 1998, pp. 316. 1,169 Yen.

Reviewed by Kinko Ito

Nihon Shakaitowa Nanika, as the title appropriately suggests, is a book about the essence of Japanese society and culture and what makes them unique. The book consists of ontological studies of the complex Japanese scholars and a Czech professor whose specialties and disciplines range from industrial organization, social psychology, sociology, linguistics, intercultural communication, Japanese education, and philosophy to economics.

The book originated as a report of Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyu Center in Kyoto, an international institute of Japanese cultural studies that are supported by the Ministry of Education. The report was the result of a group of studies compiled by 28 professors and researchers between April 1995 and March 1997 on the organizing principles of Japanese systems.

Professor Eshun Hamaguchi, editor of the book and the head of the research group, is a scholar whose specialties include theories of Japan and the Japanese, comparative sociology, and psychological anthropology. He is well known for his theories of Japanese psychology and social systems based on the relational model called *kanjin* or “the contextual.” Eshun Hamaguchi claims that the Japanese society can be analyzed more appropriately by using a model of “the contextual” instead of using the opposite notions of western individualism vs. Japanese collectivism, which often is considered the prototype of Japanese society. Eshun Hamaguchi and many other contributors see the post-modern Japanese society and its human relations in the 21st century in more relational, contextual, and thus flexible terms. There has been fundamental worldwide social change in terms of values and lifestyles, and Japan is not an exception. The book discusses the idea that the focus of the research should shift from the utility

that pushed the modernization process to credibility that is the new basis for social and human relations.

Contextualism has three major characteristics: 1) mutual dependence that assumes that cooperation is inevitable in society, 2) mutual reliance that requires mutual trust and credibility, and 3) regard for interpersonal relations not as means but as an end in themselves. The book suggests a paradigm shift from methodological individualism to methodological relationalism that focuses more on individuals in groups, and above all, individuals in situational and relational contexts.

Nihon Shakaitowa Nanika consists of three parts: Section One has five chapters, and it deals with the organizing principles of formation of the Japanese system from the perspective that views it as a complex system. The articles included in this section analyze the nature and characteristics of the Japanese systems emergentistically. Many examples are taken from the fields of social psychology, existentialism, market economy, industrial organizations, information science, and organismic analogy. The studies on Japan and the Japanese as well as the methodologies for studying them have often used the paradigm that pertained to the western universal standard, or model of individualism that was not always applicable for explaining Japanese society and culture. They also tended towards reductionism. The writers suggest that a new paradigm is needed to explain the ontology of Japanese systems.

Section Two is comprised of eight chapters, and focuses on the characteristics of the Japanese systems and analyzes them from various disciplines and standpoints such as economics, education, psychology, management, and Japanese linguistics. Some of the topics covered in this section are the structure of Japanese culture, the bottom-up collective decision-making system, principles of Japanese codependence seen from children's perspectives, and analysis of economic philosophy at the end of the Tokugawa period.

Section Three consists of four chapters that are a report of Eshun Hamaguchi, et. al., research on contextualism and statistics that involved an international sample of 6,400 people from more than twenty countries. The researchers tested the applicability of the notion of *kanjin* (contextualism, the contextual) in different societies and found that it is more or less a universal paradigm that can be used to explain these countries that seem to differ much on the surface. This section also includes a questionnaire used in the survey. The findings show that 1) it is not always correct to assume that western societies are characterized by individualism and Japanese

society by contextualism or collectivism, and 2) the notion of contextualism that is based on mutual, interdependent relations and reliance has been considered unique to Japan, but it is also applicable for explaining social and human relations of other countries where it sometimes coexists with individualism.

Sakai Naoki, senior editor, and Yukiko Hanawa, co-editor. *TRACES* #1 (November 2000). Japanese edition. Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten, published as a special issue of *SHISO* (Thought), No. 918. ISSN 0386-2755.

Reviewed by Keiko Matsui Gibson

TRACES is a unique publication because it is issued in five languages, namely, English, Japanese, German, Chinese, and Korean, each in separate volume. Unlike most academic journals in the United States, its purpose, as stated in its first issue, is to deal with cultural theories that transcend national boundaries, without treating English as a privileged language, thus challenging national prejudices and even the reliance on one's national language. It also challenges the misconception that theories originate and develop exclusively in the west, whereas mostly non-rational ideas and information come from non-western cultures. These other cultural prejudices are courageously and effectively challenged. Those associated with this remarkable journal respect the particularities of the five cultures, as well as others, while at the same time attempting to universalize ideas trans-nationally. Contributors develop and transcend such recent theories of the social sciences and humanities as feminism, gender studies, queer theory, cultural studies, and post-colonialism examining them in fresh cultural contexts.

This review is of the Japanese version of the first edition of *TRACES*, which focuses on the “*borei*” of the west and the cultural politics of translation. The Japanese word may enigmatically mean apparition, phantom, or spirit of the dead. Some articles were originally written in Japanese, while others are translated into Japanese from other languages. Among members of the Advisory Collective are such luminaries as Jacques Derrida, Benedict Anderson, Harry Harootunian, Kojin Karatani, and Jean-Luc Nancy. On the Editorial Collective are such leading scholars as Brett de Bary and Megan Morris, who will edit the second edition, forthcoming in the spring of 2001.

In the fourth section of this issue on the west and the other, regional politics, translation and modernity, and *TRACES'* internationalism-contributors center on two major themes: a reinterpretation of western modernity and the cultural politics of translation. They attack such common misconceptions that modernity is monolithic and exclusively western, showing how diverse modernity is not only in the west, but in many non-western cultures. They relate various kinds of modernity spatially as well as temporally. In subverting the alleged supremacy of western culture, they question, for example, why ethnicity is too often regarded as a deviation from western norms, instead of analyzing "mainstream" European and American cultures as ethnic cases among others. In criticizing the idealistic glorifications of modernity. Harry Harootunian also reveals romantic fallacies of utopian alternatives to modernity, arguing that the unrealistic advocacy of a kind of pre-modern purity is just as romantic as modernity itself.

Concerning Japan, Satoshi Ukai criticizes Ruth Benedict's oversimplified distinction between shame and guilt, and the reactions to her work by such Japanese scholars as Watsuji and Yanagida. In developing a complex theory of shame, Satoshi Ukai argues with profound philosophical subtlety that translation entails an inevitable sense of shame because of the cultural mismatch of languages. In another insightful though brief article, J. Victor Koschmann attacks the assumption behind most translating into English, that the concrete, specific, often special and unique meanings of original texts—often felt to be "irrational"—are distorted by being rationalized and universalized in English versions.

Generally, in challenging the idea of English supremacy, contributors to *TRACES* direct their ideas to readers for whom English is probably not their native language. Such cross-cultural communication is highly creative and experimental, going far and beyond the limits of most scholarly publications.

Peter Clarke (editor). *Japanese New Religions in Global Perspective*. UK: Curson, 2000. pp. 317.

Reviewed by Cristina Moreira da Rocha

Peter Clarke has now been working with Japanese New Religious Movements (NRMs) for quite a long time. Following his earlier editorial work with J. Somers, *Japanese New Religions in the West* (1994), his *Bibliography of Japanese New Religious Movements* (1999) and his many journal articles, Clarke has put together a commendable new book on the subject. *Japanese New Religions in Global Perspective* is a collection of case studies of Japanese NRMs in many parts of the world (UK, Australia, USA, Germany, and Brazil), as well as a presentation of more theoretical essays on Japanese NRMs that explore the intrinsic nationalism of NRMs despite universal trends, their relationship with Japanese corporations, with millenarianism, with health and illnesses issues, and the reasons for their success or failure in the west.

In his introduction, Clarke advocates the idea of “reverse globalization,” and examines its emphasis on multi-directional modes of exchange and influence. He argues, as other authors have done, that globalization is not necessarily synonymous with westernization and that this is attested to by the rapid expansion of Japanese NRMs in the west. Clarke also contributes two essays in the book (they do not follow one another, but are put together here for analytical purposes): one on millenarianism and the *Sekai Kyusei Kyo* (Church of World Messianity) in Brazil, and the other on why Japanese NRMs succeed or fail abroad. His first essay discusses in detail the millenarian aspects of Japanese NRMs, the historical contexts of the emergence and development of *Omotokyo*, *Tensho-Kotai-Jingo-Kyo* and *Sekai Kyusei Kyo* in Japan, and the formation of *Sekai Kyusei Kyo* in Brazil. He shows that unlike Europe and the US where the numbers of adherents are low, the popularity of this movement in Brazil has grown out of the Japanese immigrants’ community as a result of its strategies of adaptation. *Sekai Kyusei Kyo* found itself a religious and cultural matrix onto which to juxtapose its own doctrines and ritual practices in the form of Catholicism and Afro-Brazilian religions, moving out of the ethnic enclave. Clarke’s essay is indeed a comprehensive work on *Sekai Kyusei Kyo*’s activities in Brazil, its future plans and on the reasons for the conversion of Brazilians of non-Japanese origin. His second contribution is a well-researched essay on the current number of adherents

and strategies of adaptation of as many as eleven Japanese NRMs around the world. NRMs in Brazil, the US and Europe are the primary focus of this essay and Clarke skillfully contrasts the successful development of Japanese NRMs in Brazil and their failure (or slow expansion) in other geographical areas. Success, Clarke concludes, depends on “adaptation in key areas such as language and ritual. However, the difficulties involved in developing a theory that can make sense of success and failure from a cross-cultural perspective are probably insurmountable.” (p. 308)

In her contribution to the collection, Catherine Cornille offers a stimulating account of how Japanese NRMs, which grew out as an answer to the loss of identity, tradition and culture experienced in the face of westernization from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, have been able to combine their need for universalism and expansionism with their nationalistic origins. However, Cornille concludes that apart from *Mahikari* and *Sokka Gakkai*, the membership of NRMs she focused on in her paper (*Tenrikyō*, *Omotokyo*, *Sekai Kyusei Kyo*), “consisted mainly of expatriates and [therefore] little effort has been done to adapt ritual forms and doctrine.” (p. 30) Yet, in the light of Peter Clarke’s and Ari Pedro Oro’s essays on the *Sekai Kyusei Kyo* one sees that such efforts were made in Brazil and generated many fruits. Indeed, according to Clarke, Messianity had “320,000 members by the late 1980, over 90% of whom are Brazilians of non-Japanese origin.” (p. 161)

Louella Matsunaga also contributes two essays. The first is on the relationship between Japanese corporations and Japanese New Religions. By calling her paper, “Spiritual Companies, Corporate Religions,” she is obviously establishing a parallel with Weber’s *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism*. Yet, she argues that in contrast to the Weberian idea of frugality and its association with the values of prosperity and virtue, the work ethic promoted by NRMs tends to privilege consumption and the visible signs of wealth as positive values. So much for the times we live in. This is indeed a very thought-provoking paper.

Matsunaga’s second essay is equally stimulating. It focuses on notions of health, illness and disease in *Mahikari* in Japan and its branches in the UK. The research aimed to find out how this movement was able to grow outside Japan, despite the fact that its concepts of health and illness were deeply ingrained in the Japanese worldview. She argues that because “of the diversity of belief system and cultural background of the people in present day Britain, and [because] of the increasing permeability of cultural boundaries, as well as the implicit pluralism of the movement’s own

teachings,” (p. 233) such concepts of health, illness and disease are not perceived as entirely alien.

Gary Bouma, Wendy Smith and Shiva Vasi present a picture of *Mahikari* and Zen in Australia. Although most of their essay is dedicated to *Mahikari*, only the last few pages are on Zen, the portion on *Mahikari* is very thorough. It outlines a clear profile of Australian *Mahikari* adherents, the movement’s history in the country, and establishes an interesting comparison between *Mahikari* practices in Australia and Japan.

Unfortunately, Ari Pedro Oro’s essay suffers from an array of shortcomings. The most visible one is editing. The text does not flow well and many expressions appear as literal and hence somewhat crude translations from Portuguese. While Ari Pedro Oro has done good work on Afro-Brazilian religions, Pentecostalism and Catholicism in Brazil, this is his first study on Japanese immigration to Brazil and Japanese religions in the country. Although his talents as an anthropologist of religion enable him to encompass the standard issues, use of a suitable bibliography and knowledge of the field are lacking. For instance, when discussing Japanese immigrants in Brazil, Oro insists that the Japanese, “have achieved an enviable life standard in contemporary Brazilian society,” (p. 115) and restates this assertion again in a footnote. (p. 126) This is highly questionable in light of extensive scholarship on Brazilian-Japanese migration to Japan which demonstrates that 200,000 Brazilian-Japanese descendants (the so-called *dekasegi*) have returned to Japan to work in menial jobs since the end of the 1980s (see, for example, Keiko Yamanaka, “I’ll Go Home but When? Labor Migration and Circular Diaspora Formation by Japanese Brazilians in Japan,” in Mike Douglas and Glenda Roberts, eds., *Japan and Global Migration: Foreign Workers and the Advent of a Multicultural Society* [NY: Routledge, 2000], pp: 123-152.)

Sanda Ionescu’s essay on *Sokka Gakkai* in Germany sheds light on questions that many essays in this book also ask. For instance, how can a foreign religious movement become relevant in another country? How much of it should be adapted to the new context and what should be kept in order to retain integrity and “authenticity?” Has *Sokka Gakkai* over-adapted? Ionescu argues that *Sokka Gakkai*’s success in Germany shows that it has found a balance between universality and specificity.

Tina Hamrin’s analysis of *Tensho-Kitai-Jingu-Kyo* differs from the previous essays in that it focuses on the movement itself, and the ideas of spirit possession, health and salvation and not on the difficulties of transplantation of this movement to Hawaii.

Finally, Alfred Bloom's essay offers us an insight on why a traditional form of Japanese Buddhism such as *Jōdō Shinshū*, in spite of being the faith of the majority of the Japanese immigrants and descendants, is still very little known by westerners.

This book is both commendable and stimulating, despite some glaring flaws in its editing. For instance, in each essay the authors understandably start with the historical origin of a specific Japanese NRM, its doctrine, and a description of its ritual practices; this creates problems when all the essays deal with the same movement. Readers have to wade patiently through somewhat repetitive background information about the religious movements before reaching new data and analysis.

However, the book offers a highly original and thought-provoking collection of papers overall, which, together with Peter Clarke's previous books, succeeds in painting a comprehensive and nuance picture of Japanese NRMs in Japan and in the west today.

Steven Heine. *Shifting Shape, Shaping Text: Philosophy and Folklore in the Fox Kōan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000, pp. 312. \$58.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8248-2150-5. \$31.95 paper, ISBN 0-8248-2197-1.

Reviewed by Gereon Kopf

In his book, *Shifting Shape, Shaping Text*, Steven Heine presents an impressive multivalent exploration of the fox kōan, which, not unlike its subject matter, operates on a multiplicity of discursive levels. On one level, he investigates the transmission and interpretation of Pai-chang Huai-hai's fox kōan as presented in the *Wu-men kuan* (*Mumonkan*) and the *Ts'ung-jung lu* (*Shōyōroku*). On a second level, Heine, who is a distinguished Dōgen scholar, recognizes the importance of the fox kōan to the work of Dōgen and, specifically, to the current controversy in Dōgen studies between proponents of Critical Buddhism (*hihan Bukkyō*), such as that of Hakamaya Noriaki and Matsumoto Shirō, and traditional scholarship. At the center of this controversy lies the relationship between Dōgen's 75-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* and his 12-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō*. The Buddhological and philosophical difference between both texts is expressed in the diverging interpretations of Pai-chang's fox kōan in the fascicles "*Daishugyō*" and "*Jinshin inga*." His exploration of this controversy leads Heine furthermore into the Buddhist discourse on causality as well as its implications for the

conceptualization of *samsara*, *nirvana*, and Buddha-nature (*tathagatagarbha*) and, by implication, its significance for the discussion of the “thought of original enlightenment” (*hongaku shisō*). Finally, Heine enters the particular discussion on whether Zen Buddhism in Sung China and in the Kamakura period rejected or appropriated folklore traditions and, subsequently, as Bernard Faure implies, the relationship between “great” and “little” traditions in the more general discourse of religious studies. In each case, Heine, faithful to a postmodern and/or Zen approach, seems to refuse to privilege one extreme position over its counterpart. While this tactic might frustrate the reader, this insightful study not only critically illuminates the complexities of the controversies in question and the difficulty (if not impossibility) of assuming an exclusive position in these debates, but also implicitly points the way towards a Zen approach towards Zen studies.

In discussing Pai-chang’s fox kōan, its antecedents (which he traces as far back as the Jataka tales), and the history of its transmission and interpretation, Heine does a superb job identifying the various literary strands and overlapping discourses that constitute the complex structure of the kōan. The kōan, which is transmitted under the names “Pai-chang’s fox kōan,” “Pai-chang and the wild fox,” and “kōan of great cultivation” (C. *Ta-hsiu-hsin*; J. *Daishugyō*), relates the story of the encounter between Zen master Pai-chang and a *fei-ren* (a fox spirit with shape-shifting ability) disguised as a monk. The kōan reveals that the *fei-ren*, who had been the abbot at Pai-chang’s temple in the age of the Buddha Kasyapa, was transformed into a fox spirit upon telling a student that “a person of great cultivation does not fall into causality” (C. *Pu-lo yin-kuo*; J. *Furaku inga*). When Pai-chang explains to him that, “such a person does not obscure causality” (C. *Pu-mei yin-kuo*; J. *Fumai inga*), the old man is instantaneously awakened. In the postscript of this encounter dialogue, the corpse of the fox is buried according to monastic rules and Huang-po, Pai-chang’s disciple, corrects Pai-chang’s own understanding of the subject matter. Thus, the fox kōan clearly incorporates standard, de-mythological Ch’an/Zen rhetoric, mythological elements of folklore, a discussion of monastic rituals, and the philosophical discourse on causality.

Exploring the interpretive traditions of this particular kōan, Heine argues that traditional commentaries fall into two basic groups. One follows the *Wu-men kuan*’s observation that “Not falling [into causality]” and “not obscuring [causality]” are “Two sides of the same coin” and Dōgen’s “*Daishugyō*,” which asserts the non-duality of causality and non-causality

and, subsequently, samsara and nirvana. The other, which is represented by Dôgen's "*Jinshin inga*," rejects the notion of non-causality in favor of a strictly causal worldview. Heine describes these two positions using Zen polemic as "the Zen of 'wild fox drool'" (C. *Yeh-hu hsien*; J. *Yako-zen*) and "wild fox Zen" (C. *Yeh-hu Ch'an*; J. *Yako-Zen*) respectively. Similarly, contemporary historians point out the mythological and syncretistic elements in the fox kôan while Zen proponents predominantly interpreted this kôan to be de-mythological and iconoclastic in its function. However, Heine adds insightfully that, besides the traditional Buddhist discourse on causality and the classic Zen polemic against supernaturalism, the fox kôan addresses two further topics: on the one hand, it affirms the belief in supernatural beings and metamorphoses and, on the other, it introduces the motif of repentance. Drawing on William LaFleur's comparative study of kôans and *setsuwa* literature, Heine suggests that one could interpret the fox kôan as the conversion of Pai-chang. Heine provides three keys for such an interpretation. First, the five hundred life times, which the previous abbot spent as a fox, indicate Pai-chang's endurance of a "profound sense of shame." Second, the fact that the transformed individual is the previous abbot of Pai-chang's temple suggests that the abbot/fox symbolizes a previous form of Pai-chang himself. Third, Huang-po's slap identifies Pai-chang as the subject of the possession, confession, exorcism, and renunciation.

A reading, which underlines the complex structure of the fox kôan, Heine argues convincingly, cannot be done justice in a simple reduction to one discourse. First, he addresses the controversy surrounding the claim of Critical Buddhism that Dôgen's rejection of non-causality in "*Jinshin inga*" has to be interpreted as a conversion of Dôgen to the "true Buddhism" of, what Heine calls, "deep faith in causality" rather than an expedient means (Sk. *Upaya*; J. *Hôben*) for disciples unable to grasp the non-duality of causality and non-causality as suggested by traditional Dôgen scholarship. While Heine is sympathetic to Hakamaya's emphasis on Dôgen's assertion of causality, he criticizes Hakamaya insofar as he "examines the 12-fascicle text in one-sided isolation from Dôgen's other writings." Ultimately, Heine concludes, both traditional Dôgen scholarship and Critical Buddhism fail "to acknowledge the influence of popular religiosity" in Dôgen's work. However, Heine is careful to avoid the other extreme that focuses almost exclusively on the role of popular religion and/or the history of monastic institutions as it is suggested by the positive historiographies of William Bodiford, Martin Collcutt and Griffith Foulk.

Heine also refuses to accept the simple dichotomy between the “little” and the “great” traditions that imply that Zen either adopts or rejects folklore beliefs in supernatural beings and powers. On the contrary he argues, following Faure, that underlying the “facade of univocality is a pervasive multivocality.” However, Heine suggests that it is not enough to acknowledge, following Yamaoka Takaaki, the “two levels of religiosity” of Sung and Kamakura Ch’an/Zen, namely “self-discipline and self-negation,” on the one side, and the quest for “worldly benefits” (*J. Genze riyaku*) on the other, but includes the monastic discipline as a third discourse. Ultimately, however, Heine suggests an “intertextual transference,” which rejects the hierarchical (or reductionist) models in favor of a horizontal model.

Heine argues successfully “that the compromise approach shows how Zen was affected by popular religion in that both derive from a common but dispersed and polysemous force field of fox imagery where one person or one text participates in two or more discourses or two or more discourses are simultaneously expressed in a single person or text.” Thus, Heine not only critically illuminates the polysemous and multilayered structure of the fox kōan but he also points Zen scholarship toward a new methodological approach. Heine suggests supplementing historical, textual, and anthropological approaches with the insights of critical theory, suggesting that one considers the double meaning of Jacques Derrida’s difference as “to defer” and “to differ” as a hermeneutical clue. In addition, his approach could be read to suggest that the kōan discourse itself can contribute important hermeneutical clues—Heine ends his essay with a quote from the *Wu-men kuan* asking “[n]ow, tell me, what will you do?” Could the unfolding dialogue structure, which Bernard Faure suggests to be characteristic of the Ch’an/Zen kōans and encounter dialogues, not function as a hermeneutical device to decipher the kōans and their polysemous and multivalent structure? Similar, if non-duality is at the heart of Ch’an/Zen rhetoric, does this not disqualify any kind of reductionism as an interpretive strategy?

In his *Shōbōgenzō* fascicle “*Mitsugo*,” Dōgen himself offers a hermeneutical strategy of reading kōans (in this case Shakyamuni’s flower sermon), which suggests, in almost Derridean fashion, to continuously undercut and destabilize any interpretation that attempts to destroy or reduce the inherent ambivalence of silence and words in the Kōan. In his essay “Ch’an Hermeneutics,” Robert Buswell similarly suggests that Ch’an/Son/Zen hermeneutical devices such as “[t]he live word/dead word

notion and the use of circular graphics provide an approach to Ch'an interpretation that follows greater fidelity to the historical and doctrinal contexts of that tradition than would the inevitably culture-bound concepts of western hermeneutics." (Buswell, 1988, p. 250) I think the same would apply to kôan studies. I believe that a dialogue between different hermeneutics can only enrich our methodological devices. Thus, Heine's *Shifting Shape, Shaping Text* not only presents an extremely thoughtful analysis of the fox kôan but also makes an invaluable contribution to Zen studies in general in that it opens the door to new methodological considerations which may take their clues from the kôan discourse itself.

REFERENCE

Buswell, Robert E., Jr. 1988. "Ch'an hermeneutics: A Korean View." In *Buddhist Hermeneutics*. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., ed., 231-256. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.