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**Journal of Asian
Humanities at
Kyushu University**



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Journal of Asian Humanities at Kyushu University

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Journal of Asian Humanities at Kyushu University

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STEPHANIE VAN RENTERGEM

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Although the organization of the licensed quarters in the course of the early Edo period gave rise to a remarkably rich fictional and nonfictional body of literature concerning the many and varied pleasures and perils of these places, most of the works in question unfortunately persist in depicting the licensed sex workers themselves as one-dimensional wicked harpies preying on hapless men. The author of the three works presented here, however, goes the opposite route, insisting that the women active in the licensed quarters are real human beings who think and feel, and that their willingness to provide their (often foolish or brutal) clients with what they want is at least as much due to their innate kindness as to an understandable desire for money to pay off their debts to their employers. This article seeks to present this highly unusual text to an English-speaking audience for the first time.

Seoul's Namsan Area as Assimilatory Space (1892-1945): Rituals and Ceremonies, the Self and the Other

JULJAN BIONTINO

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This paper outlines and analyzes the developments on Namsan (Southern Mountain) in Seoul from 1892 to 1945 and shows that Shinto in its colonial context,

even though hardly justifiable as a nonreligious ritual of state, was heavily employed to win over Koreans for the Japanese cause. Together with Buddhist facilities, the shrines on Namsan became the stage and testing ground for spiritual assimilation, directing Koreans to overcome their “otherness” in educating them to be loyal subjects to the empire by making them participate in rituals and ceremonies. Namsan served as a prototypical place where Korean memory and images were reinterpreted to fit Japanese needs.

REVIEWS

Landscapes of Identity: Nature, Art, and Modern Nations in Three Recent Exhibitions

EXHIBITION REVIEW BY LORENZO AMATO

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Brian Daizen Victoria. *Zen Terror in Prewar Japan: Portrait of an Assassin*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2020.

BOOK REVIEW BY PARIDE STORTINI

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Takitsukegusa, Moekui, Keshisumi: An Annotated Translation

STEPHANIE VAN RENTERGEM

Introduction

AMONG the plethora of Edo-period texts discussing sex work and the licensed quarters, whether fictional, nonfictional, or straddling the line, there is one trilogy, belonging to the third category, that appears to have been mostly ignored by scholars of the era. The three texts that comprise the trilogy, *Takitsukegusa* たきつけ草 (Grass for Kindling), *Moekui* もえくみ (Charred Sticks), and *Keshisumi* けしすみ (Dead Ashes), form part of the *kanazōshi* 仮名草子¹ genre known today as *yūjo hyōbanki* 遊女評判紀 (who's who among courtesans).² More specifically, they may be safely classified as belonging to that subset of *hyōbanki* called *showake hidenbutsu* 諸分秘伝物 (secret teachings on the intricacies), practical guidebooks or written documentaries on the way of life within the confines of the licensed quarters. As is typical for works of this type, the author's name and background are unknown, and each text takes the form of a lengthy, cursorily framed question-and-answer dialogue (*mondō* 問答) between a veteran of

the licensed quarters (an old male client in the first two cases, a former sex worker in the third) and an interlocutor (a young man in the first two texts, an older one in the third) who is familiar only with the quarters' elaborate, colorful facade and ignorant of the misery it hides. This approach sheds light on the reality of the day-to-day lives of female sex workers in the late seventeenth century and beyond.³

As in many other texts on the subject, the main focus of the trilogy is on sex worker-client interaction. The difference is that all three parts of the trilogy, especially the first two, place the blame for all the falsehood and subterfuge that mar a client-worker relationship squarely on the shoulders of misbehaving men, not on the women, and castigate those men as unfeeling brutes concerned only with their own enjoyment, who treat their hired partners as dehumanized playthings. This insistence on sex workers' deserving recognition as human beings in their own right stands in stark

1 A very broad category of texts, written almost exclusively in kana with a few common kanji added in, aimed at a wide readership with varying levels of education.

2 Segawa-Seigle, *Yoshiwara*, p. xii.

3 Hirose, "Kuruwa," pp. 96-98. The author explains (pp. 96-97) that the other two subsets are (1) *hyōbanki* in the narrow sense, providing lists and rankings of individual sex workers; and (2) works that combine the information found in these lists and rankings with that provided by the *hidenbutsu*. Also noted is that the term *hyōbanki* originated in Japanese literary science in the early twentieth century and was not used in the Edo period itself.

contrast to the general attitude of the era, vividly described by Amy Stanley, which valued women in the sex industry only insofar as they could be classified as filial daughters sacrificing their bodies in the service of impoverished parents.⁴ The author of the trilogy translated below never once resorts to this trope, mentioning sex workers' parents only when he speaks of how sad it is for their daughters to be torn from them as young girls, indirectly condemning the brothels and their procurers—neither of whom are overtly mentioned—for such family tragedies.⁵

Another recurrent topic of the trilogy is that of sex workers' indomitable tendency to single out men whom they truly care for and maintain illicit romantic relationships with them. They are illicit because, as William Lindsey explains, the rules of the licensed quarters stated that sex workers were not permitted to form emotional bonds with a client, as this would negatively impact their performance with other customers and therefore be bad for business. And yet, as the anonymous author of the trilogy stresses again and again, such clandestine relationships are a matter of course, made possible by a sex worker's ingenuity and her dis-

regard for any consequences to herself,⁶ her affection for her man overriding all else.⁷

This is not to say, the texts that comprise the trilogy explain, that sex workers do not care about the bottom line: their monetary debt to the quarter makes it imperative that they bring in as much money as possible. Still, the anonymous author assures the reader, this justifiable interest in financial gain is only part of the reason a sex worker does her utmost to please her clients, the rest of it being simple kindheartedness and a sincere desire to take her clients' sadness away.⁸ Whether or not this represents a case of idealization, warranted or unwarranted, is a moot question: right or wrong, the fact remains that the author is pulling out all the stops to get his readers to see female sex workers as three-dimensional, full human beings and so go against the prevailing gender ethos of his time.⁹

As praiseworthy as this goal is, it may be justly argued that, though merciless on the symptoms, the author completely ignores the root cause of the social disease he addresses. At no point does he mention that it was the Tokugawa government itself that was responsible for founding, maintaining, and regulating the licensed-

4 This running theme sets the texts apart from *hyōbanki* in general, which, as Hirose explains in detail, tend to describe licensed sex workers as amoral seductresses bent on relieving men of their money to the point of ruin. Hirose also analyzes some of the ways in which the trilogy attacks this common conviction (Hirose, "Kuruwa," pp. 99-109). The anonymous author does mention the financial ruin attendant upon excessive frequenting of the licensed quarters, but here too he blames the men themselves for their weakness and lack of restraint, as the women only give them what they request.

5 Stanley, *Selling Women*, pp. 1-19 and passim. Stanley discusses the economic importance of Edo-period female sex work and the ways in which this type of work's enormous profitability for society as a whole was both protected by and often clashed with contemporary conceptions of the "proper role" of women, which rendered sex work acceptable and even praiseworthy when practiced by so-called filial daughters whose earnings were destined for their impoverished parents, yet unacceptable and even dangerous when the sex workers in question sought only to earn money for themselves. The idea of independent, enterprising women was seen as threatening to social stability, the Tokugawa holy grail. On the flipside, Stanley frequently notes how the claim of being filial could be used as a weapon by the working women in question, as well as their parents, as a legal defense against abuse by brothel keepers. She shows that, compared to the periods immediately before and after, patriarchy in the Edo period, paradoxically, worked both for and against female autonomy and agency, providing a more nuanced understanding of the period than the earlier narrative of oppression.

6 Lindsey, *Fertility*, pp. 40-41, 101-102. Punishment administered to sex workers who "broke the rules" could be harsh, entailing such things as demotion, humiliation through menial labor, and severe physical punishment.

7 Lindsey, *Fertility*, p. 34 and passim. Lindsey describes, from a female perspective, the importance of ritual for the proper functioning of social institutions, with a specific focus on marriage and the licensed quarters, as well as the value system which underpinned and therefore helped structure and give meaning to these rituals. Rituals mark the transition from one life phase to another and help maintain a person's sense of identity and place in society during the course of any one stage. Lindsey seeks to show that the worlds of wifedom and female sex work in the Edo period had more in common than one might initially suspect, in that both were marked by rituals of what he terms entrance (i.e. the rituals surrounding marriage or a sex worker's debut), placement (the valuation of and ways of handling pregnancy in either household or brothel), and exit (divorce or absconding from the quarter) (pp. 16-17). This blurring of the lines between respectable and unrespectable calls into question how separate the licensed quarters truly were from the rest of society (p. 48 and passim).

8 Asuka Ryōko theorizes that, from prehistoric times right through to the Heian 平安 period (794-1185), ladies of pleasure (accomplished artists and often religious professionals who also provided sexual favors) were seen as women whose job it was to bring joy to the hearts of gods and men (Asuka, "Avant-propos," pp. 9-10). If this was indeed so, then an echo of this belief can be heard even in these Edo-period texts.

9 For more on this ethos, see Stanley, *Selling Women*, and Lindsey, *Fertility*. Additional information can be found in Segawa-Seigle, *Yoshiwara*, and Watanabe, *Edo yūjo kibun*.

quarter system¹⁰ and whose legal protection of female sex workers—and women in general—as Stanley argues, was erratic at best, though still better than what had come before and would come after. This omission is understandable, however, given the censorship laws of the period, which, had the texts contained any criticism of the government, would likely have prevented the work from being published at all.¹¹

More problematic from a present-day point of view, though less so from an Edo-period one, is that the author never questions the need for sex workers in general and for licensed quarters in particular. Indeed, he rather seems to revel in their glories and consider their existence to be altogether natural. Limiting, let alone eradicating, sex work clearly was not his purpose: he only aimed to encourage people to render it more bearable for those employed in that line of work. For his time, this was revolutionary.

One final note concerning the text is that the author limits himself entirely to sex workers working within the licensed quarters, although he does include those of all ranks, not only the fabled *tayū* 太夫 (courtesan of the first rank) and *tenjin* 天神 (courtesan of the second rank). The veritable army of unlicensed prostitutes active outside the walls, be they bathhouse girls (*yuna* 湯女), teahouse girls (*chaya onna* 茶屋女), independent prostitutes (*shishō* 私娼), or any other kind, may just as well never have existed.¹² Given their prevalence, however, the notion that he was unaware of their existence is evidently absurd. In addition, his sympathy for sex workers employed within the licensed quarters makes it unlikely that he did not care about the lot of those working outside. We may perhaps

speculate that, as independent sex workers were subject to severe official disapproval, mentioning them would have meant, once again, that the author would be unable to publish, and so publishing anonymously may well have been a tactical move.

A final word concerning existing scholarship on this trilogy. Other than the version edited by Noma Kōshin and published by Iwanami Shoten, there exists another, edited by Taniwaki Masachika and published by Shōgakukan. Parts one and two of the trilogy also exist in a French translation (not consulted in the making of this translation). Hirose's analysis has already been noted. Other than this, no academic attention appears to have been paid to the texts under discussion.

Noma Kōshin notes in his introduction that the first part of the trilogy was written in 1673 and that the other two parts followed within the decade.¹³ This is borne out by the 1683 *Shimabara dai wareki* 島原大和暦 (Shimabara's Great Japanese Calendar), which also provides a capsule summary of the texts, indirectly confirms that the author was male, and shows that the trilogy had achieved at least some notoriety even during his lifetime. What the author's life history may have been, and how it led to his developing the convictions he did, unfortunately remains in the dark. From the *Dai wareki*:¹⁴

あるじ、うれしげに、「たれとふ人もなし。めづらしくも若人と物がたりせん。茗などにてもとなし。われはかほどに、あづさの弓をはるばかりにはなりたれ共、恋といふおもしろさはわすれず。むかしになりし事どもをかたり、今のわけをまきかん」といふ。

10 For more information on the precise functioning of the licensed quarters, see Stanley, *Selling Women*, Lindsey, *Fertility*, Watanabe, *Edo yūjo kibun*, and especially Segawa-Seigle, *Yoshiwara*.

11 For more information on Edo-period censorship, see Suzuki et al., *Ken'etsu, media, bungaku*.

12 According to Stein (*Japans Kurtisanen*, p. 362), the nomenclature of licensed sex work was quite complex and changed over time and through space. He notes that *tayū* was a virtually universal term for the highest-ranking courtesans, while the word *tenjin* for courtesans of the next rank was limited to Kyoto's Shimabara 島原 district. The number of different ranks within a given licensed quarter also varied over time, from as few as three to as many as six at a time. As for unlicensed prostitutes, Watanabe (*Edo yūjo kibun*, pp. 7-8) notes in his introduction the existence of a bewildering array of names, none of them very flattering. Classification of sex-work categories in the Edo period, it is safe to say, is far from a simple matter.

13 Noma, "Kaisetsu," pp. 384-85.

14 According to the entry for this text on the website of the National Diet Library: "Author unknown. *Ukiyozōshi* 浮世草子. Published in Kyoto in the third year of the Tenna 天和 era (1683) by Chōbei 長兵衛 of the Wakiya 和氣屋. Written as a question-and-answer dialogue between a young man of about twenty and an old man of eighty, this text describes customs and so on surrounding the ceremonial events that took place in Kyoto's Shimabara licensed quarter in the course of the year, with a special focus on prostitutes' holidays. The narrative begins on a summer evening and as such includes a description of the spirit bonfires of the Bon Festival in the seventh month. Within the text, the author is identified as having also written the *Takitsuke [sic]-Moekui-Keshizumi [sic]* trilogy." See <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2533010> for the original Japanese entry. This description is more than a little confusing, given that the old man in the *Dai wareki*, who indeed claims to have written the trilogy, is described in the third person and at no point actually identified as the author of the *Dai wareki*. Further research is required.

われ、ういて来て、「むかしの恋とは、いかさまの事かあらん」といふに、あるじほ／ゑみて、「古今さのみかはるいろあるまじけれども、我その年のころは、明くれいろにまよひ、心をくだくのみなりけらし。まづはさいつころ、かつら川のほとりの人のもとへがり、ゆきしかへさに、ただひとりしゆじやか野を過行に、年のほどおほつかなきおとこ、つえをたよりにて道ゆくおやちと、ふたりつおやきゆくを、しりに立てきけば、くるはがへりのはなし也。よにおもしろき事かなとおもひ、み／をそばだてききもらさじと、ちまたの石のかずをもかぞへんほどに、あとによりそひかみざまにゆくに、色くのわけよき事、わるき事などい／、しゆびもとめがたき事、もとめえたることなんい／、上ろうの心入・しなどもかたりしに、わが身とはずかたらひもしけん、身をばし／めける。あまりたへがたさに、つれをもとめゆきにし比、さる尼ありてかたりし事なかきしして、たきつけ・もえくゑ・けしすみと名づけ、三巻になしぬ。はや、みのがふもいさしらず」。われ、きもをつぶし、「さては、たきつけの作しやか」といふ。

With a joyful expression, my host said, “Nobody ever comes to visit me. Now that this rare opportunity presents itself, I’m going to have a chat with you, young man. I don’t have the ingredients for tea or anything. Even all stretched out in years as I’ve become, I have not forgotten about this fascinating thing called love. I’m going to talk about how things were in the past and listen to what relationships are like today.”

I was filled with excitement and asked, “What was love like in the old days?” My host smiled and replied, “Passion hasn’t changed much between then and now, but in my time, I was lost in it day and night, and didn’t seem to do anything but get my heart broken. This one time, I’d been visiting somebody near the Katsura River, and on my way back, I was crossing Shujaka Field all by myself when I saw a man whose age I wasn’t sure of and an older one who used a walking stick for support, the two of them mumbling together as they went. When I got up behind them and listened, it turned out they were exchanging stories on their way back from the licensed quarters. I thought their talk might be really interesting, so I inclined my ear, determined not to let a word escape me. I stuck behind them for so long that I could have counted the crossroads markers all the way to the northern quarter of the capital, while they talked about all sorts of good things and bad things that could hap-

pen in relationships between men and women, about the difficulties encountered when trying to arrange a get-together *and* what it was like to achieve that goal, and they told each other about the mindset and character of prostitutes. When I got the impression that it was me they’d been spontaneously talking about,¹⁵ I cringed. I couldn’t take it. I went looking for a companion to vent my feelings to, when I came across a nun and put to paper the things that she and I talked about. I named my works *Kindling*,¹⁶ *Charred Sticks*, and *Dead Ashes*, and made them into three volumes. What this will do to my karma, I honestly don’t know.” Stunned with surprise, I exclaimed, “So you’re the author of *Kindling*!”¹⁷

In the translation that follows, some of the footnotes will themselves be translations, in whole or in part, of notes originally prepared by Noma Kōshin for the Iwanami Shoten edition, on which the following English version is based. These will be marked [NK] and accompanied by the relevant page numbers of the edition used.¹⁸ Those notes (or parts of notes) focusing on language difficulties have been omitted, as including them in a translated version would have little meaning. So as not to make the annotation too heavy, literary references will be omitted likewise, except for those cases when this would make the meaning of the text unclear.

Grass for Kindling

In the tenth month of the year, I was on my way back home from paying a visit to somebody living west of the Katsura River.¹⁹ I’d meant to cross Suzaka Field²⁰ and head for the northern quarter of the capital, but then I unexpectedly came across a group of freestanding buildings to my left, placed all in a row.²¹ This, I thought then, *this* must be the place where the young

15 In other words, the narrator was hearing the story of his life through other people’s experiences.

16 Note the abbreviated title.

17 Translation by author.

18 There may occasionally be a discrepancy between the page containing the footnote and the one containing the in-text reference.

19 In *Moekui*, it says, “A little over four years ago, on my way back home from a place called Nishi-no-oka...” Located in Nishioka 西岡 District, Otokuni 乙訓 County, Yamashiro 山城 Province, around the present-day city of Nagaokakyō 長岡京. [NK 94]

20 This refers to the fields around Ōuchi 大内 Village, Kuzuno 葛野 County. [NK 94]

21 Nishishin Yashiki 西新屋敷, commonly referred to as the Shimabara licensed quarter. [NK 94]

men of the capital are always going, the place where the women of easy virtue live! When I looked behind me, I saw two people walking along together down the Tanibaguchi—I think it was called—highway, on their way north to Ōmiya. Agewise, well, even though it was much too dark by then for me to be able to see clearly, one of them looked about thirty years old, while the other one seemed to be an old man at the age when you start needing a walking stick around the house, that is to say, fiftyish. I wondered to myself, in a low voice, what this might be about, and nodded in thought a couple of times, but when I caught a few snatches of their conversation, spoken in cheerful voices, I was overcome by a desire to know more, so I got up behind them and followed along. As it turned out, they were swapping stories to shorten the way home from the pleasure quarters, but it was still hard to make out what they were saying, so I pushed my cap to the side, moved up closer, and inclined my ear. When their words sank in, I discovered many things that were amusing, things that were interesting, and things that gave me pause indeed.

The young man said, “I tell you, I have never had a good time like the way I did at today’s get-together. Even after that fight with my old girlfriend, I still managed to get her handed over by that guy she couldn’t get rid of and, gods, the rush I got out of that. She was all over me when we got between the sheets, trying to get back in my good graces, and then we hit our high so hard we could barely even move afterward. Really, when you think about it, a guy who can’t get with a girl is one sad piece of work. Aaah! Why, when you’re the kind of guy who’s got love on the brain all the time, does it have to be something you long for so hard?”

“So, basically, all while being well aware of your parents’ scoldings and of what the world has to say about you, you still rack your brains night and day thinking up excuses to get out of the house. When you’re the kind who’ll go so far as to stand waiting, drenched in dew and frost, for the moment the gates open so you can get in as early as possible, then this... I guess we’ll have to call it love, is not just going to be about having a nice chat with a girl. And sometimes you’ll make an appointment in advance, and end up having to send a letter that says, ‘I couldn’t make it,’ or, when something gets in the way and you arrive too late, ‘The gates were closed and I ended up going home with nothing to show for my trip,’ and then she writes, ‘But you came to see me just yesterday,’ you can’t tell me you haven’t

been shown up. No matter how suave and sophisticated a man may be, when he’s constantly there and has eyes for no one else but her, then there is no way she won’t end up noticing a few flaws in him. Don’t talk like a rookie. It’s no good.”

“Well of *course* it’s to be expected from someone like you, pushing sixty or past it, to want to have a friendly, non-amorous meeting, but for a young guy like me, a ‘nice chat’ like that just wouldn’t cut it. Honestly, that you’re so upset about these hook-ups is because you’re the stiff-and-steady type of old man. ‘If there were no old men at all in the world, then our groaning hearts would finally get some peace.’ Say what you will, but that’s how it is.

“When you really look into the reasons why an old man is the way he is, you’ll find that an encounter on the way of love has led to his having a son, and that he is now so unnaturally bent on keeping that son away from love that it has people saying, ‘Why does he hate others’ frolicking so much?’ Isn’t that right? In his stubborn old-man heart, he thinks prostitutes are ‘such cold things,’ ‘such frightening things,’ and it’s because of thoughts like these that he’s so strict and stern! You yourself now, don’t *you* also think a prostitute is just an ice queen?”

When the young man had asked this, the old man coughed loudly and said, “Absolutely not. I do not in the least believe that the affection a prostitute gives is frosted-over cold. It’s fools who say that such a woman ‘is full of tricks and can’t be trusted.’ Even though her place in life is as unfixd as a piece of paper on a string, that does not mean that she is someone you can have no faith in. She plumbs the depth of the water in the hearts of the men she deals with, and though you may say that she gets pulled in and led around by whoever it is that holds the rope tied to the bucket hanging at the well, and that therefore a relationship with her cannot last, it is not the woman who is to blame for this. It’s the result of the meanness of the actions of each and every man.

“She does not have one single soul that she can rely on, so when she’s lying with her head on the pillow that has no fixed place beside that of the man from whom she parts in the morning and for whom she waits in the evening, it’s only natural for her to feel pain when she thinks about where and from whom he got the scent that still lingers on his skin. Still, when you consider the reasons for this, and think of yesterday, with its ups and downs of love, as being like the fleeting course of

the Asuka River²² that flows into today, then there is nothing hateful about her behavior at all.

“All this being the case, even when she meets with a man she doesn’t care for, can she, to any degree, let her dislike shine through? No, she can’t. From start to finish, she treats him in a way that shows a sweet desire to please, letting the waves advance and retreat between the rocks and smoothly yielding like the grass at the feet of boulders, and all such behaviors happen because the affection in the heart of every prostitute is the exact opposite of shallow. Do you understand me?”

To this answer of the old man’s, the young man said, “It does make sense what you say, but everybody knows that being skilled in love, practicing lies and deception, and leading people astray is simply what prostitutes do, and yet you, all by yourself, set yourself up as their defender. Why do you do that?”

The old man laughed out loud. “I’m not setting myself up as a defender of prostitutes, I’m just putting forward my theories on the customs of the way of love. Like you said, prostitutes’ lies and deception are something that everybody has on their tongues and in their heads, but this is just another sign of their small-mindedness. If it were true that the lies were only on the prostitutes’ side and that the men were free from them, *then* those people would have a point, but the truth is that the men tell far more lies than the prostitutes do. No matter how much a woman may give the impression that she knows every trick in the book, the moment she thinks ‘I have you’ about a man, you can be sure that she’s the one who’s going to be had instead. A woman who, when she gets into bed with a man at their first meeting, comes prepared to say she’s fallen in love with him, a woman like that, I say, is as rare as hen’s teeth in the pleasure quarters, and you’re unlikely to hear her say it even when you’ve met with her seven times already. Now even though, at first, the woman is determined not to be made into a toy for her client, when he starts sweet-talking her, swears by a thousand shrines that he’ll be true, and declares that he’ll rot and his bones bleach in the sun if he ever is unfaith-

ful, spreading out those honeyed words on their pillows placed side by side, and when he makes his moon of a heart, full of oaths supposed to last a thousand or ten thousand years, shine forth between the mattress and the sheets, then the woman, being neither a rock nor a tree, responds to those smooth lies by thinking, ‘Oh! Could it be true?’ and loosens her undersash, knotted tight like thick ice on her snow-white skin. Her state of yielding, after all that, marks the beginning of a man’s falsehoods. At this point, there are no lies on the woman’s side at all.

“So, with this as a starting point, as the number of meetings increases, the woman is bound to become accustomed to the lies the man has told from the beginning and eventually start telling them herself, but to say that everything she says and everything she does is a lie, no, for that, you have to be an absolute idiot. Now, all of this is not to say that things like wheedling and seduction never happen. Still, when you look into the why of it, wheedling or being wheedled is not such a bad thing. Basically, what is called ‘wheedling’ a man means wheedling him by telling lies for the purpose of having him take a liking to you. Lies where she pretends to care for a man she feels nothing for do *not* somehow cross a line with regard to that man. For her to declare that she has genuine feelings for you, is that anything more or less than cause for rejoicing? The inclination out of which she lies to and deceives countless men and pretends to be deeply in love with them is not something to be tucked out of sight in your sleeve, it should be a happiness too great for your body to contain. To name *that* as an example of something horrible just goes to show how shallow some people’s minds really are.

“Or another thing. Say you fall into mutual love with the daughter of some lord in the capital, or with a palace maid from somewhere or other, and the two of you swear to cross the river of passing hand in hand.²³ Compared to the depth of this bond, you’ll have a woman of easy virtue who says nothing more than ‘I haven’t seen Mister So-and-so in a while.’ Even if that man comes into her thoughts in no greater way than this, when she wakes up in the morning, say, or when she has a moment to spare a thought, when you compare to this, I say, the shared inclination of the couple I talked about to go across the mountains of death together, then the

22 The ways of the world of licentious entertainment. A prostitute, who makes a living by offering herself to numerous men, is called a “person of the flow” (*nagare no mi* 流れの身) and her profession is referred to as “setting up the flow” (*nagare o tatsu* 流れを立つ). The Asuka 飛鳥 River metaphorically stands for the way she has different clients every day and is unable to find anyone to rely on for support. [NK 96]

23 That is, the couple vows to stay together until death and pass away at the same moment.

prostitute's inclination is the deeper one by far. In case you're wondering why, it's because a woman from the city, putting all her trust in that one man, cherishes him as her darling, and the oath of a morning glory that doesn't wait for evening shade²⁴ will of course be deep. For a prostitute, on the other hand, for whom the number of pots she could put on her head at the Tsukuma Festival²⁵ or the number of strikes she'd receive with a young branch from the forest of Usaka²⁶ would show how many men she's had, the liking for him that leads her to remember one specific man from among them cannot possibly be considered shallow."

The young man said, "Yes, it's exactly like you say. I think just the same things, whenever I go to the quarter. But for all that, it's still a fact that as soon as she meets a client for the first time, the feelings with which she contemplates the possibility of a shallows she can count on being able to cross in the end²⁷ are deeper than the dew at the edge of a field of tall grass and quicker to take on their colors than the autumn leaves of Mt. Inari, and so, even if you frequent her with the kind of extreme sneakiness that would be fitting for the mountain where you hide to wait for a lover, there is no way to get to the bottom of a woman's heart. There is only your own heart, fallen into confusion and endlessly taken by her. But no matter how deep these feelings run, she's still a girlfriend you get in exchange for money, so you'll be running on your last coin even while you're swearing oaths by the mountains of Michinoku. And when that happens, the custom of crossing the waves seems like a horrible thing. Why is that?" he asked.

24 A bond between husband and wife that does not allow the woman to give herself to any man other than her husband. [NK 97]

25 Reference to a summer festival around the Tsukuma Shrine 筑摩神社 in the town of Maibara 米原, Sakata 坂田 County, Shiga Prefecture (originally taking place on the first day of the fourth month, later moved to the first day of the month in the second month). At this festival, women parishioners would put as many earthenware cooking pots on their heads as the number of men they'd slept with, and then give these pots in offering to the shrine deity's palanquin. Also called the Pot Festival (*nabe matsuri* 鍋祭). [NK 97]

26 Reference to a summer festival around the Usaka Shrine 鵜坂神社 in the town of Fuchū 婦中, Nei 婦負 County, Toyama Prefecture (formerly taking place on the sixteenth day of the fifth month). At this festival the shrine priest, using a thin branch from the sacred *sakaki* 榊 tree for a rod, struck the backsides of women parishioners once for every man they'd had. Also called the Backside-Strike Festival (*shiriuchi matsuri* 尻打祭). [NK 97]

27 The feeling of wanting to become a lawfully wedded wife. [NK 98]

When the old man heard this, he said, "That is a very shallow suspicion to have. It's precisely because of that, because it *is* a relationship you get for money, that ignorant fools stuff their nighttime pillows with oaths deeper than the waters of Kawashima, since they think that's the only way to handle this kind of thing.

"All this makes for a very sad situation for a woman who has to sell her body for cash. Taken from her mother and father at a very young age, brought to an unpleasant home in the form of an unfamiliar enclosure, being made to work herself ragged as a young attendant to a courtesan, and then, after a couple of years, undergoing the harsh business of deflowering. Imagine the extent to which such a girl must feel that men are nasty, hateful creatures! After that, she sets up a connection with a client here, gets close to another one there, and if she's lucky, she'll climb up to a position she'd never even have dared to dream of. If she's unlucky, she'll sink down among the lowest of the low, doing a job that brings her suffering and heartache. There is no life more pitiful than this. Even if she rises all the way to the top, it's impossible to say that she runs a killer trade. No, because no matter if a prostitute is of high standing or of low rank, in neither case can she escape the pressure of the debts she owes. To know mental suffering of the kind I just described, along with a world tainted by the bitterness of Makuzugahara, even when it doesn't expose the pines to the colors of cold-season drizzle,²⁸ and yet having to act as though you don't mind any of it, that is an unhappiness that has no equal.

"Prostitutes' shared penchant for money exists only in the words of thoughtless people. The only reason they're so eager for it is that they get to keep only one tenth of the fees and gifts they receive, with everything else going to their masters. This is not to say that, sometimes, a client doesn't show the depths of his affection for a woman by gifting her the softness of a beautiful

28 The reference here, as Noma Kōshin indicates, is a poem in the *Shin kokin wakashū* 新古今和歌集 (New Collection of Ancient and Modern Japanese Poems), located in the first chapter of love poems. The poem in question, number 1,030 in the anthology, is as follows:

As to what my love is like: it is like the wind gusting over Makuzu Field, while cold-season drizzle dyes the pines
わが恋は松を時雨の染めかねて真葛が原に風さわぐなり
wa ga koi wa / matsu o shigure no / somekanete / Makuzugahara ni / kaze sawagu nari

This poem, then, describes a bleak, unhappy state of mind, which the narrator likens to that of a prostitute. Minemura, *Shin kokin wakashū*, p. 320; translation by author.

robe, by having exquisite rare incense delivered to her door, or by sending her money in the form of yellow objects, solid and heavy, whether they're egg-shaped or small and angular.²⁹ Even though it isn't true that women are in love with money, it's not the case either that they're not aware of how unwise it would be to throw aside the care for them shown by such gifts, and so there are plenty of examples out there of prostitutes eagerly attaching themselves to the men who give them. This habit of theirs will make slanderers say that 'those whores, money is all they yield to,' but it just isn't true! But let's say that it is and that they do yield to money. It's a basic truth of love found on the path of passion that there is no deeper token of it than to give away one's life. Now, there are countless people out there who lose their lives for the sake of wealth. They'll say that the riches they've come to know are worth more than their lives, if you can believe that. When they throw those riches away for her, how could any woman not love them for it? It's the same thing, after all, as giving her their lives.

"Don't take this to mean that women take from men mindlessly. When a client sends her presents, a prostitute is far more likely to adopt a pose of more-or-less indifference instead, a technique she uses because she cannot outright say no to his advances. When a man's fortune has been ground down to nothing, a woman won't just up and sweep away her feelings for him, but her lack of a steady support base, floating reed that she is, puts her as far out of reach as though she lived among the clouds, all without her ever taking a step. So it's not the case that she follows you as long as you have money and turns her back on you once the money runs out. Instead, it's the man himself who, ashamed of his position, breaks the oaths he swore her, and she is not to blame for this."

The young man nodded. "You're completely right. I've been a steady customer of the quarter for a long time, and I've seen a lot of women, and for most of them, you can tell that they meet with particular men because they rely on the care those men provide, at least that's what it looks like to me, but most of those who, like me, visit the quarter as clients will almost never notice this.

A man may be so determined to get his love across that he'll visit her enough times to leave a thousand spindle-tree branches,³⁰ but when the thin, fine cloth over a woman's feelings keeps their hearts apart, then the pain of unrequited love will give him the idea that her affections are given elsewhere, up among the clouds above, and that she is a woman who, even though she's right there before his eyes, is as impossible to take hold of as the *katsura* tree in the moon. And all he is left with is a longing for a heart he can never hope to win. What should he do to free himself from this longing?"

The old man answered, "What you describe is the kind of bitterness that comes out of the shallowness of a man's feelings. By and large, when someone submerges himself in the pool of love and the river of tears turns out to run too deep, he'll think it's because his partner won't return his affections the way he wants her to, but this is no justifiable cause for feeling bitter. It's because of the shallowness of the love found in the hearts of us men that even the slightest reserve on the part of the woman becomes cause for complaint. When he confesses genuine deep love and his partner does not sound sufficiently enthusiastic in response, he'll put it in his head that she dislikes him, that she hates him, and he'll say, 'All I'm trying to do is make you see that when I give my whole heart to somebody, I mean it down to the ends of my obi, and that my feelings will never change! Can't you understand that?' When that happens, how could the woman not know how he feels? In the end, it's when a heart is utterly overcome and overwhelmed by a woman's charms that bitterness is born and that there will be worrying without end.

"If you forced me to state the principles of the way of love, I would say that the greatest possible foolishness is believing that a prostitute is ever truly *your* woman. A mind that sees her as such will give rise to all kinds of lamentings, resentments, and dissatisfactions, so what a man should do is be happy to meet with her those times when they can meet, and not feel regret at not meeting with her when they can't. A man who, while his heart is in a lovestruck state, experiences times when he can

29 This refers to money. The egg-shaped coins are gold, worth one *ryō* 兩. The small and angular ones are small oblongs, worth one and a half *bu* 分 (also called *hitokado* 一角 or "single-corners"). [NK 99] Segawa-Seigle, p. xiii, notes that four *bu* equalled one *ryō*.

30 A piece of spindle-tree wood, painted in five colors and some thirty centimeters in length. According to an old Ōshū 奥州 folk custom, when a man wanted to meet with a woman, he would place such a piece of wood before the gate of her house. If she decided to grant his request, she would take the wood into the house. If she did not do this, then the man would add another piece of wood to the first, up to a limit of one thousand. *Kōjien*, 6th edition, s.v. "nishikigi 錦木."

be intimate with his woman as pleasant and delightful, and who, when he comes to his senses, parts from her and goes home while thinking of the encounter as yesterday's dream; such a man, I say, may be said to have attained the highest level of quarter expertise," said the old man, wrinkling up his nose.

The young man said, "What you're saying now goes against what you said before. 'A prostitute is not a cold-hearted creature and tells no lies,' you said, using pretty words that made you sound like an ally to them, being endlessly argumentative, putting down men as 'good-for-nothings,' and then flattering and glorifying women with phrases like 'incomparable creatures.' But now, after singing their praises like that, you do a complete turnabout and get all preachy like 'Don't you trust in prostitutes ever being *our* women.' How can you flat-out contradict yourself like that?"

The old man answered, "It's natural for you to think that, but what I said earlier was meant as an explanation for the kind of dull-witted people who claim that prostitutes are deceitful and cold as to why what they say is wrong. My statement just now, on the other hand, was intended as a warning for those who, traveled far on the way of love, court disaster and call suffering down on their heads.

"Speaking in general, this way of love is one that you never abandon, from the days when you're still barely out of childhood until the time your hair is gone and you need a walking stick, and that is an amazing thing. However, if all this endless pleasure-seeking does is build up a lifetime's worth of regret on a moment's worth of enjoyment, how can anyone call it a good thing? Still, mind you, this warning of mine is not meant for those who are able to keep themselves warm and their households in comfort and who have the means to do as they please in everything. I'm speaking as I do because we're living in a world where there are those, right before our eyes, who, dragged along by their hot young blood, beg to have a duplicate key to their parents' secret money box, use unforgivable ploys to get their way, and eventually sink into the muck of debt. Because this is the way these things go, with the case of a man taking his leave from a prostitute without love for her being an example of oaths meant for eternity turning into nothing, it becomes a simple truth about love found on this path that you cannot prosper unless you throw it aside. But, since visits to the quarter help relieve the daily grind, it's not the case either that you shouldn't ever go there. Things go south only when

you're not aware of your own weakness or the shaky state of your wallet and you go to find that relief again and again, because then you'll hit rock bottom with no hope of ever climbing up again, and that is one sad situation to be in.

"Now let me list the reasons why the company of prostitutes is so pleasant and enjoyable. First, say you've more or less got things in order at home. You go up to your bearers and say, 'I don't care what time it is, make this palanquin move and move it fast.' 'Ho!' they'll say, and in the twinkling of an eye, they'll bring the palanquin up to you. You get right in, draw the blinds and box yourself in, and the way this makes your heart race is so nice! The men are sweating like pigs as they run along, but you're still seething with annoyance that they can't go any faster, so when you pass by the livery stable on the corner of Ōmiya,³¹ then even though the place's appearance has changed from what it was before, the joy you feel when you see it, because it tells you the way is getting shorter, is another delight. Even with their agonizing slowness, when your bearers carry you up to the teahouse at Tanbaguchi,³² you smooth your sideburns and adjust your obi, and the air of calm that you assume then is the sweetest thing in the world.

"Next you put on the bamboo hat that hides your face, pull it down far, and get off the main road, and I don't even need to explain the joy you feel when you behold the buildings of the quarter. You follow the narrow footpath that runs between the fields,³³ getting soaked by the dew on the rice plants' leaves, and from the moment you reach the path called Emon-no-baba,³⁴ the

31 There may have been a livery stable at the corner of Ōmiya 大宮 Way, at the entrance to Tanba 丹波 Highway Town. [NK 101]

32 There was a teahouse at Tanbaguchi 丹波口 Teahouse Town (that part of Tanba Highway Town entered on the town's west side by Ōmiya Way). One could leave the palanquin and take a rest here. [NK 101-102]

33 Upon leaving Tanba Highway Town, one entered a path among the rice paddies. Going down it southward and turning to the west, one would arrive at Emon-no-baba 衣紋の馬場, at the westernmost tip of Shimabara. The stretch of way from here to the Great Gate (*daimon* 大門) was called the Shujaka 朱雀 Footpath. Having reached Emon-no-baba, from the first block cut across by Ikkanmachi 一貫町 Way, one would follow a paddy path westward and come to a shortcut to the Great Gate. This was called the New Shujaka Footpath. It corresponds to today's Hanayamachi 花屋町 Way. [NK 102]

34 A field path, once situated to the north of present-day Ebisu-no-banba-chō 夷馬場町, running along the licensed quarter's earthen wall and leading to the Great Gate. So called because it was where customers of the quarter refurbished their crests (*emon* 衣紋). [NK 102] According to the *Kōjien* (6th edition), "to

people of the Rumorville Teahouse³⁵ will know it, spot you right away, and display the most pleasing attitudes as they come trailing after you, and it's lovely. You're sauntering along the east-west central road through the quarter, and a popular courtesan, as if she recognizes you, sends you a smile, or says something to you like, 'Who might your chosen companion be?' To receive her gracious words like this is truly a memory for life!

"When you enter the district of the houses of assignation³⁶ and go into a house you know, no sooner have you crossed the threshold than a clear voice says, 'Oh, welcome, welcome!' This, too, is delightful. Then when you go up to the second floor and take off the bamboo hat, and then someone comes in carrying a cup of saké, it's not bad at all. 'Send someone to call his honorable mistress here!' you'll hear a voice say, and though the voice is quiet, even hearing it so faintly is a joy. Then the mistress of the establishment comes in and asks, 'What would you like with your drink?' and even her air of servility is agreeable. After a short while, from the courtesan's private chamber at the house, you hear the rustle of fabric and you don't know what's going on, but then you hear the sound of footsteps ascending the stairs and your heart begins to beat faster. All of a sudden she appears and steps into the room, the robe she has so sweetly put on close to slipping off her shoulder, skin showing through white as snow, and her obi, too, looking as if it's about to come undone. There she stands in the doorway, and when your and her eyes meet, believe me, your heart beats faster still. 'Your saké cup is not quite full,' she'll say, and when she presses her delicate hand to your neck, just being allowed to feel the weight of it, slight as dew on thin reeds, is so pleasing in its charm. While you converse about this and that, the refinement of her wit is such that merely calling it pleasant does not come close to doing it justice.

refurbish one's crest" (*emon o tsukurou* 衣紋を繕う) means to tidy one's disordered clothes and apparel.

35 *Uwasamachi no chaya* 噂町の茶屋. The teahouse at the Exit (Deguchi 出口). The place where one entered the Great Gate was called, in Shimabara, the Exit, and there was a tea-and-drinks shop there. In the daytime, however, and only then, it was possible to summon low-ranking prostitutes there. Because there was such dense traffic of Shimabara clients going in and out, anything that happened within the quarter would immediately become a topic of conversation at this place. [NK 102] Noma Kōshin specifies further on that these low-ranking ladies were below the rank of *kakoi* 鹿恋, third-rank courtesans. [NK 124]

36 This district, located on the left side of the western end of the east-west central road, was composed entirely of houses of assignation where one could summon prostitutes of the third rank or higher. [NK 103]

"When you get into the bed and lie there waiting, that she's neither too slow nor too fast in coming to you but times it just right is again a joy. When your regret at having to put an end to your meeting, a feeling for which there are no words, comes to clog up your chest, the soothing attitude on the part of the woman comes across as so youthful that the happiness it awakens delights you beyond compare. With all her heart she swears an oath for the future, but whatever gods she names, Japan is too small for her purpose, so she goes as far as to swear by anything with a whiff of Buddhism found in other lands, and she repeats over and over again, 'I'll let go of you only in the cauldrons of hell,' and then when she gives you her pinkie promise, what a joy is this! And then she unties her obi and presses herself close to you, and a priceless scent at once comes floating up. Saying that your heart pounds at it is a massive understatement, and you realize that, just like this, you could die. And even the doing of things that no picture could capture is somehow at the same time delightful and shameful.

"The parting under a darkening sky is an illustration of how there is no gatekeeper in the western mountains, and when pale-ink evening comes, then, feeling cold, you separate out your clothes, and then having her accompany you to the gate is pleasant, but the separation hurts. Now even though the way of love is such a sweet pastime, you contemplate your meeting deep in your heart as you set out for home, climbing into your palanquin and heading in a hurry to the north. In that moment, your heart stays behind even while your body is in the vehicle. The wretchedness of the pain in your heart as you fret over affairs at home is something that cannot be put into words."

When he had finished speaking, the old man and the young one separated at a crossroads and disappeared from my sight. I do not know where they went.

- *Grass for Kindling*, end

Charred Sticks

In the fifth month of the year, when there was no break in the rain, I was shut up at home in a state of gloom. I could see no sign of summer coming, and even the grass at the foot of the hedges surrounding the house where I lived, alone, was drenched with dew. Even

just rolling over for a nap on the sedge mat would set the water oozing out of it, and the endlessly dripping skies had me down to the bone. The sheer extent of the clouds hanging thickly overhead, together with the loneliness of evening, made it unusually hard for me to get my spirits back up, but right at that moment, when the moon of my own heart was on the verge of clouding over, I received a visit from an outspoken young man. After we'd finished exchanging both amusing and trivial gossip, he said, "Oh wait, that reminds me! I heard about a book, 'Grass for Kindling' or somesuch, that was supposedly about your having gone to the quarter sometime in the past, so I got hold of it from someone the other day and read it the gods know how many times, but I have to say there are a couple of passages in there that don't sit well with me. On top of that, there are many stories to be heard from faraway China, and not a few closer to home in Japan itself, giving examples of the way of passion leading to disaster, even from ancient times. Even if a warning like the one in your book were to reach every single man, when even one among them, giving himself airs as if he knows all about the way of love, has his heart flame up, hotter and hotter, with the fires of a young man in his prime *because* of your book, then all you'll have accomplished is kindling the amorous grass even more thoroughly. It's a misguided thing to do, and it's almost impossible to make sense of why you did it!"

I answered, "I may have forgotten many things over the years, and when I look back on my past now, I know that talking about it will make me seem half-baked at best, but that 'Kindling' now... A little over four years ago,³⁷ on my way back home from a place called Nishino-oka,³⁸ I committed to memory the stories told by two people I was following. Indulging in a bit of idle fun, I wrote those stories down in a moment of whimsy, but even though I considered scratching them out and throwing them away, I didn't go through with it. Eventually, it seems, my writings made their way out into the world, and I cannot tell you how much this embarrasses me.

"In any case, I suppose that now curiosity will compel you to have me clarify the things I wrote in that little scroll, but since I did nothing but faithfully put down

37 This may have been the end of the Kanbun 寛文 (1661-1673) or the beginning of the Enpō 延宝 era (1673-1681). [NK 104]

38 The area around the present-day city of Nagaokakyō. [NK 104]

on paper what those two people said, how on earth would I have an understanding of everything in there down to the least, most insignificant detail? Regardless, since you speak as you do from a frank heart, and because it would pain me greatly to appear like a complete idiot in your eyes, I have no choice but to try and give you at least approximate answers. As you said just now, commandments against the way of passion are found even in the revered writings of the great Buddha, where He rails against it in terms that could freeze the blood. For example, He will explain that 'woman is an envoy from hell' or condemn women for 'having the faces of bodhisattvas but the hearts of *yaksha* demons.'³⁹ As if that weren't enough, you've got the five moral precepts of the reverend Mencius, and if you enjoy playing the pedant, you can draw quotations from the strangest, most amazing stories and ancient texts of China and Japan, and like a true know-it-all spout out warnings more numerous than there are forks in roads and more mixed up than tangled ends of white string. And yet, even taking into account the existence of all such writings, for you to so completely loathe the liking that I, just one man, feel for this way of love, and to have a mindset capable of such misgivings, is admirable to the highest degree. But no matter what my own tastes may be, I am not saying that giving yourself up wholesale to being flummoxed by passion and so losing your home and ruining yourself is a good thing. And yet, this way of love, with its foundation in a jade saké cup, is one that men must walk, and so we can say that a man who does not understand the tragedy inherent in life will never become a man of feeling if he does not go down this road. So all I'm saying is, don't reject it and don't overindulge, and in doing so, you will gain insight into the workings of love between people. Don't be too stubborn in how you choose to understand."

The young man answered sharply, "Oh yes, I will be! Among prostitutes, when there's a cold one, there's less that's real about her than there is about a woman in a

39 "Spirits of the dead who fly about in the night. Demons in the earth, or in the air, or in the lower heavens; they are malignant, and violent, and devourers (of human flesh). One of the eight kinds of spiritual beings who appear in Buddhist scriptures" (*Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, hereafter DDB, drawing on the Pāli *yakkha*; <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>). It is clear that such a negative interpretation of the *yaksha* is intended here, even though both the DDB and the *Kōjien* (6th edition, s.v. "yasha 夜叉") note that such entities are by no means unflinchingly malevolent.

painting. She'll sicken your mind with immorality, and as sure as two and two make four, you will doom yourself. There is *no* getting around that. That you, knowing this, set yourself up as their defender and write that 'falsehood lies with men and not with women' must mean that you're either connected to the quarter or a close friend of a house of assignation. Either way, the only plausible conclusion is that you wrote this for their gain. That you're trying to send decent-living people off down that evil path makes you into a despicable person to a young man like me."

I answered, "What you say is just another piece of foolishness. I am not in league with the quarter or with any house of assignation, and I am not a friend to them either. I am not so shady a character as that. And even if I *were* an all-out champion of their cause, well, even if I could successfully state deer to be horses or argue that crows were snowy herons, I could not make a person not so inclined throw themselves into debauchery all of a sudden. Conversely, if I hated the way of love and, like a pompous twit, fell to saying things like, 'Prostitutes are more terrible than tiger beetles and more horribly poisonous than arsenic,' and then shut myself up in bitterness and went around roaring in outrage with a face like a sour plum, then those already under the influence would say in disgust, 'You got some nerve, you contrary old buzzard. Don't you know that even poisonous medicine can change and become a source of healing? This play of ours is what makes our lives bearable. It's the cool breeze from the houses of assignation that sweeps away the worms of misery and low spirits. Is a know-nothing grouch like you going to peep at the sky through a keyhole? When you fix your sights on Mt. Fuji from the sea at Tsukushi, do your eyes suddenly turn into telescopes?'⁴⁰ No, no, if I did that, they'd just go ramping up the amorousness even more. People who leap around as the horses in their hearts dictate *will* leap around no matter what, so I'm not saying any of this for anybody's benefit. Like the water of a mountain stream becomes troubled when you touch it, so the state of the world cannot go back to what it was. There was a time when I too, at Otokoyama, had my hair shaved into a half-moon shape, but because I know that those days are gone,⁴¹ I composed that text for myself alone. And

should it happen because of this that someone says to me, 'Oh, not this again! Haven't you learned anything from past mistakes?,' then I, who am supposed to provide an answer to their reproaches, rough-mannered as I am, will be just the kind of person to say, 'Ah, nuts to you!' But, say what you will, words once spoken will not suddenly evaporate even if you hold them to a fire built with 'Kindling,' and so, even though I'll be repeating what I wrote, I *will* give you exact answers.

"While I did state that 'falsehood lies with men and not with women,' you shouldn't go for a one-sided interpretation of this. Because they're prostitutes and don't observe the spousal commandment against falsehood, they can hardly be expected not to tell lies. But there are many people out there who, to keep their covert visits to the quarter a secret, will cover up those visits with absolute denial. They will tell nothing but lies to everybody, and deceive others to such a degree that it makes you wonder if they aren't foxes or raccoon dogs. Prostitutes, on the other hand, do not deceive people like that, and it's because I wanted it to be known that they're not all about lies and deceit that I got up on my high horse and wrote that 'falsehood lies with men and not with women.'

"What is called the deceptiveness of prostitutes is not the kind that deceives people willy-nilly in order to cause them harm while benefiting the prostitutes themselves. What makes a prostitute's work so sad is that, when occasion demands, she is made to swear oaths stipulating that, if they are broken, she will suffer from 'rotting leprosy' and 'viscous leprosy' and will make a living begging alms. Though they look like out-and-out fabrications, such oaths in actuality help to clear away the mistrust in a client's mind and the uncertainties in his heart, and so they make for quite a pleasant bond between the pair. Her intention, then, never mind what the consequences for herself will be, is to soothe the man's anger right there and then, and so the feelings with which she swears her false oaths, disregarding any punishment to herself, are deeply affectionate and sweet, despite the lie. At times, the purity of a true heart is clearer than the waters by a riverbank where yellow roses bloom, but when it is made to draw upon itself the dirt of human words, it comes to look like the shallow center of a muddy inlet. As soon as that happens, in

40 The meaning is that someone overconfidently claims to be able to see something that is unlikely to be visible. [NK 106]

41 Meaning that he too once had his hair shaved into a half-moon shape and tied into a dandy's hairstyle. He is talking about the

time before he retreated from the world and shaved off all his hair. [NK 106]

order to prove that these suspicions about her feelings are unfounded, she'll call upon any gods you care to name and write the words of her oath right before the eyes of the terrible crow,⁴² wring out her thumb and paint the contract with her blood.⁴³ 'Clear or muddy, the gods will know!' she'll say, and what else could this possibly be than a sign that she truly calls upon those gods? Taking all this into account, how could any man find fault with her even if she wrote over a thousand such contracts, since her actions leave him free of sadness?

"Really, when a man, in his lovestruck state, all of a sudden feels bitter because of something the woman has said or done, he'll generally start mixing in lies with his conversation and eventually, contrary to reason, he'll be the one to show signs of anger. He'll think to himself that the feebleness of the woman's heart is what ruins his mood, but he can't actually say it, so he'll suppress his feelings and control himself, while inside he'll be boiling over with jealous rage. Yet even when bitter feelings flare up like this because of a woman, it's a rare thing for an oath to be sworn and a contract written upon the man's insistence, precisely because of this impossibility of expressing his thoughts as forcefully as he'd like. At this point in the proceedings, even though there is little falsehood on the part of the man and there are many lies on the part of the woman, in the end the man and no other is the starting point from which the lying begins. Fools will think, 'Because a prostitute, fundamentally, is weak for money, she doesn't care if her client is a man who's had his nose cut off, a cripple dragging his stiff leg, someone blind as a bat, a despicable Easterner, or a coarse old monk. As long as there's money to be made, she'll come a-running full of beans!' Because this is the way they see her, such people will belittle and despise her, saying things like, 'Just look at that *tayū's* pompous face!' or 'That *tenjin's* stuck-up air,

unbelievable!' well before they ever actually get to know her. But then, when you meet with her for the first time, you find she's not like that at all, being instead a genteel, pliant creature, whose face and figure in no way resemble an ordinary woman's. Her manner when speaking conveys her high character and the greatness of her position is more than that of Mt. Tai, so that the sum you gave to see her comes to feel lighter than the feather of a goose. You're made to be inescapably aware of your own innate inferiority and the lowliness of your position, so that merely sitting across from her makes you ashamed of how unpresentable you are. It blocks up your chest, and you pick at the edges of the tatami mat and mess them up while you talk. Meanwhile, in the course of conversation, she piles up lovelike falsehoods, illustrating them with the expressions of her face and body, and little by little she comes to display before your eyes the mountain of heartache that love has in store for you. The evident lovingness of the woman's heart makes you give in to the lie and accept it as though it were the truth. Even when a man is so ugly he shouldn't be seen in the daylight, she will be softened by compassion and give in to him.

"So, we can say that all this falsehood gets underway because of the man, not the woman, and this is something you ought to spend some time thinking about."

The young man said, "Yes, your reasoning sounds about right. But be that as it may, when she writes false contracts, or when she cuts off hair and pulls out fingernails, or even cuts into her finger,⁴⁴ there tends to be little true feeling in it. You may look at her and marvel at the depth of her affections, as it appears to you, but the instant the man's money runs out, she starts acting like she doesn't even know his name. Why is this?"

I answered, "How can you possibly believe that cutting off hair, pulling out fingernails, and even cutting fingers is all done for the sake of deceit? There are all sorts of reasons for these kinds of actions. Sometimes, a man will pray for a love that lasts a thousand generations, but when you think about it, it's inevitable that the storm that drew you in the night before will turn into nothing more than dew in the morning, because that is the way of this fleeting world. A woman may have her mind made up that there is a dead limit to

42 The treasure seal of the Ox King (Goō 牛王) of Kumano 熊野 bears the image of the crow that is the messenger of the gods. It was a secret teaching among prostitutes that, when the Ox King of Kumano was invoked for an oath contract, avoiding the eyes of the crow would spare one from the punishment for breach of contract. The opposite of this custom is here used to indicate an earnest oath. [NK 107]

43 When using a seal of her own blood as a signature on an oath contract, a woman would use blood from the middle or third finger of her right hand. Cases are also known of "blood documents" (*chibumi* 血文) where the words of the oath were written in blood. These carried more weight than ordinary contracts. [NK 107]

44 Along with oaths and oath contracts, these were methods by which a prostitute could prove the sincerity of her affection. However, these methods were sometimes used as wiles, and are to be understood so here. [NK 108]

what she will do for her job, but when a man craves the realization of something that only exists in baseless rumors and it gets to the point where he laments about not having it, then she herself will with her own hands cut into her hair. Cases of a woman showing her undisguised feelings by acting the pure lady like this may be very rare among prostitutes, but that doesn't mean they never occur. Another thing that can happen is that a man whom she's been meeting with for the longest time, falls to harping on a slight thing she said or did, gets himself worked up over it again and again, and finally says in anger, 'From now on, our vows are no more. By heaven, now that we've fallen out of love, are we still going to keep on meeting until the stars drop from the sky? Ha! This is the end of our relationship.' When he says this, a man to whom she's been bound so tight and for so long that it puts you in mind of an iron chain, the knowledge that the bond she has with him is about to be severed for no good reason at all is a source of crushing sorrow to her, but since she has no way of displaying her hidden heart in her face, she with no sign of regret cuts deep into her own black hair, dark as jet, of which the poet says, 'My mother said it must be so!'⁴⁵ She winds the cut-off strands around a letter, says, 'Then this is it,' and hands it over as if she were placing Ama-no-kawa before that Heijū's eyes.⁴⁶ There have been examples, you can take my word for it, of women using their hair as a comb to work the tangles out of a man like this. It may also be that, instead of two

or three, a woman has only a single lover whom she clings to, but that man may harbor serious doubts about this and think to himself, 'She's bound to be like this with men other than me. No matter how anybody says it's because she has to do her job in a way that makes it look like she's in love with everyone, she really is just a working girl you can't have faith in. You can never truly get to the bottom of the waters of her heart, hard to contain as they are. If there were a way to stand hidden in every corner of a person's heart and see its workings, then of course it would be possible to clear away these doubts, but she's a woman more likely than the smoke from the salt-making by the women divers of Suma to yield in directions where she feels no affection.' When, through thoughts like these, his heart reaches the highest pitch of suspicion, then this pains her and hurts her to the marrow because she wants, no matter what it takes, to make him see the pure feelings deep down in her heart. When she therefore decides that she will not stand for her affections, anything but slight, to be considered barely even real, then she will pull out fingernails and cut fingers and make them into lights in the darkness of his doubts and so melt away the ice over the man's heart, and this kind of thing happens all the time. It can also happen that she meets with a man she doesn't care for, a loudmouthed big spender who'll say, 'Special expenses on feast days?'⁴⁷ Psh, those are nothing!' and take them on himself; someone who, lowbred though he is, has the kind of financial clout that lets him compare his wealth to other people's and say, 'It's a material world, baby!'; who, where the question of a future safe haven for a prostitute in the form of marriage is concerned, will say, 'Oh, sure, sure!' and swear oaths with great enthusiasm; but who'll kick up a fuss as soon

45 The reference, so Noma Kōshin informs us, is to a poem from the third chapter of sundry compositions in the *Gosen wakashū* 後選和歌集 (Later Collection of Japanese Poems). To be precise, the poem is number 1240 in that work, and it is as follows:

Why is it, I wonder, that my mother said, "It must be so!" and never once stroked my jet-black hair?

たらちめはかかれとてしもむばたまの我が黒髪を撫でずや有りけん
tarachime wa / kakare to te shimo / mubatama no / wa ga
kurokami o / nadezu ya ariken)

This appears to be a simple reference to a poem describing a woman's hair. Katagiri, *Gosen wakashū*, pp. 374-75; translation by author.

46 Heijū 平中 is an alternate name of Taira no Sadabun 平貞文, a womanizer in the age of the Heian court. From section 38 of *Heijū monogatari* 平中物語 (The Tale of Heijū): "When I peeked inside, the woman was there. I saw her take out a letter, around which she wrapped a lock of her hair. When I, finding this strange, read the letter, tears came to my eyes, even though I had already heard that [the poetess] Ama-no-kawa 天の川 had passed away. When I thought of how she was supposed to have become a nun, blackness rose before me." [NK 109] For more about Taira no Sadabun, see Susan Downing Videen's *Tales of Heichū*. Note that *Moekui* provides the spelling "Heijū" へいじゅう instead of "Heichū" へいちゅう.

47 As explained by Segawa-Seigle: "It should be emphasized, however, that such pampering [as described above] did not assure the courtesans of happiness, for the Yoshiwara system kept them in hopeless debt despite their lavish life-style. Among other things, all courtesans and prostitutes, regardless of their rank, had particularly heavy financial pressures on fete days called *monbi* [紋日]. On a *monbi* (one to six times every month), their prices doubled and the courtesans had to secure appointments with clients in advance. Every courtesan had a daily quota, the only exceptions being three official holidays in a year. When a courtesan or prostitute missed a day's work for any reason, even a death in the family or her own illness, she was required to meet that day's quota from her own funds. On *monbi*, the penalty was doubled. The courtesan therefore had to secure clients at all cost lest her debt to the bordello increase and her term of service be lengthened." Segawa-Seigle, *Yoshiwara*, pp. 78-80.

as a fly buzzes by and corner that woman into inflicting pain on herself. When that happens, even though he's a pest she can barely stand and she's only doing it because it's her job, she'll slice the tip off a finger and trim away a nail.

"Now, it may appear that her underlying motivations in all these cases are despicable, but she is really so tired of the horrible, sad tasks she has to perform in her job. Yet even when she finds herself wishing for even a moment's peace from the world, the fact remains that she could hardly make it through a single day without the kind of supporting partner I just described, and so she has no other option than to cut up and sell herself whether she likes it or not. Say what you will, but being in such a position is, by the gods, a way of life so sad that it could make people cry to the point where their sleeves wouldn't dry anymore. Or take another case. Say there's a man of limited intelligence who, as is typical, has a luxurious home, can keep himself warm, and can do whatever he pleases. As the number of meetings with him builds up, the prostitute, though her choice of conduct in the matter is not her own, offers herself to him, despite not finding him all that endearing, simply because to do so is customary in her line of work. Yet while she submits so completely that it borders on being his puppet, this man still is not satisfied. With a rush of blood to his brain, he puts it in his head that he wants a tangible token of her love. Sometimes, he'll declare a molehill to be a mountain, or turn a tiny failing on her part into a huge production and go around shouting and berating her. Then she, the picture of calm, will say, 'No matter with how much anger you may speak, even the frightful Asura kings could not contrive to hide the unclouded moon of my affection. Even the thundering gods high in their cloudy home could not ever take away my heart, you see.' When, with beautiful words like these, and without losing the color in her cheeks, she is able in this charming, ladylike way to make him listen to reason, then the man, at a loss yet still planning what to do next, says, 'That may be, but while you, acting as if you care about me, have servants bring me food and drink and things, your undersash, sure sign of your feelings that it is, will not loosen, and your eyebrows do not itch,⁴⁸ so what am I supposed to take for a signpost in the sea of your affections? If you genuinely care for me, then give me a sign! Writing a

48 It was believed that one's eyebrows would itch when a waited-for person arrived. [NK 111]

contract is something everybody does and cutting hair is not something that prostitutes mind doing.' When he gets like this, nastier than a bitter potato and stickier than grated yam, having no other way out, she'll briskly do as he desires, be it with a nail or with a finger. A woman forced to meet with a man like that is someone who suffers under her bad, sad karma. Having to, in sadness, injure the body her parents gifted her at birth makes for a regret that never fades. No matter how much she laments it, it will happen again, over and over, and that is why her situation, with her job, is so pitiable. Meanwhile the man, having come to look forward to such things from the prostitute who is silently grieving for herself, is happy that he has managed to force her into this, and no matter how many times it happens, he does not feel any of the shame he should. Causing pain for another and making them suffer while rejoicing in what you do is a deviation from the path of kindness followed by human beings worthy of the name.

"It's the unlucky tendency of men like that to have their fortunes blown away more easily than an airborne kite waiting for the wind. Even a man who makes a prostitute give him a love token in the way I described, shouting out his importance at the height of his glory, will one day encounter his limit. When the voice he shouts with has faded and he walks as unsteadily as a man in need of being wheeled around, and the prostitute he used to go and see does indeed act like she doesn't even know his name, well, even if you suspect inborn coldness to be a factor, you can't very well insist that such coldness is the only reason for her behavior. Another thing. Suppose there's a man who, when a woman swears her feelings won't change even after a thousand years, acts as if she's his property and he's the gatekeeper barring her from meeting other men. A man like that, even though his face is so heavy with seriousness you'd think it weighed a million pounds, will before he knows it see his fortune washed away and end up with nowhere left to turn. When that happens, the prostitute, fed up, will say, 'Well, my, my! Sure, though you could say that this is just an example of the fickleness of fortune, he should still have seen it coming that this would end up happening to him, but no, up until this very day he's been the kind of audacious wannabe big-shot twit who stops just short of shouting, "Hey hey, here I am!" A naïve fool, that's what he is, and a crook! He's not a god, yet he didn't realize he's only human, and I am ashamed to have ever met with him. People may think it's to be expected from some-

body like me to talk like this, but it makes me sick to think I spent so much time giving myself to a man who can't tell up from down yet still thinks he's swimming in cash! After this one, how could there possibly be anything left out there to hurt my reputation?' As you can see, undergoing the treatment she does naturally makes her block off the affectionateness required by her job, regret the past, and look up at the clouds above, lost in her thoughts. This, again, is the way of things, for a prostitute. Even when a man, just because she is a prostitute, grinds a woman's self away to nothing, yet, because his is not a heart that prides itself on daily excess, visits her with moderation without doing away with her services entirely, his fortune will still, before he knows it, melt away. From the corners of the rice cabinet, cobwebs will start tangling out, and in the run-down house, the hearth will burn weaker than the light of fireflies. Yet even with his financial situation so bad, thoughts of the way of love are difficult for him to shake off and the affections of prostitutes hard to forget. His situation is altogether hopeless, dependent as he is on government-organized soup kitchens, and so he thinks to himself that if he's going to turn into a beggar whom everybody speaks badly of, so be it. He throws his old life away wholesale and flees the city, intending to become one of those seeking to realize their long-cherished desire for rebirth in the Pure Land, but how can he let go of the worldly intimacy with women and pass his days without appearing to even know what it is? Because she is like a bird in a cage or a fish in a breeding tank, he cannot practice begging together with her. If she had her freedom, would they not put their begging bowls by the same pillow, use their patched-up sleeves for a mat, and sleep together under some bridge or other? A prostitute is someone who understands such feelings of love to the core.

"When it comes to making do with what meager riches you have, there are so many ways to do it that it's hard to decide on just a single one, but when a man loses all his money, it would be unfair to claim that a prostitute inevitably ceases to have any regard for him."

The young man nodded vigorously. "Ah, well said! So here's another question. In 'Kindling,' you argue with all the conviction you have that 'prostitutes do not yield to riches.' If that is true, then to what *do* they yield?"

I answered, "If you fully agree that 'prostitutes do not yield to riches,' yet at the same time have misgivings as to what they do yield to, it is possible for me to

answer. But first I'd like to know, could it be that you're having a nasty suspicion that I, knowing full well that prostitutes do in fact yield to riches, argue with bull-headed determination that they don't, and that I have spells where I act like their dogged defender and that's why I speak the way I do, and that you are now putting on the bite of sarcasm when you ask, 'Then to what *do* they yield?' Either way, I'll begin my answer with the following outline.

"Speaking in general, it's not the case that prostitutes *don't* yield to riches, but it's not the case either that they're inclined in this direction by definition. Though it is indeed correct to state that they do yield to riches to a slight degree, and though it's clear that this has nothing to do with their client's personal attractiveness, with his being old or young or intelligent or foolish, it's only because it's part of what a prostitute does, part of her job. That said, you could have a man of the kind who wears gold coins next to the skin and is wrapped in layers of brocade, but when a woman secretly thinks he's nothing but a hateful bumpkin, she'll jilt him so hard he'll never even know what hit him. Sometimes, a man will have the infatuation-inducing looks of Hikaru Genji, still apparently popular with people though his name gets nothing but slander to an astonishing degree, and she'll turn up her nose at that man for a stuck-up piece of impudence. And when a what's-his-face can't lay claim to Ariwara no Narihira's tiny waist, she will put him down in only a few words as a short, fat tub, with a wilted stem, no money to his name, and foul-smelling. Sejiro's pommade, Gengobei's toothpaste, boorish, passé!⁴⁹ You might have a man who is proud of his beauty, thinking himself the pinnacle of male attractiveness, human-born offspring of the gods, firstborn of the incarnated Buddha, but a prostitute's high character is not some cheap thing that's going to get dazzled by the guy's sex appeal. On the other hand, you could have a man with a merchant's neat way of dressing or the appearance of a lowly mountain dweller carrying firewood on his back. Because of their compatible personal qualities and the feelings between them, she thinks up ways to pull the wool over the eyes of the quarter and, you might say, screw cattail spikes

49 Giving their merchandise the names of handsome men of the period, like Sejiro 清十郎 and Gengobei 源五兵衛, was a technique used in advertisements by beauty-product salesmen. [NK 113]

into the women overseers' ears, hoodwinks the fisherman from the bay who serves as a hidden lookout for the quarter, makes fools out of everybody trying to guard Mt. Kurabu,⁵⁰ and with her tricks, gets that man for a lover. Such relationships show that a prostitute's heart does not respond to just a man's looks, and so it stands to reason that you can't say she only yields to riches, either.

"Still, no matter if she's of high rank or of low position, when a prostitute is sunk up to the neck in a pool of debt and there are no easy lovers to be had, then she's not likely to ever find a safe place to swim to on any shore.⁵¹ In a situation like that, it'd be pretty strange if she *didn't* have any desire for money. Even despite that, though, it's typical for someone like her that she, as if she were a delicate, refined, pampered palace lady-in-waiting or female attendant, or an empress innocent in the ways of the world, used to acting like a person of rank in all things, that she, I say, even though she is eager for money, will not be the kind of person to make this known by letting it show in her face or shine through in her words. Leaving human beings aside for the moment, even little birds and the countless insects are creatures looking for personal advantage, so it would be unreasonable to expect prostitutes, and only them, to not have any desire for gain. Regardless, their techniques can vary enormously, depending on whether they talk about their financial needs or not. Now when you look at the inner feelings of any prostitute, you'll find that, even on a spring day when the light is peaceful, or on a perfectly still autumn night, her heart is just like New Year's Eve in the twelfth month. The lively aspect of it is because the line of work of someone in her position will one way or another thrive to the highest degree and she'll have many gifts sent to her. The lonely aspect of it is that, on special holidays, as she sits kneeling in a corner behind

the lattice,⁵² sick at heart, she thinks about the money that'll go into paying her own fees. The money she gets for an object she pawns today, in all kinds of agitation and all sorts of distress, will flow away like the water of the Asuka River. Sad to say, the eternal pool of debt will not turn into a shallow ford, so all the worries she already has piled up grow worse and worse at times like these. With her situation so horrible and sad, as soon as she catches sight of money, she'll inevitably be struck by a longing even more painful to behold than that of a starving dog who wags his tail and begs for food, but she'll act as if this is not the case and say, 'Rice must be around a hundred and twenty *monme* a measure. What rice will I eat now?'⁵³ With an expression of supreme ignorance, she'll sit there looking vacant, but the mindset with which she gives this performance, the prostitute's basic character, if you will, shouldn't we consider that as a guiding principle for all women?

"With things this way, it's hard to say with any degree of certainty whether prostitutes are drawn in by money or, if not, what it is that they yield to. Just go with the notion that whatever they want to yield to *will* be yielded to, and don't worry too much about what that might be."

At that point the young man clapped his hands together and said, "Everything you said makes complete sense. Honestly, you're the kind of person who'd find a way to talk even if your lips were sewn shut. My doubts, set burning by the fire of 'Kindling,' have been put out by the water of your theories. Now I'd like to hear an outline of what's fun and amusing in that quarter. Please tell me something about that."

I laughed aloud and groaned, "When I think how I spent my days as a lazy good-for-nothing, it shames me to look back on the years, but if I don't dare speak about my past now, it'd obviously be implying I never even saw the quarter, which isn't true. Once upon a time, there were an old man and an old woman. When the old man had gone into the mountains to do laundry and the old woman to the river to gather firewood or

50 Possibly a case of synonym wordplay. According to the *Kōjien* (6th edition), Kurabuyama 暗部山 is an old name for Kuramayama 鞍馬山, as well as an *utamakura* 歌枕 (name of a famous place strongly associated with poetical composition). The characters 暗部 literally mean "dark part." Now, one word for human genitals is "*inbu*" 陰部, literally "shadow part." It may be that the use of the former term, a character-for-character synonym of the latter (which, however, does not generally have the same meaning), is here used to indicate that the people of the quarter are trying to keep the sex worker in question from having unauthorized close contact with a non-paying lover of her choice.

51 That is, to find someone who will offer her permanent support in the form of marriage.

52 Reference to the latticed room at the front of a brothel. When a prostitute was unable to sell her services, she would be forced to sit on display with fellow prostitutes for who knew how long. [NK 114]

53 This prostitute's peasant origins [as evidenced by her choice of words] mean that she knows that even in famine years rice does not cost a hundred and twenty silver *monme* 匁 (two gold *ryō*) a measure, but she is pretending to be ignorant in matters of the world. [NK 115]

somesuch, I, their son, saw the face of opportunity and, thinking I'd have a nice get-together, came to be a regular customer of the quarter and took up with a prostitute for the first time. I've forgotten that person's name. As time went by, I became a figure in paper clothes,⁵⁴ yet spending money was still no issue. Rain or shine, romancing was the only thing on my mind. A break of a single day pained me. Times, no matter how short, when I got no letter from my lover shriveled my heart. Anything not about this one thing was in one ear and out the other with me. When I ate, I couldn't taste my food. I tell you, I was like a man out of his mind!

"During that time, interesting things, amusing things, things to make you angry, things to give you pause, sad things, happy things, all sorts, all kinds, were so many that, if I tried to count them all, I wouldn't be able to, and if I put them down on paper, I couldn't read them all. Sometimes, I'll be playing my shamisen, tuned in the *niagari*⁵⁵ style, and thinking of the cloth that Oman bleached,⁵⁶ and then get the intriguing feeling, to the notes of the *matsuchi* song,⁵⁷ of knowing melancholy as deep as the Sumida River. And when I think of how the forbidding faces of a house owner or female overseer would be softened by the mighty glow of money, their expressions, all surface, flipped around in a heartbeat, it makes me laugh. And then, at a meeting you've booked in advance, having traveled such a long distance in a vain quest for an outcome you won't get, while the prostitute is more relaxed than ever, the saké cups are piling up, and you're chatting about this and that, right then, right in the middle of that pleasant intimacy, in the very moment when you think this makes the pleasures of Amida's paradise look like nothing, somebody comes to announce that, 'Mr. So-and-so is here!' And the prostitute, looking as if her heart's

about to jump out of her chest, pulls the inkstone toward herself and says, 'He's here! Oh, what wonderful news!' You can't help but notice the movements of her brush and wonder uneasily what it is she may be writing, but while your suspicions are churning in your mind, the house owner or a woman overseer comes in to oh so politely polish your apple, calling you 'my lord' and everything, and when they think the right moment has come, 'We have this shameless little request for you, hahahaha!' they'll say, their laughter fake. 'Because of something something, it's a situation there's just *no* getting out of. Really there's no help for it, and we're afraid we must ask you to leave the premises for today.' They'll say it like a pair of toothless saws that you can't pull through the wood no matter your effort. You try and drill a hole in the other man's skull with your eyes when, with the expression of a beggar, he takes your companion from you while there's absolutely nothing you can do about it, and you're drowning in bitterness about as shallow as the Mogami River... but really there's no point in my even trying to describe the anger you feel at having been so unceremoniously sent packing. Other times, you and your woman will be side by side on the same pillow, and she'll say, 'The sadness of the life my job makes me lead, and that I can never get away from, lies in having been separated from my mother while I was still so young. Ah, I know as little of my brothers' and sisters' whereabouts as if they were in the sky above, wandering among the clouds. If I, all alone, did not have you, then who would be left to me?' When she talks like this, on and on, it's as if the fisherman, line in hand, has come to your pillow,⁵⁸ and you, listening to her, find yourself wishing you could prune away the teary branches, and when those tears start to fall, you come to realize to the fullest possible extent the pathos of the world. And here's another thing. You hate not going to the quarter for any length of time, and when you keep thinking things like, 'How am I going to make it through the evening?' or 'How was I even able to pass the time today?,' then you end up so completely out of it that you go and pay a visit to the litter-rental place, without even minding how gloomy it is. When you get there and they say, 'There's a letter here for you!'⁵⁹ and

54 An obviously poor person. [NK 115]

55 Meaning that the second string is raised two steps higher than in the standard style (*Kōjien*, 6th edition, s.v. "*niagari* 二上り").

56 Oman お万 was the name of a daughter of the Ryūkyū 琉球 House of Kagoshima 鹿児島, who committed love suicide with Gengobei. "Into the mountains of Satsuma 薩摩, Gengobei goes off somewhere, looking from a mountain high into the valley deep, Oman, poor child! bleaches the cloth, Gengobei" (*Gengobei bushi* 源五兵衛節, "Gengobei's Tune"). [NK 116]

57 *Matsuchibushi* 待乳節, a tune popular at the Yoshiwara. May be the same as the *dote* song (*dotebushi* 土手節). [NK 116] The *Kōjien* (6th edition) says of the *dote* song, "Popular tune of the Edo period. Said to have first been sung by patrons of Edo's Yoshiwara upon the embankment by the entrance, popularized from 1670 (tenth year of the Kanbun era) onward."

58 Unclear, but may be drawn from an old poem. [NK 116]

59 Litter-rental places (*koage no yado* 小揚の宿) were also called "letter halfway houses" (*fumi no nakayado* 文の中宿). Missives addressed by prostitutes to their clients were passed on there. [NK 116-17]

hand it over, you're irritated by how tough the seal is and you think to yourself, 'Gods, if only there were no glue in the world!' Out of sheer frustration, you tear open the envelope, unfold the letter, and read, 'Since yesterday I've had no end of anguish. As I lie here, prone and listless, yet bound to you, I find myself realizing how wretched this world is, how changeable its truths. "When *he* is not here!" are the words that spring up in my mind.' When you see what she has been disposed to write, you reach the deepest pit of sadness. Other times, it may be that you suspect your woman of having a heart that simply will not open, but then she says, 'Let this or that god bear witness. The extent of my feelings is so and so. Whatever the future may bring, *I will* be in your heart. If you truly have doubts about this, then pierce us both with the same blade and guide me upon the road that is darker than the dark. Accompany me to the same land in our next life.' The happiness you feel when she shows herself so steadfast is unequaled in this world.

"As to all the other things that can happen at the quarter, as circumstances dictate, they're more numerous than the grains of fine sand to be found by someone who spends eight hundred days walking along the beach, and greater in number than the seaweed plants at the bottom of a wide sea a thousand fathoms deep, so I will end my account here. Truly I am ashamed to the bone that, writing as in a postscript about the smoke that rose in my heart, burning as from oakwood, on the subject of prostitutes, my search for a follow-up to 'Kindling' has led to my producing the 'Charred Sticks' that will paint my reputation darker and darker with ashes."

The young man became very excited. "My goodness! Even just listening to stories about these things, how could a novice like me not end up taking on the same colors as the teller simply by being exposed to them too long? Oh gods, I can't take this anymore! Please, oh please, accompany me to those holy grounds, let me walk their main precincts, soon, I beg you!" he said, full of fire.

I glared at him, shaking my head the whole time I spoke. "Speaking in general, people who have caught their first glimpse of the way of love, however slight their newfound knowledge, will sink into the mire each in their own way, but from the time when they're still wet behind the ears until after they've made mistake after mistake and have finally become connoisseurs of the quarter, they can never, ever forget what they've learned. 'In any case, once dyed in that color, there is no going back to the cloth's original whiteness. Better

to remain in a state of ignorance.' So it is written in *The Tale of Naniwa*,⁶⁰ and those are words to live by. Aah! Better to see a demon from hell than to look upon a prostitute! Better to walk into Tie-Dye Castle⁶¹ than to enter the enclosure! Once you get to know it, you'll never be able to stop." At that point, with me preaching as if I were Confucius and acting as though I were the Buddha, the young man said, "Yes, yes, you are right!" and we both burst out laughing and, without noticing, nodded off. Soon, light began to shine through the clouds in the east, and the young man said, "Well, so long!" and went away.

Left alone, I turned the remaining light to the wall and sat thinking hard. What had I been saying since last night? What had I talked about? Ah, had it been a dream? Had it been reality? If I hadn't lit my 'Kindling,' I would not have burned my 'Charred Sticks' either.

- *Charred Sticks*, end

Dead Ashes

In the world of today, which in the past did not exist, there was a woman in the capital to the west. That woman became a fallen one, but at the end of her career as a working girl, beautiful of face and sweet of disposition, she put on the black robes of a nun, which took their coloring from her heart. She built a hermitage and then spent her days performing Buddhist prayers. Since I had once been a favorite of hers, one moonlit night around the beginning of the third month, when I felt like meeting her again after all this time, I approached her brushwood door on my way home from looking at flowers. She took out a pipe and sent up a haze of smoke. She put tea on to boil and sent a wave of clouds, as of the open sky, billowing up out of the foam. Despite the place, despite the kind of dwelling, it was as if I could still smell the perfume that had once been on her sleeves,⁶² and that night, in that place, we talked till morning.

60 A prostitute-rating book for Shimabara, printed in the fifth month of the first year of the Meireki 明曆 era (1655). [NK 118]

61 *Kōkechijō* 纈纈城. A place where people are hung upside down and wrung dry of all their blood, which is then used to produce tie-dyed fabrics for sale. Believed to be located in the mountains of a remote region of China. [NK 118]

62 The smell of the aloeswood the nun lit for scenting her clothes when she still lived in the licensed quarter. Lighting aloeswood

“What I don’t get is, even though you still don’t look like you’re at that age when people get their hair snowed over, and you don’t give the appearance of someone who should have frost hanging on their eyebrows by now, you’ve cast the world aside to live in poverty like this. Why have you done that?” I asked her.

The nun answered, “Well, as to that. When you spend enough time thinking about the workings of the world, you come to realize that even the spring flowers of the Sixth Ward⁶³ will eventually be dust before the evening wind, and that even the autumn moon over Shujaka Field⁶⁴ will leave no shadow on the dawntime clouds. Even that young pine twig of a servant girl,⁶⁵ begun to sprout only yesterday, will before she knows it use up the charm she will have as a courtesan, and after that, it’ll hardly be a thousand years before she drops to the rank of woman overseer. When the fragrance of plum blossoms⁶⁶ inclines toward old age, then the goose who has cast off the flowers of beauty⁶⁷ will, you may be certain, set out for the northern sky.⁶⁸ Therefore, since this is the way of things, and you cannot rely on this fleeting world or put your trust in human hearts, as soon as I

had left the misery of that village behind, I cut off and threw away the hair so black it had been almost blue and exchanged my scarlet sleeves for ones barely noticeable, and so became what you see. Honestly, when I think of how painful my old home was, I’m hardly able to sleep even now.” She nodded with conviction.

It occurred to me that, if I chose my words skillfully, I could make her answers to me into lights for the darkness that enveloped the way of love, and so I said with unbounded joy, “Spoken indeed as someone who once knew the terrible life inside the quarter! Now I’m going to ask you some things that I’m curious about and want to understand more clearly. While it is true, by and large, that drowning in the pleasures of the flesh and ruining themselves in all sorts of ways is the habit of men, it is women who, because it’s what their job entails, entertain even the worst louts without ever turning their backs on them, and therefore every one of those men, no matter if he’s old or young, intelligent or foolish, will not escape falling into infatuation. So what I’d like to know is what so-called prostitutes’ tricks consist of.”

The nun blushed furiously. “You’re asking me to tell you about things that I’m not proud of. Since this is a matter of ‘I too, in the past,’ it’s embarrassing and difficult for me to talk about, but I’ll give you a rough outline. Firstly, the big-shot owner of a house of assignation, all wealthy as he is, will sometimes meet up in secret with the prostitutes of his house. Other times, he’ll get crushes on prostitutes from other houses, and, easygoing as he is, he’ll often come on to them, personally sow the seeds of love in the letters he writes, and use his words to flood his chosen woman with the depth of his feelings. And then once the woman’s heart softens and she, thinking it’ll just be for one night, gives in to him, the number of meetings will increase, four, three, or even just two, and then after that, they might, as sometimes occurs, come to be on the lookout for breaks from prying eyes and enter into a steady relationship outside the village’s knowledge. Another thing that can happen is for a well-to-do house owner, infected by proximity to the goings-on around him and fitting himself to the corresponding style as water fits in a vessel, starts aping what he sees, making the winds of love blow and using all sorts of sweet-talking tricks, but when it dawns on him that the courtesans of the two highest ranks, arrow-straight and with unyielding hearts, have no intention of giving in to his advances, then he’ll lose no time in making use of the

to perfume her hair and clothing was part of a courtesan’s toilette. [NK 119]

- 63 The famous courtesans of Misujimachi 三筋町 in the Sixth Ward during its heyday. In the seventh year of the Keichō 慶長 era (1602), the capital’s licensed quarter was moved from Yanagimachi 柳町 to the Muromachi 室町 Sixth Ward, and in the eighteenth year of the Kan’ei 寛永 era (1641), it moved to Nishishin Yashiki. *Tayū* such as Yoshino 吉野, in the employ of Hayashi Yojibei 林与次兵衛, were the famous courtesans of the Sixth Ward era. [NK 119]
- 64 The famous courtesans from the time after the licensed quarter moved from the Sixth Ward to Nishishin Yashiki, that is to say, to Shimabara: the *tayū* Yachiyo 八千代 of the Okumuraya 奥村屋, Kofuji 小藤 of the Nakamura 中村屋, Kaoru 薫 of the Kamibayashiya 上林屋, and so on. [NK 119]
- 65 A *kaburo* (or *kamuro* 禿) [a young servant girl to a courtesan] who is to become a *tayū* one day is here metaphorically compared to a pine. Usually, these girls would become servants at the age of seven or eight, and outstandingly beautiful ones would make their debuts as *tayū* when they were fifteen or sixteen years old. However, their glory days would only last until they were twenty-four or -five, after which they would either have their contracts bought out and retire, or descend to the ranks of *tenjin* or *kakoi*. There were also those who, in the end, became female overseers. *Tayū* were also called “pine trees.” [NK 119]
- 66 *Tenjin*, those courtesans one rank lower than *tayū*, were also called “plums.” [NK 119]
- 67 A woman who has lost her looks. [NK 119]
- 68 Be demoted to the rank of *hashijorō* 端女郎. “Northward”: alternate name for the “edge apartments” (*hashikyoku* 端局), situated on the north side of Shimabara’s Chūdōjichō 中堂寺町. Also called the Pigeon Hutch (*hatobeya* 鳩部屋). These *hashijorō* were the lowest-ranking prostitutes. [NK 119]

house where the woman he wants is employed, fixing seemingly real appointments for 'service to a man from the countryside' or 'a new customer, name so-and-so, place of origin this-and-that.' Suspecting nothing unusual, the woman thinks, 'Of course,' and goes out to the house of assignation on the appointed day. All that day, not a peep from the supposed customer, and when it gets dark, even though she's not waiting for him anymore, she'll say, 'Oh, what is the meaning of this?,' naturally concerned about the situation. Then the house owner, to comfort her, tells her quietly, 'Now, now, I heard your client for today has been inconvenienced, but maybe he'll still be here tonight?' But soon the gates close, early evening has passed, and the ten-o'clock limit is reached,⁶⁹ and then he says, 'Well, it looks like your client isn't coming anymore. You should go and get some rest now.' Then when she's gone up to her room and gotten into bed, here comes the man himself, sneaking in, complaining about how he's just *known*, ever since his heartache began, that she's not going to reciprocate his feelings with any degree of liveliness and lamenting about how hard it is to be lost in the river of passion. Meanwhile the prostitute, who feels nothing for him, screams in indignation and almost certainly begins to cry, but because she is a woman who knows how these things go, she does not object too forcefully, saying only, 'How could this be possible tonight? Even the woman overseer didn't know about it.' Her heart relenting a little, she undoes her undersash, not very tightly knotted to begin with. From that first time onward, as the number of meetings increases and she gradually warms up to him, it may happen that her—in other people's eyes—downright scandalous behavior gets out, but the misdeed, being what it is, is sure to be pardoned in the end. If you wonder why, it's because he pays the set price when he comes. Having to provide free service for a man who finds no opportunity to stay for any length of time, and who, after having left, is still on the lookout for any moment during the day when a prostitute has no clients coming, would that not be a hateful thing?

"You can be sure that there are also tricks that are used when a prostitute meets with someone despite having no love for him. The reason for this is that a prostitute who gets few customers and is therefore op-

pressed by her debts to the quarter will be happy, regardless of station, with anyone who comes to buy her services. It can happen in some cases that she, pretending that she is what you might call delightedly in love with him, will relentlessly pursue a man with requests to pay her feast-day expenses for her. Using such tricks on a gentleman connoisseur shows even more what a hateful character she has than when she traps an ordinary man in this way. 'A gentleman ruins himself,' it is said. This means that a lover, knowing perfectly well what the ways of the quarter are like, will never try to escape having to pay those expenses and will end up whittling his fortune away.

"Then there are some prostitutes who will make a fool out of a big spender and secretly take up with someone from his entourage, an entertainer, say, or someone who looks to be a stage actor. This is the kind of subhuman behavior for which *no* suitable punishment exists. Another thing that's possible is for a prostitute to come to have a lover on the side when her client, in the middle of the action, suddenly develops a liking for her, gives her all sorts of sweet talk and switches houses of assignation and things like that. This may definitely be a case of strange tastes, but eventually, her official intimate client will get wind of the matter. If things come to a head, she'll get into a fight with that former lover of hers and they'll break up. After that, she'll consent to meeting with the new man and, in effect, do so. She may not care for the new man all that much, but at this stage, is that a redeeming point at all? Another thing that can happen is for a man who has been frequenting one prostitute for years to all of a sudden fall in love with another. When that happens, then be it a stub of affection so small it doesn't even bring a blush to his face or be it a thousand branches of the spindle tree, she will, out of a heart where the mountain cherry has withered, turn to complaining about all of these in so many letters that they form a small bundle, scattering endless series of words on the subject out before everybody, lament about the matter over and over again and watch the situation play out, and not even care about the decline of her reputation. All she'll do is lean her chin on her hand and lie day-dreaming. Thus, even if he thinks of her in after days, he cannot meet her. Their hearts go out to each other, yet when the smoldering fire in those hearts is stirred up, they look elsewhere, and so sadly waste their days. Situations like this occur so often and in so many ways that to describe them all would make words lose their luster and wear the longest hairs of the brush away."

69 At ten o'clock, curfew law dictated the gate must be closed. In reality, however, this was extended to midnight. [NK 121]

I asked another question. “Now that I’ve heard a rough description of some of the tricks you use, it seems to me that you are able to look down on Kumasaka and treat Ishikawa as a joke,⁷⁰ with those wiles of yours springing from true thieves’ hearts. My blood freezes just listening to you, and all my courage melts away. Still, it cannot be the case that a prostitute’s mind is unknowable just because it’s invisible. Take, for example, the case where a man breaks up with a woman he’s been seeing for many years and whom he’s made into his partner of choice. When he finds himself another lover after that, he’ll appear to be deeply in love and on top of the world right from the start, and so people will think, ‘Somebody who’s lived as long as he has is bound beyond the shadow of a doubt to understand the dips and risings of the paths on the mountain of love and know the shores and beaches of the sea of affection!’ But the thing about that is that there never is an end to his fickle behavior. When the changeable waves of the deeps and shallows have crashed somewhere else and then retreated,⁷¹ it may be that he, longing for a connection to good times past, starts seeing a prostitute who used to be her servant girl, because he thinks that dating his old flame’s sister prostitute will maybe, hopefully, make his melancholy feelings disappear. As he becomes her steady client, yesterday comes to feel like a dream, and his current happiness grows too great for his narrow sleeves to contain, made as they are of the thin fabric of today. ‘What were the joys of the past?’ he thinks, and even regrets that he can never again be what he once was. Compared to the profundity of feeling that he experiences now, his past relationship is like Mt. Fuji turned to a poppy-stem doll.⁷² Cases like this happen all the time, so when a prostitute of one of the three top ranks finds a partner who suits her, there will be no end to the number of letters sent back and forth, and she’ll be able to unload the burden of feast-day expenses on him for a long time, but sooner or later, the man who frequents her *will* end up losing all the money he had. It’s difficult to determine, when that happens,

what a prostitute’s conduct and feelings in connection to the matter really are. Why is this?”

The nun laughed aloud. “My goodness, if that isn’t a saucy question! The reason for that lies in the man’s mind and has nothing to do with any difference in the prostitute. In other words, it is not the case that the prostitute he meets first has no skill while the one he meets later does. Because a man’s heart, from the time he first starts frequenting the quarter, now becomes intimate with that one, then falls to frequenting this one, he’ll get better at telling lies, and his conversational skills will also improve day by day. The result of all this is that, compared to how he was with the first prostitute he met with, his way of talking to the next one, whom he meets soon after, his way of wooing her, will be immeasurably more tasteful and refined. Now, when a man talks sweet to her, a prostitute will treat him as his position on the scale of quarter expertise dictates. If he comes across as a connoisseur, the woman will, to give just one possibility, use the truthfulness technique, saying things that must never be spoken elsewhere and neglecting to mention matters that she really should. Once she’s gotten the man sufficiently captivated, the two of them will use up their entire respective bags of tricks on each other. When the man, though pretending to accept the woman’s words as truth even though he knows they’re falsehoods, begins to look peeved, the woman, aware of this, before long takes the few words he speaks as a pledge and, while he’s talking to her as if he can barely get the words out, she, though she hates it, will write a contract and exhaust her supply of fingernails and fingers. Then the two of them will up and bare their very souls to one another, and the lies from before will turn into supreme truths. When they’ve seeped into each other’s bones in this way, the way things are between them has nothing to do with the prostitute he used to meet having inferior techniques or with the new prostitute being better than the first one was. The man’s level of libertinism has gone up, nothing more and nothing less.

“And this is the reason why it’s so difficult, for a man, to make sense of a prostitute’s affections and conduct. Perhaps even the Master of the Three Realms, Shakyamuni the Great Roarer himself, or even the Great Minister Confucius, Sage of the Five Ways, would not be able to understand them. Still, if you’ve made up your mind to go have a look at the quarter without completely losing yourself in pleasure, it’s highly unlikely that you won’t see a sample of what a prostitute is truly

70 That is to say, even famous robbers like Kumasaka Chōhan 熊坂長範 and Ishikawa Gouemon 石川五右衛門 could not outdo a prostitute. This rather appears to be a case of mockery on the part of the narrator. [NK 122]

71 When a man, on a whim, falls to frequenting another prostitute and then breaks off relations with her. [NK 122]

72 *Keshiningyō* 芥子人形. Tiny dressed dolls. Used for the Doll Festival or as toys. Also called “bean dolls” (*mameningyō* 豆人形). *Kōjien*, 6th edition.

like on the inside. A man can be so rich he makes Suetsugu Heizō⁷³ look like small fry, but even a fortune like that has a limit. In the end, when he's become poorer than dirt, the way these things go, she's not likely to just up and send money to this lover of hers. Instead of that, wanting to meet and see your lover is the common style in love, and phrases like 'thinking tenderly of' and 'missing dearly' are the spoken stock-in-trade. So, even on feast days when she has no clients to go to, she pushes the misery of this aside and thinks back on the man she loves, hoping that future days will be kind to him, and this may be said to be the first principle of love. Even more strongly, when he drops in briefly to have a look at the quarter's wares, and never mind that she happens to be with another man, she'll go out to meet him without deliberating for a second. And when it's a day off for her and she's at her lodgings, she'll come out to him and they'll pass hours in each other's company. And even though it's hard for her to go back with the situation so pleasant, such is her resolve not to make her man suffer by not seeing him that it leads her to steel herself and bear the consequences, as well as her master's harsh words. Should this not be called deep love?

"It can also sometimes happen that, not caring about the women overseers' obstructiveness and eluding people's watchful eyes, a prostitute will meet with a downcast individual at the teahouse by the gate. Or else she will, in a low-ranking prostitute's single room, spread out the rush mat for bedding, not caring about the grime painting the wooden pillow and unable, when she lies down by his side, to even fully stretch her legs in such a cramped place. Is it not the height of pathos that, in exchange for the joy of their meeting, their relationship must remain a secret to all? Other than these signs of her affection, even were she to go so far as to cut off hair, fingers, and nails, all three, and never change

73 Suetsugu Heizō 末次平藏 was a Nagasaki official. In the fourth month of the fourth year of the Enpō era (1676), on a charge of smuggling, he was banished to Oki 隠岐 and his belongings confiscated. These were valued at over 8,700 *kanme* 貫目 in cash; 3,000 *ryō* in small gold coins, divided over thirty chests; ten pieces of yellow gold, placed inside ten boxes; over 10,000 *kanme* worth of loans, in silver; and, in addition, all his household effects were worth over 600,000 *ryō*. [NK 124] One *kanme* was equal to approximately 1,000 *mon* 文. Segawa-Seigle, *Yoshiwara*, p. xiii, notes that one *ryō* was equal to between 3,700 and 6,000 *mon*, fluctuating daily.

the color of her tattoo,⁷⁴ she would dress it up with lies should feast days even be mentioned, because she has no intention of causing suffering to her man, yet he'll still call her over, yes, and trick her over even on days like those, and *make* her take the money. But if she's determined to make him pay for her services to him, it cannot be called love."

Then I asked, "So she can't let the man she loves pay for her services even once?"

She answered, "No, that's not it. A prostitute with a lover of the kind I just described is generally no longer at the height of her glory. The reason for that is that she, being focused on that one man, has allowed the rest of her business to peter out, and as the ultimate consequence of this, good intimate clients will become a rarity for her indeed. Under these circumstances, though she won't be given, for appearance's sake, to talk about feast days, it's highly likely that there are things every now and then, like this one, that weigh more heavily on her than does cutting into herself. At such times, she'll candidly say to him, 'Under conditions like these, it won't do if I can't go out today.' As a man, he cannot back down in such a situation: he must take the expenses upon himself no matter what. Since it's so that she'll lay this burden even on the man she loves, how do you think she's likely to act with a man she does not love? If no man is willing to take the expenses of a feast day upon himself, never mind how oppressively heavy they are, she'll just sit there kneeling in a corner behind the lattice, passing the endless days in sadness. It would be foolish of her, given her pitiful state, to ask whether she would be able to make anyone purchase her services.

"Sometimes a man, in the course of conversation, will say to a woman, 'If you love me, give me a token.' When the woman answers, 'Please, wait a while for it, whatever it may turn out to be,' he'll say, 'Oh no, I am not waiting till later. In exchange for the token I'm going to get, I'll fix an appointment with you on a feast day. Be at your lodging and give me the proof I want.' Isn't it hilarious that he'd say such a thing? Truly, a clever act worthy of a connoisseur!"

I asked, "Speaking in general, do prostitutes know what love is, or don't they? Or is it perhaps that when a man's inclination is deep, so is hers, and that it is shallow when his is shallow? Does she follow him in this, in

74 Retain her feelings to the end. Tattooing was one way for a prostitute to display her feelings. [NK 124-25]

the same way that water runs downhill and fire catches on charred sticks?”

The nun smiled. “The answer to that is so obvious it barely needs stating. A prostitute being what she is, she’s not going to have the mindset of an old beggar woman singing songs door to door. Even while she’s swearing oaths of eternal, undying love, she bitterly wonders whether she’s finally found a ford she can cross.⁷⁵ Likewise, just because she’ll let herself get led around by the hand by somebody who beckons her while going, ‘Here, kitty, kitty,’ you shouldn’t think it means she doesn’t know what love is. Her adjusting her behavior according to the man’s desires is simply the way she handles meetings when she puts love aside and her job first. If I absolutely must say it, when a prostitute dislikes a man and her dislike shows through somehow, he will soon criticize the quality of her behavior and their relationship will in many cases deteriorate, but this is something that happens only when a man hasn’t gone completely stupid from womanizing. Even when such deterioration occurs, however, he will not offer reproaches to that prostitute, but end things with her in a way that is truly decent. Even afterward, concerning that prostitute’s qualities, he will not say to people, ‘she was like this’ or ‘she was like that,’ but all of this should only be chalked up to his level of breeding as a man, not to any innate qualities, given that the woman he meets with now too is sure to have only shallow feelings for him before long.

“As to all the topics that no amount of talking could exhaust, I will leave many words unsaid and follow in the footsteps of the author of *The Dog’s Pillow*,⁷⁶ touching on different themes as they occur to me. If you put the spoken and the unspoken together, they will reveal many things for you to see.

Joyful Things

◦ Exchanging words with a woman for whom you have an inclination but with whom, according to the

75 That is, whether she has found someone willing to marry her.

76 A piece of writing consisting of “lists of things,” in imitation of the *Makura no sōshi* 枕草紙 (*The Pillow Book*). Because it is similar, yet different, it has the word “dog” as a prefix. [NK 126] Original title: *Inumakura* 犬枕. One full annotated translation of this work may be found in Edward Putzar’s 1968 article “Inu Makura: The Dog Pillow.”

rules of the quarter, you should not speak. You let her know a little bit of how you feel about her, and even though you have doubts as to the sincerity of her response, the conversation is still far from unpleasant.

◦ When you’ve been sightseeing in the quarter and have decided to go home early without having had an encounter, you spot a prostitute with a face that says she’s been made a fool of today, coming out to meet a no-show client, and who is now looking to take a break, chin on hand. You have word sent to her that another man has come in her client’s place and that she’s to come to you. This is the kind of joy that appeals to a stingy man’s heart.

◦ Coming to your client full of enthusiasm right from the start, without knowing why.

◦ Or dumping him hard and thereby knocking him flat, never mind that he loses his temper and says you have no cause for doing such a thing.

◦ Breaking wind in front of an overly clingy woman.

◦ Seeing the morning-after letter.

◦ Letting a woman exercise her charms on you even though you know she’s not being sincere.

◦ Or better yet, having a prostitute meet you on the sly.

Sad Things

◦ Those clothes at dawn.⁷⁷

◦ The bells on the mountain peak resounding elsewhere, now that the woman you love has been suddenly bought off by another man.

◦ Having the letter you sent in secret stolen and your reputation besmirched.

◦ Standing up the prostitute you booked to go see another, and having people catch you in the meeting with the woman you’re crazy about.

◦ Having a get-together fall to pieces, but, well, that goes without saying.

◦ Being without money on an accounting day is an absolute low point of sadness, but being ringed around with obligations, be it on a feast day or on the day of the new year, and receiving one bill after another, that is sadder still.

◦ When she reveals, during your pillow talk, that she is of humble origin, and you get to hear the story

77 The parting on the morning after a meeting. [NK 126]

of her life as a poor man's child, the tears will end up drowning you.

Long Things

- While it's normal for a five-foot-eight-incher to take a one-foot-eight-incher along, things get really lengthy when you take along a newly inducted prostitute on top of that.⁷⁸

- A letter which you aim to write with a particular flavor.

- A two-man pillow.

- The second round with a debauched man. The streak of lecherousness in any man who buys prostitutes' services.

Short Things

- The pubic hair on a prostitute.

- A weak man's state of agitation. Saying thank you to someone at the gate is very annoying.

- Summer nights, as everyone knows. It's said in poetry that autumn nights are long, but no sooner have you finally been able to get into your bed and lie down, than dawn will already be showing in the eastern clouds.

- The bill from the house of assignation, due on the fifteenth. It *ought* to be short, thanks to your clients.

Deep Things

- A relationship gotten into by using tricks.

- And speaking of the depth of relationships out of tricks, I remember a case where the man was the owner of a house of assignation,⁷⁹ I forget his name. I think I heard something, vaguely, about the prostitute's

being someone who made her living by rowing a one-man boat around in Naniwa Bay, on waves that never brought her to harbor. Once the two of them had gotten close, they would, I don't know how many times a day, send an endless stream of letters back and forth as gifts to each other, but as far as can be ascertained today,⁸⁰ there may as well never have been a single one, not from the woman and not from the man. Their way of handling things truly shows great expertise, and the way they planned for every possible contingency is fit to stir up cries of admiration. The work of Kashiwagi no Emon's brush, which he himself had hinted at, was discovered by Hikaru Genji under Princess Nyosan's cushion rug, as a consequence of her naivete.⁸¹ The man I'm talking about now must have been aware of the way things played out then, and so knew to avoid the same mistake. And the woman, too, because she loved her man so much, never breathed a word to anyone for the longest time. The color of the ink in her tattoo stood guard over her purity, and the cutting of her hair fixed her faithfulness forever. This affair can be quoted as a shining example of what it means for something to be deep.

- From the moment you're caught in it, one pitfall on this way of love that, try as you may, you cannot climb out of, is the licensed quarter.

Shallow Things

- A prostitute who sells her services for no other reason than because it's her job.

- Be it in a letter or during conversation, scattering solemn vows around everywhere in writing or in spoken words. A woman who does this may think she's just trying to sell her merchandise, but it makes her feelings look shallow. There are believed to have been examples of this at any point in time you care to name, and they are deeply shallow indeed.

78 When a *tayū* goes out accompanied by a *kakoi*. This was called "tugboating" (*hikifune* 引船). A *tayū*'s fee was fifty-eight *monme*, that of a *kakoi* was eighteen, hence why they were called so. [NK 127]

79 The man was Shichizaemon 七左衛門 of the Maruya 丸屋, a Shimabara house of assignation. The woman was the *tenjin* Ofune 御船, in the employ of Miyajima Kanzaburō 宮島甚三郎, of Shimabara's Tayūmachi 太夫町. After the events described here, she changed quarters to Ōsaka's Shinmachi 新町 and became a *tayū*. [NK 127]

80 The details of the case are unclear, but it may be that, even though the pair had planned a love suicide, only Shichizaemon ended up dying. [NK 127]

81 Intendant Kashiwagi no Emon 柏木の衛門 sent a letter to Hikaru Genji's 光源氏 wife Princess Nyosan 女三の宮 and was able to hide in the princess's bedroom, guided there by a lady-in-waiting. The morning-after letter ends up in Genji's hands. When the princess becomes pregnant, Kashiwagi, pained by the sin he has committed vis-à-vis Genji, dies of illness. (*The Tale of Genji*, Wakana, Part Two, and Kashiwagi) [NK 128]

◦ The heart of a woman who asks for favors even from a man who is not her intimate friend. And yet, mind you, such behavior is very unlikely to be called out as shallow, and this is due to keen insight on her part.

◦ In general, the heart of a man who spends money at random.

Pitiful Things

◦ A little servant girl's wanting to sleep after she's been worked too hard.

◦ The time, unexpected, when you find out about a lover's crafty behavior toward you when you're already harboring doubts about the reality of their affections.

◦ Listening in on a prostitute as she notes down all her expenses on a slip of thick paper and talks to herself about the troubles she suffers under, because she cannot speak of them to her man, no matter how heavily the cost of having to pay her own fees weighs on her. It's not just pitiful; you feel the pathos and the misery of it too.

◦ When a big man booms that he's decided to buy a newly minted little prostitute's first time. It's pitiful for her even before he gets in the bed.

◦ Times when a woman is forced not to care about chancre or gonorrhoea.

◦ When a client forces a prostitute to perform oral sex on him. It is so excessively horrible that I cannot even put it into words.

◦ When a client makes you do the deed with the application of lubricant. When he makes you do it after having inserted things like dried sea cucumbers or kumquats into the anus or, in the same way, between the balls. This is the kind of thing that you have no choice but to make a part of your array of techniques.

Hateful Things

◦ Spending a long time together with a man who is a raging know-it-all. A man with an endless capacity for mindless yakking.

◦ A client who, on the day he's made an appointment with you, goes away late, comes back drunk on wine he got at another house, and then still thinks he's been a stellar lover, is hateful in the extreme.

◦ A man of whom you hear that he has used wiles on the woman he meets. This is hateful even if you only hear about it after the fact.

◦ A woman who opens a man's purse while he sleeps. It's not likely that there are such thieves among prostitutes, but if there are, they are certainly hateful.

◦ A letter sent by a prostitute in which she talks about feast days without appearing to be someone who has any affection for the man who is going to receive the letter. The sudden abundance of loving words is painful to behold, and even though amusing, it is also hateful.

◦ When a man uses tricks in order to meet with the woman he loves no matter what but a woman overseer gets in the way, the degree to which he wants to get rid of her even if it means cutting her down.

◦ When you think about it, the heart of any prostitute is hateful.

◦ For a woman to pretend to be having an orgasm when she really isn't, for her to breathe roughly through her nose and even go so far as to toss and twist around, that is hateful, all the more so if she starts crying fake tears into the bargain.

Fun Things

◦ Dancing, obviously.⁸²

◦ *Nagibushi*,⁸³ whenever you hear it.

◦ Watching off to the side when you've made a weak man and a stupid prostitute fight.

◦ The way an aging woman acts all lovey-dovey when she's lying in bed with a man who's only just begun frequenting her. When you hear snatches of her love talk, you'll be fit to die laughing.

◦ The inside of a mutually loving couple's bedroom.

◦ Anytime you're able to peel away a woman's lies layer by layer through the art of sneakily worming the truth out of her. This may be a mean thing to do, but it's fun to watch her pile lie upon lie and try to string a believable set of words together.

◦ In general, from the moment you enter the Great Gate to the quarter, there is not a single thing that isn't fun.

82 The *bon'odori* 盆踊 dance. It was danced on a stage in the licensed quarters, upon which actors and attendants to wealthy customers could also join in, with famous balladeers singing to direct the dance. [NK 129]

83 Alternative name of *nagebushi* 投節, a famous product of the Shimabara. The name *nagibushi* 椰節 refers to the song itself, *nagebushi* to the way it is sung. [NK 129]

Melancholy Things

- The scene containing the dialogue with Kodayū in Arashi San'ueemon's⁸⁴ play on prostitutes' wiles.
- There are all kinds of things that simply overflow with melancholy, but because these looked old-fashioned already in *The Dog's Pillow*, I'll leave off talking about them here.

Sensible Things

- Someone who never goes to the quarter even once. Nothing could possibly be more sensible than this.
- Even though it should be the case that a prostitute has no sense while her client does, the prostitute will gain sense provided nothing bad happens to her. The man who sees his money spent is not sensible for this very reason.

Foolish Things

- Since I'm ashamed of myself when it comes to these, I won't talk about them.

Lively Things

- The door to the Ōsakaya.⁸⁵
- Talking about the feast days is old hat at this point. Shichizaemon's and Kiuemon's shops,⁸⁶ anytime you look at them. In general, when something is expensive, it'll be lively.⁸⁷
- Gansai's jokes.⁸⁸ Recently, he's started making use of an actor for them or somesuch, so of course those jokes are lively.

Lonely Things

- In poetry, autumn nights are described like this, but in that village, on the two season-ending days and just before feast days, there is no trace of color left. The mountains covered in black pines are visible, and it's so melancholy and lonely that you don't even need a heart in order to feel as if the flow of water, in the swamps where the snipes stand, has dried up at last. Truly, it is so miserable that only the phrase 'Flowers and red leaves are all gone' is sufficient to describe it.

With this judgment on loneliness, the reminiscences that have occupied our shared evening and dawn at the hermitage have been exchanged for the sound of the bell, which breaks up the dream and always leaves us the day like this." As she spoke, the shelf-like clouds grew still longer in their whiteness and we were startled by the voices of a flock of crows. I discarded the memory of the night and headed home. Seeking the traces of the smoke from "kindling" and the grime from

84 The famous Arashi San'ueemon 嵐三右衛門, first of his line, founder of the *roppō* 六方 style. In the winter of the third year of the Enpō era (1675), he became the proprietor of the Miyakomandayū 都万太夫 Theater, on the south side of Kyoto's Fourth Ward. Kodayū was the theater's young-woman actor Itō Kodayū 伊藤子太夫. As for the "play on prostitutes' wiles," San'ueemon's *kyōgen* 狂言 play "A Prostitute's Contract Bought Out," a *kyōgen* on the topic of prostitute buying, staged in the spring of the eighth year of the Enpō era (1680) and starring San'ueemon as Genpei 源兵衛 of the Oguraya 小倉屋 and Kodayū as the *tayū* Yoshino, was a famous one, but it is not clear what the title and the year of staging were of the play referred to here. [NK 130] *Roppō*, in kabuki, is a swaggering performance style whereby an actor would move along the walkway to the stage while swinging his hands around and lifting his feet up high (*Kōjien*, 6th edition). *Kyōgen* is a kind of spoken drama that refines the comedic elements of *sarugaku* 猿楽, an older type of play, built around humorous impersonations and verbal art.

85 Tarōbei 太郎兵衛 of the Ōsakaya 大阪屋, a brothel on Shimabara's Shimo-no-chō 下之町. It was very successful, with an endless stream of customers making merry at its lattice. [NK 130]

86 These are probably the brothels run by Shichizaemon 七左衛門 of the Hishiya 菱屋 (east side of Chūdōjichō, Shimabara) and by Kizaemon 喜左衛門 of the Hachimonjiya 八文字屋 (west side of same). Both of these only had *hashijorō* in their employ, but when hard times set in, they may have prospered all the more. [NK 130-31]

87 It appears the nun is here generalizing from the case of the two brothels she mentions, to say that their very expensiveness makes them attractive because it signifies high quality of "wares."

88 Gansai no Yashichi 願西の弥七, one of the "Four Heavenly Kings" (*shitennō* 四天王) of the capital's *massha* 末社 [also called *taikomochi* 太鼓持, men who made a living by acting as professional companions to keep the wealthy amused on their pleasure trips (Segawa-Seigle, *Yoshiwara*, pp. 117-19)]. Together with the actor Kinai, he was a skilled hand at ballads and would sing to lead the *bon'odori* at the licensed quarter. [NK 131]

“charred sticks,” before I could forget the words I’d said and heard I wrote them down, an insignificant trifle, in “dead ashes” drawn from the smoke and the grime. This is the recording of a lifetime’s worth of folly, and my final play. If those who see it think of it as a memento of me once I have gone to hiding in the grass, may they not despise me for it.

- *Dead Ashes*, end

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▪ Abbreviations Used

- NKBZ *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集. 51 vols. Shōgakukan, 1970–1976.
 NST *Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想体系. 67 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1970–1982.
 SNKT *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 新日本古典文学体系. 106 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1989–2005.
 SNKZ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集. 88 vols. Shōgakukan, 1994–2001.

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Seoul's Namsan Area as Assimilatory Space (1892-1945): Rituals and Ceremonies, the Self and the Other

JULJAN BIONTINO

Introduction

SEOUL, formerly known as Hanyang and Hansŏng, was the capital of the Chosŏn dynasty from 1392. Renamed Keijō by its colonizer, Japan, it was the administrative center of Korea under Japanese rule. Namsan 南山 (Southern Mountain), situated south of the main palace of Kyŏngbok-gung 景福宮, is deeply embedded in the city's history and is now a major tourist attraction in Seoul. From the dawn of the Chosŏn period, it served as a place of ritual and was perceived as protector over the city. It was believed its guardian spirit was residing there, which is why Namsan was protected from deforestation by royal edict. The mountain kept its lush greenery even in times when all the mountains in and around Seoul served as gravesites.¹

The Korean Empire was proclaimed by King Kojong 高宗 (1852-1919; r. 1864-1907) in 1897. To legitimate his rule and to instill patriotism in Koreans, Kojong revived a series of rituals to heaven and had a new ritual site, Changch'ungdan 獎忠壇, built on Namsan's eastern foot. Rituals comforting those who had died for the country were held there twice a year. This re-

invention of Namsan continued under Japanese rule; Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples were built, overriding Korean functions attributed to the mountain. Namsan then became a space of Japanese rituals and customs and played a decisive role in the assimilation of Koreans into the cause of the Japanese Empire. This article outlines the changes on Namsan, reviewing the construction of these Japanese institutions, and considers the rituals and ceremonies held at these institutions to delineate the imagery of the self and the other as it was created on Namsan and in turn disseminated throughout the colony. It argues that the policy of turning Koreans into Japanese subjects (*kōminka seisaku* 皇民化政策) was developed on the mountain, and was less of a new stage in assimilation policy and more an extension of what was devised on Namsan.

There is much research on the changes on Namsan and the workings of Shinto in Korea. However, most research focuses either on Shinto policy in all of Korea or on individual facilities, not considering ritual life in detail.² This article attempts to understand the whole

1 Bird Bishop, *Korea & Her Neighbours*, p. 31; Naigai Jijōsha, *Keijō no omokage*, p. 223.

2 The historian Todd Henry examines two shrines on Namsan, looking at how Seoul changed during the colonial period. In the resulting monograph, *Assimilating Seoul*, however, the content on Namsan was heavily condensed. In Japan, from the perspective of architectural history, Aoi Akihito has pointed out

Namsan area as one coherent assimilatory space in which “being Korean” was slowly overwritten with images of Japan and its historical memory, becoming a site to educate and celebrate *tennō* 天皇 (emperor) ideology.

The Development of Namsan as an Assimilatory Space (1892-1945)

Foreigners were allowed to settle in Seoul from 1882.³ The area situated at the northern foot of Namsan was called Waeseongdae 倭城臺 (Japanese Fortress)⁴ because it had been used by Japanese troops during Hideyoshi’s invasions of Korea between 1592 and 1598. Now it became the main Japanese settlement. From 1892, initial plans to build a Shinto shrine were conceived by elite members of the settler community. Their main motivation was the creation of a space to pray for and to commemorate thirty-eight Japanese victims of political turmoil, such as the Imo soldier mutiny of 1882 and the attempted coup d’état of Kapsin in 1884.⁵ Costs were covered by donations from the settler community, while the wealthier elite members paid for the land.⁶

With the support of the Japanese legation, Yamaguchi Tahei 山口太兵衛 (1866–1934), as settler representative, approached Ise Shrine to obtain an object of worship (*shintai* 神体). Considering the diverse origins of the Japanese settlers, it was impossible to find an appropriate ancestral deity (*ujigami* 氏神) for worship befitting all. Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大神, as major deity and progenitor of the Japanese imperial line, was perceived as a viable compromise.⁷ Worship of Amaterasu, when Shinto was developed into State Shinto,

reaffirmed the notion of being Japanese among the Japanese settlers in Korea. However, when planning the first shrine on Namsan, settlers cared more about commemoration and prayers for relief from sickness, especially cholera; their motivations were religious rather than nationalistic.⁸

Shrines connected to Ise Jingū were traditionally known as *daijingū* 大神宮 (Great Shrine). As the Japanese authorities were yet to implement any form of regulation, the settlers decided to name the shrine Namsan Daijingū 南山大神宮 (Great Shrine of Namsan) upon its completion in 1898.⁹ By now, nationalist motives became more salient as Amaterasu was enshrined to commemorate and celebrate the birthday of Emperor Meiji 明治天皇 (1852–1912).¹⁰ For the upkeep of the shrine, the settler community formed an *ujiko* 氏子 (shrine parishoner) organization, which further strengthened the sense of community among the settlers and also became the framework for the reaffirmation of their identity as Japanese nationals.¹¹ After the shrine learned about plans made by the state to build a state-run shrine in Seoul, it renamed itself Keijō Jinja 京城神社 in a bid to show that the city already had a thriving shrine. An announcement that this shrine was now considering itself the *ujigami* of all of Seoul followed. The *ujiko* organization fully took over the shrine administration from the settler organization, the latter having to dissolve since the city had become part of the Japanese empire in 1910 and was turned into a city prefecture in 1916; settlers were now just citizens.¹²

The Japanese plan to build a state-run shrine in Korea, tentatively named Chōsen Jinja 朝鮮神社, started shortly after annexation.¹³ The death of Emperor Meiji in 1912 and the construction of Meiji Jingū 明治神宮 in Tokyo marked the beginning of his wor-

that Namsan during the colonial period turned into a ‘realm of the gods.’ There are many works on State Shinto and its colonial setting by Japanese researchers, and in particular Aono Masaaki and Yamaguchi Kōichi are most productive in the field. In Korea, the works of An Chong-ch’ŏl, Kim Tae-ho, and Mun Hye-jin are of central concern. However, most of these works do not regard Namsan as one ritual space but are only concerned with singular shrines, and then only several aspects of them. Other works focus on Japanese Shintoist arguments about shrines in colonial Korea, failing to see how colonial reality and ritual life was experienced by Koreans.

3 Contracts regarding this are listed in Ch’oe, *Choyak ūro pon Han’guk kundaesa*.

4 *Wae* 倭 is a derogatory term referring to the Japanese.

5 *Maeil sinbo* 毎日申報, 1916.4.26.

6 Keijō Kyoryū Mindan, *Keijō hattatsu-shi*, pp. 176–77.

7 Iwashita, *Tairiku jinja taikan*, pp. 319–20.

8 Ogasawara, *Zaiman Chōsen dōhō no genjō*, pp. 11–13.

9 Daijingū denotes a shrine for Amaterasu Ōmikami, Jingū denotes a shrine that is related to the imperial family, and Jinja denotes regular shrines.

10 Abe, *Tairiku no Keijō*, pp. 196–97.

11 Keijō Kyoryū Mindan, *Keijō hattatsu-shi*, p. 96; Kim Tae-ho, “1910 nyōndae~1930 nyōndae,” pp. 81–85.

12 “Chōsen Jinja o sōritsu shi shakaku o kanpeitaisha ni resseraru” 朝鮮神社ヲ創立シ社格を官幣大社に列せらる. JACAR (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records), Database, National Archives of Japan, ref. no. A01200173500. <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?KEYWORD=&LANG=default&BID=F0000000000000006494&ID=M000000000001753395&TYP E=&NO=>.

13 Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen jingū zōeishi*, pp. 1–3.

ship as a Shinto deity (*kami* 神), which brought up the question of whether and how to worship him in Korea.¹⁴ The first result of the Governor-General's (*sōtoku* 総督) efforts to bring order to Shinto in Korea and to lay the groundwork for state-run shrines in the colony was the announcement of Jinja Jiin Kisoku 神社寺院規則 (Regulations for Shrines and Temples) in 1915.¹⁵ Shrine Shinto was now defined as state ritual (*kokka no sōshi* 国家の宗祀), which was valid in the motherland as well as the colonies.¹⁶

Namsan was to house the new state-governed shrine, almost neighboring Keijō Jinja. However, the discussion about what *kami* were to be revered dragged on for years.¹⁷ Without any considerable progress in the project, the March First Movement of 1919¹⁸ halted the planning. In its aftermath, Governor-General Hasegawa Yoshimichi 長谷川義道 (1850–1924) decided in unison with Prime Minister Hara Takashi 原敬 (1856–1921) that Amaterasu and Emperor Meiji were to be revered because of their authority as *kami* (*shin'i* 神威). It was argued that no *kami* could represent Japanese rule over Korea better than Emperor Meiji, for it was under his rule and thanks to his benevolence that Korea became part of the Japanese Empire. Amaterasu, as the highest *kami* in the State Shinto pantheon, was a sign of eternal rule over Korea, and thus could serve as a clear sign to the Korean populace that the Japanese and Shinto had come to stay, despite resistance: Chōsen Jinja should be a facility to “protect the whole of Korea” (*Chōsen no sōchinshu* 朝鮮の総鎮守).¹⁹ Only in June 1925, shortly before the shrine was completed and inaugurated in October of the same year, was the name Chōsen Jingū finally decided, implying its imperial rank as the highest shrine of the peninsula.²⁰

During the planning and building stages of the new shrine, newspaper speculation hardened fears

that Keijō Jinja might become obsolete in the future.²¹ When Chōsen Jingū was inaugurated in 1925, Keijō Jinja already had a twenty-eight-year history. Trusting in its position, Keijō Jinja decided to rebuild and expand to stay relevant, trying to represent everything that Chōsen Jingū could not.²² Chōsen Jingū, as a state-run shrine at the rank of *kanpei taisha* 官幣大社 (an imperial shrine of the first rank), could neither have satellite shrines (*sessha* 摂社), nor could it have a designated *ujiko* and the structural organization that came with it. Shrine parades were also not endorsed by State Shinto, so Keijō Jinja steadfastly kept up this tradition and hosted a shrine parade through the city every year. Chōsen Jingū was not supposed to hold family ceremonies such as weddings, another task that Keijō Jinja readily submitted to.²³

This way, Keijō Jinja attempted to cater to family matters and personal needs, while Chōsen Jingū was focused on the authority that it was given by the state, systematically ordering pupils and teachers, companies, politicians, and finally individuals of both Korean and Japanese descent to come to the shrine.²⁴ While the style of assimilation followed a secular way at Chōsen Jingū, Keijō Jinja pursued a “religious” way, ignoring questions and doubts concerning the character and requirements of State Shinto. In taking up the propaganda of the Governor-General, Keijō Jinja even argued that, “since annexation, excluding the Korean populace from Shinto” was “doing fraud to the ‘assimilation of Japan and Korea’ (*naisen dōka* 内鮮同化).”²⁵ The final consequence of Keijō Jinja’s policy was the enshrinement of a “Korean *kami*” in 1929. In 1936, Keijō Jinja was finally recognized by the state as a national shrine of minor

14 Ibid., pp. 3–7.

15 Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen sōtokufu kanpō*, no. 916, 1915.8.20.

16 Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, pp. 451–56.

17 Aoi, “Shinto Shrines and Urban Reconstruction of Seoul,” pp. 41–42.

18 The March First Movement was a Korean independence movement planned after the death of Korean King Kojong. Although the leaders of the movement planned to not agitate the masses, the declaration was read out publicly by students. Ensuing demonstrations spread all over Korea before the Japanese military regained control over the situation.

19 Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen jingū zōeishi*, pp. 4–11.

20 Chōsen Shinshokukai, *Chōsen jinja hōrei shūran*, pp. 56–57; *Keijō nippō* 京城日報, 1920.5.27.

21 *Keijō nippō*, 1916.4.6, 1916.7.9, 1916.9.7, 1916.9.16.

22 Keijōfu, *Keijōfu-shi*, p. 176.

23 The head priest contested this. Shinto-style weddings (*shinzen kekkon* 神前結婚) had become *en vogue* in the colony and they were an important source of income for the shrines. At Chōsen Jingū, 1,883 weddings were held between 1925 and 1947; only forty-seven cases were marriages between Koreans only, and most common were Japanese marriages followed by mixed marriages. There are no complete statistics available for Keijō Jinja, but newspapers pointed out that even couples who lived far from Seoul came to tie the knot during the cherry blossom season. Keijō Jinja tried to retain its position as the favorite spot for weddings by securing an atmosphere that was more in accordance with Japanese aesthetic norms than would have been possible at the immense Chōsen Jingū. See *Keijō nippō*, 1917.7.16, 1923.5.15, 1925.5.4, 1926.3.30, 1926.5.4, 1932.9.23.

24 Hiura, *Jinja, gakkō, shokuminchi*.

25 Keijōfu, *Keijōfu-shi*, p. 179.

grade (*kokuhei shōsha* 国幣小社), securing its position and resolving the anxiety of Keijō Jinja's staff and parishioners about neighboring Chōsen Jingū.²⁶

In the meantime, Keijō Jinja had followed its own concept of assimilation and extension by building several satellite shrines on its premises. The tradition of establishing *sessha* dated back to when Keijō Jinja was known as Namsan Daijingū, when in 1902 a Tenmangū 天満宮 in honor of Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903), the *kami* of scholarship and learning, was established according to the wishes of Japanese settlers to pray for the education and prosperity of their offspring.²⁷ Next to several interest groups, it was mainly the *ujiko* organization that brought together the necessary money to extend the shrine premises by vigorously collecting money throughout the city.²⁸ In addition, after 1925, Hachimangū 八幡宮, Inari Jinja 稻荷神社, and Nogi Jinja 乃木神社 were built on Namsan. Erected at the end of 1929, Hachimangū's object of worship originated from the Hachiman Shrine of Usa. Representing Kyoto's Fushimi Inari Taisha 伏見稻荷大社, Inari Jinja was initially built around 1910 in the Yongsan 龍山 area, but was then moved to Namsan in 1929 and was inaugurated only half a year after Hachimangū.²⁹ Next to such "higher" deities, a modern military deity (*gunshin* 軍神) came to Namsan: Nogi Jinja, in honor of General Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典 (1849–1912), was inaugurated on 13 September 1934 to commemorate the twenty-second anniversary of his death. He was enshrined together with his wife and honored as the epitome of loyalty to the emperor, given the fact that he and his wife committed suicide according to the old tradition of following one's lord into death (*junshi* 殉死). The initiative to build the shrine was carried out by the local branch of the same society that was responsible for Nogi Shrine in Tokyo. It was built only as a satellite shrine due to cost and time constraints but was perceived to represent Tokyo's Nogi Shrine in the colony.³⁰

The last stage of Namsan's transformation began in 1940 when the Governor-General decided to build

a Gokoku Jinja 護国神社 (literally, "shrine to protect the country") at the southwestern foot, facing the direction of the Yongsan area, which was home to a Japanese military base. Although the shrine started to be built in October 1940, due to the scarcity of materials because of the war, the main pillars could only be erected in the summer of 1943. As a "shrine to protect the country," it was a regional representative of Yasukuni Jinja 靖国神社 that enabled worship of the war dead as "heroic souls" and part of the Gokoku Jinja network all over Japan. Until then, this had only been possible by adhering to so-called *yōhaishiki* 遥拜式, the remote commemoration of events at Yasukuni.³¹

These Shinto shrines were complemented by Buddhist facilities located on the southern and eastern foot of Namsan. In 1932, a temple named Hakubunji 博文寺 (Kr. Pakmunsa) was built to commemorate Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909).³² It is no coincidence that this memorial temple was built on the ruins of Changch'ungdan, the altar where Koreans once commemorated their fallen compatriots and their queen.³³ In 1936, Wakagusa Kannondō 若草観音堂, a temple in honor of Saitō Makoto 齋藤実 (1858–1935), who had served as Governor-General in Korea for two terms, was built at the southern foot of Namsan. Originally designed only to house a small Kannon statue that Saitō had given as a gift to the Korean people, the temple was rebranded in the memory of Saitō after he had been killed in the wake of the 26 February 1936 incident, an attempted coup d'état by young military officers in Tokyo. A strand of his hair was brought from Tokyo to be kept with the statue as an object of worship.³⁴

31 An, "1930–40 nyōndae," p. 56. See also "Keijōfu shozai rikugun shokan zaisan kanrikan no ken" 京城府所在陸軍所管財産管理換の件. JACAR, ref. no. C01002325600. <https://www.jacar.archives.go.jp/meta/listPhoto?LANG=default&BID=F2006090103370984264&ID=M2006090103372184415&REFCO DE=C01002325600>. On the history of Yasukuni Jinja, see Ōe, *Yasukuni jinja*. For current issues, see Breen, *Yasukuni*; *Maeil sinbo*, 1940.10.27, 1941.6.18, 1943.7.16, 1943.7.22; *Keijō nippō*, 1943.6.22.

32 Itō was a leading figure in the Meiji Restoration and was vital in creating the Japanese Constitution. As first prime minister of Japan, he became general-resident in Korea after it became a protectorate in 1905. In 1909, travelling in Manchuria, Itō was shot by Korean independence fighter An Chūng-gun.

33 The queen, palace guards, and soldiers were commemorated together. After the Japanese victory in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), a group of Japanese assassins invaded the royal palace in the early morning of 8 October 1895, and murdered the queen, who had spoken out politically for stronger cooperation with Russia. See Kim Mun-ja, *Chōsen ōhi satsugai to Nihonjin*.

34 Nakamura, *Saitō shishaku o shinobu*, pp. 10–13; *Keijō nippō*, 1936.4.11.

26 Henry, "Keijo," pp. 374–75.

27 Ibid.

28 Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, pp. 451–56; Aoi, "Shinto Shrines and Urban Reconstruction of Seoul," pp. 56–57; *Keijō nippō*, 1926.5.18, 1930.10.16.

29 Iwashita, *Tairiku jinja taikan*, p. 322.

30 Chōsen Nogi Jinja Kensetsukai, *Chōsen Nogi jinja ken'eishū*, pp. 69–70; *Keijō nippō*, 1932.9.1; *Maeil sinbo*, 1934.4.14.

Rituals, Ceremonies, and Other Events on Namsan

Next to the usual rituals on the Shinto calendar, the yearly service of commemorating the dead (*shōkonsai* 招魂祭) was a central part of Keijō Jinja's identity, dating back to its origins as Namsan Daijingū. Held on 4 December, the anniversary of the day when pro-Japanese Koreans had attempted the so-called Kapsin coup d'état in 1884,³⁵ the *shōkonsai* started in 1885 with the participation of around eighty settlers. First held in a Buddhist temple downtown, it was brought to the platform at the northern foot of Namsan due to lack of space. Later, Namsan Daijingū was built there and thus took over the ceremony.³⁶ The ritual itself was held with elements from both Shinto and Buddhism. Keijō Jinja presided over the *shōkonsai* until the end of the colonial period. Most years, the Governor-General led the official delegation to which the Chief of Police (*keimu sōkan* 警務總監) and Chief of Troops (*gunshi reikan* 軍司令官) also belonged. When wartime commenced, division leaders and representatives of patriotic clubs additionally joined the ritual, which is why it was consequently moved to the military base in Yongsan, where from 1938 a military graveyard had been established. Thus, over the years, this ritual was extended from Japanese settlers to all over Keijō, and Koreans also took part.³⁷

During the building of Chosen Jingū, the usual rituals common to all newly built shrines were observed. Even though closed to the public, such rituals were announced as bringing "Japanese ways to the new territory."³⁸ On 10 October 1925, the *torii* 鳥居 gate was put up, and propagation of the shrine as "protector of all of Korea" (*Chōsen no sōchinshu*) commenced.³⁹ The artifacts representing the deities arrived at the newly built

Keijō main station only three days after the *torii* was set up, which marked the beginning of public events.⁴⁰ The inauguration itself took place on the morning of 15 October, when six priests presided over the ceremony among approximately three thousand five hundred onlookers. Among them were the Governor-General, members of foreign embassies, and a member of the Korean royal household, next to Japanese officials and Korean provincial governors. Additionally, twenty thousand schoolchildren from Keijō had been mobilized as flagbearers. This event was also a test for the newly built infrastructure. At the foot of the staircase, numerous rickshaws were causing traffic congestion, waiting times were reportedly very long, and the shrine grounds, with ten hectares, were hardly enough to accommodate all visitors.⁴¹ Already at full capacity on its first day, this space would remain the main gathering space on Namsan until the end of the war.

In his ceremonial speech, Saitō emphasized that reverence at the shrine was a sign of indebtedness to the ancestors and the Japanese Empire. He emphasized the importance of the selected *kami* deities, calling for frequent visitors.⁴² At the same time, the burning questions of the Christian populace about the religious character of shrine visits were ignored. Korean sentiments were not heeded at all, even though Shinto scholars had continuously voiced their criticism of the shrine, stating that as protector over all of Korea, the shrine should feature Korean characteristics as well.⁴³ This enshrinement ceremony was followed by the first annual Chōsen Jingū sports competition. The event was held in the sports stadium in town, but athletes had to pay their respects at the shrine in related events. For onlookers, sports competitions offered entertainment and were therefore a good way of making those uninterested in the shrine, especially Koreans, come into

35 Radical Korean reformers, who were impressed and supported by Japan, tried to establish a pro-Japanese government. After a shooting at a banquet to commemorate the inauguration of the new postal service, the palace was seized. However, the coup was ended by the huge presence of Chinese troops in the country.

36 Keijō Kyoryū Mindan, *Keijō hattatsu-shi*, pp. 454-57.

37 Newspaper articles that mention these festivities are: *Keijō nippō*, 1929.5.1, 1936.5.1, 1938.5.1, 1940.5.1, 1943.5.1, 1944.5.1; *Tong'a ilbo* 東亞日報, 1932.5.1, 1933.4.30, 1934.5.1, 1939.5.1; *Maeil sinbo*, 1912.4.24, 1912.5.23, 1913.5.1, 1917.4.26, 1918.8.25, 1919.8.19, 1934.5.1, 1937.4.23, 1937.5.1, 1939.5.1.

38 Watanabe, "Chōsen jingū no gozōei ni tsuite."

39 *Keijō nippō*, 1925.10.10.

40 Yokota, *Chōsen jingūki*, pp. 46-47. The year 1925 marked the fifteenth anniversary of Japanese rule in Korea. From New Year's Day, newspapers announced the successful realization of the Governor-General's plan to complete central modern facilities during the year, including City Hall, the Governor-General's building, and Keijō Imperial University. The 1925 October issue of the government-run *Chōsen* 朝鮮 magazine exemplifies the pride in the achievements of the year with a series of photographs. Henry, "Keijō," pp. 51, 229, 310; *Keijō nippō*, 1925.1.1, 1925.10.14, 1925.10.15; *Chosŏn sinmun* 朝鮮新聞, 1912.5.24.

41 *Keijō nippō*, 1925.10.15-17; Yokota, *Chōsen jingūki*, pp. 48-49.

42 Yokota, *Chōsen jingūki*, pp. 14-16.

43 Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, p. 119.

contact with it.⁴⁴ The main annual shrine festival was set for 17 October. Framed by *kagura* 神楽 dance and musical performances to honor and entertain the deities, the one-hour ceremony took place with the same members as two days prior. At the same time, the annual autumn festival (*akimatsuri* 秋祭) of neighboring Keijō Jinja started, with both shrines profiting from the increase in visitors.⁴⁵ As the daily *Keijō nippō* 京城日報 emphasized, Namsan had never received more attention than on that weekend.

Next to the individual annual shrine festivals (*reisai* 例祭), recurring annual rites were observed at both Keijō Jinja and Chōsen Jingū. Shinto rituals are traditionally divided into three classes according to their extent and length, namely large-scale (*taisai* 大祭), medium-scale (*chūsai* 中祭), and small-scale ceremonies (*shōsai* 小祭).⁴⁶ Rituals usually followed a sequence: purification of the participants, opening the doors of the main hall (*shinden* 神殿), invoking the *kami* (*shinkōshiki* 神降式), offering food to the *kami* (*shinsen* 神饌), clearing it away, other offerings or displays of dance (*kagura*) and music, followed by prayer (*norito* 祝詞) and another ritual purification (*shūbatsu* 修祓). Then, in sending away the deities, common meals (*na-orai* 直会) for priests and invited ceremonial participants took place.⁴⁷

Amaterasu worship commanded the annual festival (*reisai*) to be held on 17 October, the date when Ise Jingū celebrated its shrine festival. Next to the *reisai*, the *kinensai* 祈年祭 and the *niinamesai* 新嘗祭 framed the annual ritual calendar of both shrines. While the *kinensai* is a ritual for a good harvest, the latter is a form of Thanksgiving and an ancestor ritual for Amaterasu, with the Japanese emperor ritually tasting the newly harvested rice.⁴⁸ While Chōsen Jingū, as the “higher” institution, with direct connection to Keijō main station, aspired to have worshipers first come there, then have them continue on to Keijō Jinja on small con-

necting paths, Keijō Jinja actually benefited from being closer to the main Japanese settlement. Chōsen Jingū had a foreboding atmosphere, but Keijō Jinja advertised itself as a lively and exciting place. Their distinct atmospheres made visits to both sites a worthwhile experience.⁴⁹

The image of liveliness attributed to Keijō Jinja stemmed from the fact that, as part of its *reisai*, an *akimatsuri* parade was held, utilizing a *mikoshi* 神輿 (portable shrine) to take the *kami* down to the city. Over time, the parade route extended more and more from areas populated by Japanese and into Korean neighborhoods. The *akimatsuri* parade became an institution, with Japanese households decorating and raising Hinomaru flags on festival days, with growing Korean participation.⁵⁰ The year 1936 was the peak of the parade, because it was the year that Keijō Jinja was awarded a shrine rank and thus financial support by the state. A ritual to report the recent promotion of the shrine to the deity, called *reikaku hōkokusai* 例格報告祭 was held at the shrine before the beginning of the parade.⁵¹ Only in 1937 was the parade canceled due to the outbreak of war with China. The extent of the festivities shrank from 1938 to 1940, with the last parade in 1941 celebrated only on the shrine grounds. Rules for the parade grew stricter every year, for the raucous Japanese populace was keen to clash with Koreans. The Koreans, on the other hand, were uneasy at seeing the fervent Japanese behave out of character.⁵² Over time, Koreans got used to the parade not least because taking part in the *ujiko* organization would further promote and educate people about the parade.⁵³ However, during the parade clashes between Japanese and Koreans were commonplace, often because of Japanese drunkenness and Korean pickpocketing. Considering that Koreans at times would also steal from the donation boxes in front of the various satellite shrines of Keijō Jinja, disbelief and disrespect toward Shinto prevailed even though participation in rites increased.⁵⁴

44 *Keijō nippō*, 1925.10.16; *Maeil sinbo*, 1925.10.17.

45 Yokota, *Chōsen jingūki*, p. 50.

46 Rituals were fully codified in *Jinja saishiki gyōji sahō zen* 神社祭式行事作法全 (The Completed Shrine Ritual and Event Rules) in 1907, which received updated editions over the years. Medium-scale rituals were shorter than *taisai* rituals. Depending on the occasion the gate to the deity would be open or closed, while it was open in principle during *taisai* and closed in principle during small-scale ceremonies.

47 Jingi Gakkai, *Jingi ni kansuru seidosakuhō jiten*, pp. 119–25.

48 *Ibid.*, pp. 127–28.

49 *Keijō nippō*, 1925.9.17, 1925.8.10.

50 *Ibid.*, 1925.10.17, 1927.10.17, 1928.10.17, 1934.3.18.

51 *Ibid.*, 1936.10.15.

52 Henry, “Keijo,” p. 139.

53 *Keijō nippō*, 1915.10.15, 1917.10.17, 1918.10.19, 1920.10.17, 1920.10.19.

54 *Tong’a ilbo*, 1923.3.20, 1936.4.29; *Maeil sinbo*, 1925.10.22; *Keijō nippō*, 1933.10.18, 1934.10.11, 1935.10.17; Henry, “Keijo,” pp. 436–37.

While the outbreak of war was reason to cancel the *akimatsuri* parade, Chōsen Jingū stuck to its annual festival in the usual splendor, but added a few rituals in the afternoons, such as *banzai* 万歳 gatherings to honor the emperor and his army, but also to pray for a “lucky progression in the war” (*buun chōkyū* 武運長久). It was from 1937 that Koreans also had to swear an oath of allegiance to the empire on such occasions. Thus, shrine visits related to war events and Shinto itself became connected to war propaganda. One significant example is the *kōgun shukuga hōkokusai* 皇軍祝賀報告祭, a congratulatory report to the deities of the successes of the Japanese military. Ceremonies in general, and war-related ceremonies in particular, were widely announced and explained in newspapers so as to secure participants.⁵⁵

The following year, Yasukuni Jinja in Tokyo held an extraordinary *reisai* that coincided with the one at Chōsen Jingū and Keijō Jinja, starting an additional *yōhaishiki* facing Tokyo. It was at this time that newspapers started talking of the “realm of gods” (*shin’iki* 神域) on Namsan.⁵⁶ Due to the rising death toll in the Japanese military, the annual *reisai* of Yasukuni became standard.⁵⁷ During the war years, newspapers would more and more emphasize the necessity and moral duty to attend such events at Chōsen Jingū to secure a good outcome for the war.⁵⁸

Medium- and small-scale ceremonies at both Chōsen Jingū and Keijō Jinja were, due to their relative shortness, ideal events to which to add bellicose rituals. Medium-sized ceremonies were comprised of the festivities from the beginning of the new year as well as events related to the imperial family, such as *kigen-setsusai* 紀元節祭 to commemorate Japan’s founding by Emperor Jinmu 神武 or the *tenchōsai* 天長際 to celebrate the emperor’s birthday.⁵⁹ From 1938 *buun chōkyū* prayers were held after these ceremonies and transmitted via radio.⁶⁰ Rituals related to the war thus had the

character of mass rallies. A significant example is the *kigen-setsusai* of 1940, coinciding with the empire-wide celebrations of the 2,600th anniversary of the state’s foundation.⁶¹

A Shinto ritual limited to colonial territories (*shi-seisai* 施政祭) was carried out to celebrate the start of Japanese rule. In Korea, it originated at Keijō Jinja but later was also celebrated at Chōsen Jingū and used as a general platform to instill a sense of gratitude in Korean visitors. Even though they were only medium-scale ceremonies, the presence of highly ranked politicians including the Governor-General turned this event into a politically important occasion that symbolized the unity of politics and ceremony (*saisei itchi* 祭政一致).⁶²

At both Chōsen Jingū and Keijō Jinja, small-scale ceremonies, such as the ceremony to mark the changing seasons (*setsubunsai* 節分祭), were part of the monthly or yearly routine, often related to shrine maintenance and of no perceived value for politicization.⁶³ More important were unique celebrations related to the war effort, which could be put to direct use in propagating the war. The Marco Polo Incident of 1937⁶⁴ was from its outbreak commemorated every year at Chōsen Jingū. It took the form of a prayer ceremony for the wounded so they might quickly recover to rejoin the battlefields. The main participants in such events were patriotic associations and diverse women’s clubs, representing the home front. In addition to wartime rituals such as *buun chōkyū* prayers and *banzai* gatherings, prayers to subdue the danger to the country and a daily minute of silence at noon were added and were to be observed everywhere in the colony.⁶⁵ Obligatory shrine visits to Chōsen Jingū began to finally be enforced. Attending a shrine several times per month was also made part of the school curriculum after a more rigorous system was introduced in 1936.⁶⁶

Next to *buun chōkyū* prayers and special events to commemorate the introduction of voluntary conscription into the army, Keijō Jinja also added anti-commu-

55 *Keijō nippō*, 1937.10.17, 1937.10.18; *Maeil sinbo*, 1937.10.15, 1937.10.17.

56 *Keijō nippō*, 1938.10.19; *Maeil sinbo*, 1938.10.19; *Tong’a ilbo*, 1938.10.5, 1938.10.17, 1938.10.19.

57 Chōsen Jingū Shamusho, *Chōsen jingū nenpyō*, 1940, pp. 14–17; 1942, pp. 2–4, 41–43; *Keijō nippō*, 1941.10.17, 1942.10.17.

58 *Maeil sinbo*, 1939.10.17, 1939.10.19; *Tong’a ilbo*, 1939.10.19.

59 Chōsen Jingū Shamusho, *Chōsen jingū nenpyō*, 1932, p. 6; 1939, p. 20; 1940, p. 24.

60 *Ibid.*, 1939, p. 3; *Keijō nippō*, 1939.1.1, 1939.1.3; *Tong’a ilbo*, 1938.12.27, 1939.1.3.

61 Chōsen Jingū Shamusho, *Chōsen jingū nenpyō*, 1940, p. 14.

62 *Keijō nippō*, 1917.9.27, 1927.10.2, 1929.10.2, 1931.10.2; *Maeil sinbo*, 1935.9.27; *Tong’a ilbo*, 1930.10.2.

63 Chōsen Jingū Shamusho, *Chōsen jingū nenpyō*, 1932, p. 4; 1939, pp. 9, 77; 1940, p. 7; 1943, p. 17; *Keijō nippō*, 1916.10.2, 1917.10.2, 1918.10.2.

64 This was a battle provoked between Japanese and Chinese troops stationed close to Beijing, which became the starting point of full-fledged war with China.

65 Chōsen Jingū Shamusho, *Chōsen jingū nenpyō*, 1939, p. 57; 1940, pp. 57–58; *Keijō nippō*, 1938.7.7, 1940.7.8.

66 Kim Chōng-in, “Ilje kangjōm,” pp. 130–35.

nist rallies to its repertoire.⁶⁷ Its satellite shrines had special days for their respective *reisai*. Tenmangū held its *reisai* during the cherry blossom season in Keijō on 25 April each year from 1917. This event was accompanied with sales and other events in the Japanese neighborhood.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, yearly rituals at Hachimangu and Inari Jinja are not well documented. The days from 12–14 June were designated festival days. During the war period, small-scale rallies of citizen groups and patriotic organizations were held.⁶⁹ Nogi Jinja, the biggest of the satellite shrines, used bellicose elements such as schoolchildren showing off their military training; a yearly poetry contest was also established to propagate warfare. The twenty-fifth anniversary of Nogi's death coincided with the outbreak of war in 1937, thus from then on there was also a *buun chōkyū* prayer added to the ceremonial order.⁷⁰

Other originally secular events such as Army Memorial Day (*rikugun kinenbi* 陸軍記念日, 10 March) and Navy Memorial Day (*kaigun kinenbi* 海軍記念日, 27 May) became more prominent during wartime. While Army Memorial Day commemorated the battle of Mukden during the Russo-Japanese War, the latter commemorated the sea battle of Tsushima. Next to events in Namsan's shrines, the military town of Yong-san was at the center of such events.⁷¹ From 1939, pupils were drafted to give a military parade. From the following year, attendance at all schools and youth clubs was made obligatory, amounting to 21,839 participants, even though several Christian schools were still ignoring attendance calls.⁷² Both memorial days were witness to many speeches that were also transmitted by radio across the whole country.⁷³

Due to its late inauguration, ceremonies at Gokoku Jinja were scarce. The *chinzasai* 鎮座祭 (inauguration ceremony) was held at the end of November 1943, with one thousand five hundred representatives of the home front and the bereaved (both Japanese and Koreans)

taking part, presided over by the Governor-General.⁷⁴ The year 1944 marked the climax of war-related events at Gokoku Jinja: continuous prayers for a successful end to the holy war (*seisen kansui kigan* 聖戰完遂祈願) were most common; there were also regular ceremonies to enshrine those who had died in the war. At such events, youths showed off their military training to please the deities.⁷⁵ Whenever new deities were enshrined at Yasukuni Jinja, this was remotely celebrated as *yōhaishiki*, expressing the proximity of Gokoku Jinja in the colony to Yasukuni Jinja in the metropole.⁷⁶ Through such events, the bereaved families were betrayed of their own interpretation of events because rather than mourning for the family member lost in the war, worshiping them as heroes was turned into a reason to rejoice by praying for their happiness in the afterlife (*meifuku kigan* 冥福祈願), as well as mass prayers for victory in the Great East Asian War (*daitōa sensō shōri kigan* 大東亜戦争勝利祈願).⁷⁷

The Buddhist facilities on Namsan also employed rites, ceremonies, and other events to assimilate or educate their visitors by means of religious edification. It was symbolic that Hakubunji was inaugurated on the twenty-third anniversary of Itō Hirobumi's death. Those who received personal favors from Itō came from Japan to take part in the ceremony. In his speech, Governor-General Ugaki Kazushige 宇垣一成 (1868–1956) said that the old name of the grounds, Changch'ungdan, expressed well the concept of loyalty so befitting Itō. This was a distortion of the initial meaning given to it by the Korean king. In particular, Itō's exploits for the Japanese Empire were emphasized by Ugaki, who said that despite Itō's age he continuously worked for Korea's freedom, which again did not heed to Korean sentiment.⁷⁸

At Hakubunji, the main object of worship was a Shakyamuni statue built by Takamura Kōun 高村光雲 (1852–1934), who had also created the statue of Saigō Takamori in Ueno Park.⁷⁹ Itō, as a Sōtō 曹洞 school believer, was the center of commemoration, but the re-

67 Mun, "Ilje singminjigi," pp. 97–98, 190–93.

68 *Keijō nippō*, 1917.4.24, 1917.4.25, 1918.4.26; *Maeil sinbo*, 1918.4.24.

69 *Maeil sinbo*, 1940.6.12; *Keijō nippō*, 1939.11.11; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1940.6.12, 1940.6.14.

70 *Keijō nippō*, 1934.9.12, 1934.9.14, 1936.9.12, 1936.9.15; *Maeil sinbo*, 1934.9.9.

71 *Keijō nippō*, 1939.3.10, 1939.3.11, 1940.3.7, 1940.3.11; *Maeil sinbo*, 1938.3.8; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1933.3.10, 1938.5.27.

72 *Tong'a ilbo*, 1939.3.10, 1940.3.7.

73 *Keijō nippō*, 1938.5.27, 1938.5.28; *Maeil sinbo*, 1939.5.27; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1938.5.27, 1939.5.26.

74 *Maeil sinbo*, 1943.10.9, 1943.11.25.

75 *Ibid.*, 1944.3.8.

76 *Keijō nippō*, 1944.4.24, 1944.4.30, 1944.5.1.

77 *Maeil sinbo*, 1945.4.26; 1945.4.27.

78 *Chosōn sinmun*, 1932.10.26; *Keijō nippō*, 1932.10.26; *Maeil sinbo*, 1932.10.12, 1932.10.27; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1932.10.23, 1932.10.25.

79 *Maeil sinbo*, 1933.10.24.

membrance of his assassin was also given importance.⁸⁰ Next to the frequent *hōyō* 法要 memorial rites and annual memorial events for Itō, mourning rituals and funerals for pro-Japanese Koreans or Japanese who had opted to have their funeral in the colony were the most important tasks for the temple.⁸¹

In time, Hakubunji was promoted as a site for school field trips all over the colony and Japan itself and styled as one of the four most beautiful spots of Keijō in order to draw visitors.⁸² From the outbreak of war with China, every year a ceremony to console the fallen (*jihen senshisha irei daihōyō kai* 事變戰死者異例大法要会) took place around 19 August. This event provided a basis for engaging the Association of Japanese-Korean Buddhists of All Schools (Naisen Bukkyō Kakushūha Rengōkai 内鮮仏教各宗派連合会), trying to bring Buddhists closer together.⁸³ Other *hōyō* ceremonies were added when the course of war necessitated them, and the Military Supporters Association of Keijō (Keijō Gunji Kōen Renmei 京城軍事後援連盟) was key in organizing them.⁸⁴ From 1939, as part of the “Week to foster the efforts of the home front” (*jūgo kōen kyōka shūkan* 銃後後援強化週間), they also oversaw another *daihōyō* 大法要 memorial ceremony to commemorate the fallen (*senbotsu shōhei irei tsuitōsai* 戦没将兵慰霊追悼祭), where next to Hakubunji’s head priest, priests from other Buddhist schools also joined.⁸⁵ In the same vein, the ceremony to console the souls of those who worked for Korean annexation (*Chōsen gappei kōrōsha gōdō ireisai* 朝鮮合併功勞者合同慰霊祭) was introduced to honor those Koreans and Japanese who had been “pioneers of the unity between Japan and Korea” (*naisen ittai no senkusha* 内鮮一体の先駆者). Thus, at Hakubunji, those Koreans who were commonly regarded as traitors, and those Japanese normally regarded as enemies, were reinterpreted as meritorious people.⁸⁶

On the southern side of Namsan, Wakagusa Kanondō attracted less attention. The groundbreaking ceremony (*kuwaireshiki* 鍬入式) was held on 2 October

1935. Saitō Makoto, then Governor-General, attended personally, but did not live to see the temple’s completion.⁸⁷ The first ceremony to be held was in honor of Saitō, but only 159 people took part in the *hōyō* ceremony that was framed mainly by speeches of officials boasting of Saitō’s exploits for the colony.⁸⁸

The Creation and Emission of Images of the Self and the Other through Namsan

Voices arguing for the enshrinement of a Korean mythical figure, such as the deification of Korean progenitor Tan’gun 檀君, ran counter to the government’s wish to turn Chōsen Jingū into a symbolic protector of the whole of Korea, sending out the image that Korea belonged to Japan irrevocably.⁸⁹ While discussions about enshrining a Koreanesque Shinto deity at Chōsen Jingū had still not abated among Shinto scholars, the government decided on Amaterasu and Meiji without further consideration of outside opinions.⁹⁰ By ignoring bids of enshrining deities that could be interpreted as being related to Korea, the authorities were convinced that only Amaterasu and Meiji were fit to express Japanese authority to the Koreans, conveying Japanese culture and civilization. The assimilatory function of Chōsen Jingū was to extend from Namsan to the whole city and in turn to all of Korea. With this decision, an important message describing Japanese rule over Korea was sent out to the populace: Koreans and Korea were considered as more developed and more important to the empire’s cause than other territories which were, as of then, not yet eligible for the reverence of such high *kami* as Amaterasu and Meiji.⁹¹ On the other hand, this was tantamount to admitting that Korea had been on its way to becoming a nation-state and thus needed a “special lesson” to succumb to the Japanese Empire. After the March First Movement, Chōsen Jingū was one way to crush Korean hope for independence—Japan had come to stay.⁹²

Criticism that Chōsen Jingū did not represent Korea because it lacked a Korean deity was loudly heard at Keijō Jinja, which in turn strove to enshrine such a

80 Ibid., 1933.10.24, 1933.10.27.

81 *Keijō nippō*, 1933.1.16; *Tong’a ilbo*, 1938.9.20, 1940.5.11.

82 Kim and Ch’oe, “Ilje kangjōmgj,” pp. 109–10; *Maeil sinbo*, 1935.8.4.

83 *Maeil sinbo*, 1937.8.14; *Tong’a ilbo*, 1937.8.14, 1937.8.20.

84 *Maeil sinbo*, 1939.8.10, 1939.8.11; *Tong’a ilbo*, 1939.8.5, 1939.8.10, 1939.8.11.

85 *Maeil sinbo*, 1939.10.6; *Tong’a ilbo*, 1939.10.5, 1939.10.6.

86 *Keijō nippō*, 1939.11.10; *Maeil sinbo*, 1942.4.25, 1943.10.1, 1943.10.5.

87 Nakamura, *Saitō shishaku o shinobu*, pp. 25–26.

88 *Maeil sinbo*, 1938.2.24–27.

89 Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen jingū zōeishi*, pp. 5–6.

90 Ibid., pp. 8–10; Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, p. 425.

91 Suga, *Nihon tōchika no kaigai jinja*, pp. 88–94.

92 Koyama, *Jinja to Chōsen*, pp. 149, 153–55.

deity.⁹³ In 1929, a Shinto consultant working for the government, Miyaji Naokazu 宮地直一 (1886–1949), who was also well versed in Korean issues, argued for enshrining the three gods of the cultivation of land (*kaitaku sanshin* 開拓三神). One of these deities, Kunitama no Kami 国魂神 (deity of the land soul), was the deity representing the ground, and thus could be reinterpreted into a *kami* linked to Korea without running into the danger of making it too Korean: a re-interpretation to Chōsen Ōkunitama no Kami 朝鮮大國玉神 (deity of the great land soul of Korea) also did not imply any claim to Korean nationhood, as was the case with Tan’gun.⁹⁴ The enshrinement of these deities followed the established ways of how overseas shrines in Taiwan or Sakhalin had chosen their objects of worship. The *kaitaku sanshin* deities had been deemed unfit for Chōsen Jingū because they did not represent the emperor’s family and so were not a good fit for the intended assimilation policy of the state. Keijō Jinja, however, interpreted assimilation as the proper inclusion of Koreans, not only as making them follow Japan’s lead.⁹⁵ The ceremony followed a special procedure of inviting the *kami* from the mountains, to which symbolically not Namsan, but the higher Bukhansan 北漢山 mountain was selected. This was also better for Korea, in the sense that Namsan, with its evergreen trees, by now had a rather Japanese atmosphere, while Bukhansan was less green and had a stony landscape that was more typical for the higher mountains around Keijō. Thus, inviting a *kami* from the rough, “Korean” mountain to join “Japanese” Namsan, was of high symbolic value. The whole event was further charged with symbolic meaning by the time in which it took place, from midnight to early morning.⁹⁶

In the same vein, the deities in Keijō Jinja’s satellites were tools to create a certain image of loyalty to the emperor and a deep link between Japan and Korea. Sugawara no Michizane not only stood for learning but was also known for his loyalty to the emperor.⁹⁷ At Hachimangū, Homudawake no Mikoto 誉田別尊, along with Himegami 姫神 and Ōtarashihime no Mikoto 大帯比

売命, was revered. Homudawake, an alternative name for Emperor Ōjin 応神, had been styled as the deity for national protection since the Kamakura period (1192–1333). His wife Himegami symbolized prosperity. But more importantly, Ōtarashihime no Mikoto, better known as Empress Jingū 神功, Ōjin’s mother, according to legend, had led an invasion to Korea before she bore the future emperor. Thus, what was emphasized was not only the connection between Korea and Japan, but also the fact that Japan in the past had subdued or helped Korea.⁹⁸

The three deities enshrined in Inari Jinja were Ukanomitama no Kami 宇迦之御魂神, Sarutahiko no Mikoto 猿田彦命, and Ōmiyanome Ōkami 大宮能売大神.⁹⁹ Ukanomitama, as the deity of grains, not only stood for prosperity but also successful trade. According to the *Kojiki* 古事記, Ukanomitama was the offspring of Susanoo 須佐之男, a deity sometimes identified with Tan’gun in colonial discourse, which then again could be put into a Korean context and employed to support common ancestor theories.¹⁰⁰ Nogi, who had followed the Meiji Emperor into death, not only stood for loyalty, but also military vigor. Since Nogi had also played a leading role in the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, he was seen as a defender of Korea’s independence and interests, a hero to the Koreans.¹⁰¹

On 31 July 1936 the Ministry of the Interior honored the efforts of Keijō Jinja by turning it into a *kokuhei shōsha*, securing shrine funds from the state.¹⁰² This marked the moment that both Chōsen Jingū and Keijō Jinja, whose building styles had been identical, melted into the still distinct but nonetheless government-sponsored site to propagate wartime assimilation policy (*kōminka seisaku*). Consequently, the spatial boundary

93 For example, see the stance presented in Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, pp. 7–9.

94 *Keijō nippō*, 1928.7.14, 1928.8.21; Henry, “Keijo,” pp. 114, 393–95.

95 Kim Tae-ho, “1910~20 nyōndae,” pp. 309–11.

96 *Keijō nippō*, 1929.9.25, 1929.9.29.

97 Abe, *Tairiku no Keijō*, p. 198; Miyaji, *Bunshin toshite no tenjin shinkō*, pp. 3–13.

98 Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, pp. 34–35; Iwashita, *Tairiku jinja taikan*, p. 322.

99 *Ibid.*

100 Smyers, “The Fox and the Jewel,” pp. 119–27. According to *Kojiki*, the deity Susanoo is a brother of Amaterasu Ōmikami. For details about implications concerning Korea, see Weiss, *The God Susanoo and Korea in Japan’s Cultural Memory*.

101 *Keijō nippō*, 1934.9.13.

102 Kim Tae-ho, “1910 nyōndae~1930 nyōndae ch’o Kyōngsōngsinsawa chiyōksahoeūi kwan’gye,” p. 142; “Keijō jinja oyobi Ryūtōzan jinja o kokuhei shōsha ni reikaku su” 京城神社及竜頭山神社ヲ国幣小社ニ列格ス. JACAR, ref. no. A01200731900. <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?KEYWORD=&LANG=default&BID=F00000000000000007166&ID=M0000000000001764789&TYPE=&NO=>.

between the two shrines increasingly blurred, and the relationship between competition and coexistence was finally resolved toward the latter.¹⁰³

After 1915, the rules of the *ujiko* organization stated clearly that at least one Korean must be in the steering committee, which hints also to the structural integration of Koreans.¹⁰⁴ At first tolerant of Koreans who refused the upkeep payments, after the March First Movement of 1919, when even Koreans who were already paying started refusing to donate, the lenient stance of Keijō Jinja changed because it drove the shrine toward financial ruin.¹⁰⁵ To Yun Ch'i-ho 尹致昊 (1865–1945), a Korean intellectual Christian and part of the old elite, such payments were equal to extortion. To him, Shinto was so intensely Japanese that it could have no possible meaning outside of Japan.¹⁰⁶ He was critical of the rituals of both shrines, describing them as puerile and tedious or grotesque and undignified.¹⁰⁷ Still, attendance at Keijō Jinja was more attractive to Koreans for it was less strict, more enjoyable, and allowed Korean elements, even though only in a Japanized and thus assimilated fashion. This was also a means to make Koreans more willing to pay upkeep to the shrine before it became financed by the state.

Korean reservation toward Chōsen Jingū can best be seen at the daily newspaper *Tong'a ilbo* 東亞日報, which, leading up to the inauguration of the new shrine, would not report on it but would only print advertisements of events that were held due to shrine festivities. On the very day of inauguration, the editorial of the newspaper stated its editors' concern toward the freedom of religion. Chōsen Jingū meticulously made lists sorting the Koreans in attendance into those who just came to have a look (*sanrai* 参来) and those who paid their respects to the deity (*sanpai* 参拜). Koreans who were willing to attend but unfamiliar with the ceremonial aspects of Shinto would sometimes make mistakes or behave in ways unacceptable to Japanese visitors, thus inviting ridicule and random verbal attacks.¹⁰⁸

Rather than reeducating Korean adults about Shinto, Chōsen Jingū used schools to make children attend the shrine in a bid to make their parents attend shrines with their children in the future. Furthermore, Christian missionary schools often rejected their attendance duties at the shrine. Depending on the denomination, shrine attendance was considered idolatry by many Christians. Despite the Japanese authorities trying to explain why Shinto shrine attendance was not religion but simply state ritual, the vocabulary used in such explanations, such as deity and worship, always remained religious in nature, which is why such endeavors were often refuted by missionaries. This in turn led to missionaries being expelled from the country, and Koreans going to prison.¹⁰⁹ Christians of other denominations, including Yun Ch'i-ho, would find strategies to make shrine attendance compatible with their conscience. Yun, in July 1935 still calling Shinto the cult of loyalty,¹¹⁰ at the end of the year was approached to propagate the "Cultivation of the Field of Heart" movement, his translation for the *shinden kaihatu undō* 心田開發運動.¹¹¹ This was a bid to bring people in the colony closer to spirituality, preparing them for times of material scarcity and sacrifice and aiming at austere and honest lifestyles. This included Christianity, Buddhism, and even Korean Shamanism, but focused on elevating Korean interest in Shinto.¹¹²

However, by 1937, Korean attendance at Shinto ceremonies was still insufficient, and with the outbreak of full-fledged war with China, considered even more necessary. Neither the various events of the *shinden kaihatu undō*, nor a special issue of *Chōsen* 朝鮮 magazine to again make Koreans accept and take part in Japanese rituals, refrained from using religious terminology to explain Shinto.¹¹³ Urged by the Governor-General, it was around that time that Yun was to lead a *banzai* prayer at Chōsen Jingū.¹¹⁴ Only a year later, Yun mentioned that he again had the honor of leading such a prayer. By the time of the festivities for the 2,600th anniversary of

103 *Keijō nippō*, 1928.3.20; 1928.10.18.

104 Abe, *Tairiku no Keijō*, pp. 205–7; *Keijō nippō*, 1916.9.17; Henry, "Keijo," p. 114.

105 *Keijō nippō*, 1919.10.11; Henry, "Keijo," p. 368.

106 *Diary of Yun Ch'i-ho* (Hanguksa Database, National Institute of Korean History, <https://db.history.go.kr>), 1919.12.17.

107 *Diary of Yun Ch'i-ho*, 1919.9.12, 1925.10.15.

108 Henry, "Keijo," p. 84; Ogasawara, *Kaigai jinjashi*, pp. 119, 186–89; *Chōsen oyobi Manshū* 朝鮮及滿州, April 1927, p. 25; *Maeil*

sinbo, 1927.10.18; *Tong'a ilbo*, 1925.10.15, 1925.10.16; Chōsen Kenpeitai Shireibu, *Naichijin hansei shiroku*, pp. 81–82.

109 Kim Sūng-t'ae, *Sinsa ch'ambae munje charyojip*, pp. 369–72.

110 *Diary of Yun Ch'i-ho*, 1935.7.19.

111 *Ibid.*, 1935.12.8.

112 Chōsen Sōtokufu Chūsūin, *Shinden kaihatu ni kansuru kōenshū*, pp. 333–35. Hakubunji's head priest also became a prominent speaker in this movement's events.

113 *Ibid.*; *Chōsen*, October 1937.

114 *Maeil sinbo*, 1937.9.4.

Japan's founding in 1940, his repeated engagement in Japanese rituals by now had made him rather approving, and his critical stance had vanished.¹¹⁵

Gokoku Jinja, due to scarce resources and manpower, was only completed in 1943, which is why it operated for less than two years until the end of the war. However, putting himself at the front of the effort by picking up a shovel himself, the Governor-General used the construction process from 1940 to unify the home front and propagandize the war effort, for it was not only monetary expenses, but also physical labor that had to be paid for by the population. The exploitation of labor took place to ensure lower costs and to secure the rapid construction of the shrine.¹¹⁶ By sending out distinguished images of a home front united in pain, bereavement, and a willingness to die for the empire, it gave meaning to the deaths of those who died in the war and prevented the home front from disintegrating into personal grief. This was achieved by meaningfully interpreting the fallen as war heroes (*gokoku eirei* 護国英靈), praising their role in the war. Because of family ties, visits to Gokoku Jinja, considered the moral duty of all subjects, came to be of special concern for the bereaved.¹¹⁷

Still, this interpretation meant their ethnicity was obscured and their deaths used by Japanese authorities to further propagandize the war effort: the representation of the dead as *kami* was thus added to the shrine on Namsan.¹¹⁸ Children had to come and pray for their deceased fathers, events that were used for propaganda purposes to show the home front united against the enemy. Such shrine events were always framed with day-consuming side events for the bereaved families.¹¹⁹ The meaning assigned to these deaths by the state meant for the Korean soldiers that they did not find freedom from Japanese rule even in death, but, whatever their personal will, were used in moral teaching for the living. This docility in death also meant that no loyal Korean subject could escape Shinto, even in death. This way, even if only operating for less than two years, the shrine maximized its function to glorify the dead as heroes.

As for the Buddhist temples on Namsan, both Hakubunji and Wakagusa Kannondō sent out distinct images about the people commemorated there and about Japan, its history, and colonial rule. It was symbolic that Hakubunji was inaugurated on the twenty-third anniversary of Itō's death. Emperor Shōwa 昭和 (1901-1989, r. 1926-1989) sent a silver incense burner (*kōro* 香炉), which was reason for newspapers to relate the personal thanks of the emperor for Itō's achievements.¹²⁰ Events staged at the temple often touched upon the memory of An Chung-gŭn 安重根 (1879-1910), Itō's assassin. Aiming to show the masses that Japan had forgiven the Koreans for murdering Itō, Japanese authorities pointed out that An Chung-gŭn was no Korean hero. This deprived the entire assassination of its political gravity. An Chung-gŭn was reinterpreted as a petty criminal who, although actually a good person, did not have access to information and lacked the political insight to understand that Itō actually was trying his best to help Korea. The worship of the assassin thus showed the benevolence of Japan and turned An's act of resistance into a deed of folly. In particular, the visits to the temple of An Chung-gŭn's children, his son An Chun-saeng 安俊生 (1907-1951) and his daughter An Hyon-saeng 安賢生 (1902-1959), were used for propaganda purposes.

An Chun-saeng lived in Shanghai for most of his life, holding a Chinese passport and running shady businesses.¹²¹ As part of a delegation of ethnic Koreans to visit the homeland, it was reported that he had expressed his wish to pay his respects at Hakubunji.¹²² Upon his arrival in late September 1939, he met the Governor-General, Minami Jirō 南次郎 (1874-1955). The fact that Minami himself attended this meeting shows the importance of the visit for propaganda reasons. An was cited in the newspaper as having found Minami like a "friendly father," and An professed he now believed in the unity of Japan and Korea (*naisen ittai* 内鮮一体), and promised to send his children to a Japanese school in Shanghai to prepare them to relocate to the homeland as soon as possible.¹²³ Needless to say, An Chun-saeng barely knew his real father. An Chung-gŭn had been arrested immediately after he fired the shots at Itō and was executed exactly one year after the

115 *Diary of Yun Ch'i-ho*, 1938.7.7, 1940.11.10.

116 *Maeil sinbo*, 1940.8.22, 1940.8.24, 1940.9.26, 1940.11.20, 1940.11.26.

117 *Keijō nippō*, 1944.11.24, 1945.5.1; *Maeil sinbo*, 1944.5.1, 1944.11.25.

118 *Keijō nippō*, 1944.10.22; *Maeil sinbo*, 1943.11.26, 1944.10.23.

119 *Keijō nippō*, 1944.3.28, 1944.10.22-24, 1945.3.26; *Maeil sinbo*, 1944.3.8, 1944.4.23, 1944.10.23-24, 1944.10.28.

120 *Tong'a ilbo*, 1932.10.26; *Yomiuri shinbun* 読売新聞, 1932.10.27.

121 Kim Myōng-su, *Myōngsu sanmunok*, p. 252.

122 *Maeil sinbo*, 1939.10.10.

123 *Keijō nippō*, 1939.10.10.

deed. Thus, calling Minami a father figure was an enormous affront to Koreans. Kim Ku 金九 (1876–1949), a member of the government in exile in Shanghai and a famous independence activist, declared An Chun-saeng *persona non grata* and later even asked Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887–1975), the Guomindang leader, to have him executed as a traitor.¹²⁴ This also proves the senselessness of such a propaganda effort—politically active Koreans would not succumb, but instead would be antagonized further. During the temple visit, An Chun-saeng “repented” in his father’s stead, bowed deeply in front of Itō’s mortuary tablet and burst into tears when he was given his father’s tablet, realizing that “Japan” had forgiven him. This was presented as a “great event in Korean history” showing the “unity of Japan and Korea.”¹²⁵

During his visit to Seoul, An Chun-saeng also met Itō Hirobumi’s oldest son who coincidentally was touring Seoul on business at the same time. In this orchestrated meeting, Itō Bunkichi 伊藤文吉 (1885–1951) forgave An Chun-saeng, stating that there was no use in being angry over what had happened a long time ago, asking that all Koreans rather study history more properly in order to understand the historical meaning of the way Japan and Korea had been chosen.¹²⁶ One newspaper used this to express the link that both shared through the deeds of their fathers, citing the young Itō to have said that both he and young An should do their best for their country, as should their countrymen.¹²⁷ In this way, the fact that An Chung-gūn’s deeds were forgiven was used to instill a new loyal consciousness in Japan. At the end of the meeting, both participants decided to meet again the next day at Hakubunji to honor their fathers. In reports about this event, the “true tears” (*seki-sei no namida* 赤誠の涙) of An and the happiness of both to share this wonderful chance to pray for their fathers were central.¹²⁸

124 Kim Ku, *Paekpōm ilgi*, p. 408; Mizuno, “‘Hakubunji no wakaigeki’ to kōjitsudan,” pp. 92–93. Kim Ku was a member and president of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, based in Shanghai. After his term as president, his independence activism became more militant, and he founded the Korean Patriotic Corps and the Korean Liberation Army. For his involvement in assassination plans, he is at times considered as having resorted to terrorist measures. Myers, *Korea in the Cross Currents*, p. 43.

125 *Keijō nippō*, 1939.10.16.

126 *Ibid.*, 1939.10.17.

127 *Maeil sinbo*, 1939.10.17.

128 *Keijō nippō*, 1939.10.19.

Given the “success” of An Chun-saeng’s visit to the temple, his sister An Hyōn-saeng came to the temple to honor the thirty-first anniversary of her father’s death on 26 March 1941. Like her brother, she came and apologized for her father’s actions. However, since such an event had already taken place, the propagandistic effect of this visit was smaller, especially as the country was already at war.¹²⁹

The role of Wakagusa Kannon-dō was quite similar. Built as housing for the statue presented by Saitō Makoto, the building was designed to be as splendid as Sensōji 浅草寺 in Asakusa, Tokyo. The statue was given to the Koreans in an effort to make them understand that the cultural closeness of Japan and Korea was reason to believe in the success of their amalgamation (*naisen yūwa* 内鮮融和).¹³⁰ While the temple was still incomplete when Saitō’s funeral was held in Tokyo and commemorated in Seoul, more than one thousand six hundred people gathered there to celebrate Saitō as a promoter of Korean culture. Saitō, who had survived an assassination attempt the day he arrived in Korea, had to deal with the aftermath of the March First Movement. He was a main actor in establishing the so-called cultural rule (*bunka tōchi* 文化統治) and styled himself as a “friend of Korea”: in 1926, he allegedly moved his family register to Korea and professed he wanted his grave to be in the colony.¹³¹ In order to fulfil his wish, a strand of his hair was received in April 1936 to be enshrined together with the statue. Thus, Wakagusa Kannon-dō functioned as the grave of Saitō in the colony, where Saitō was styled as “protecting the Buddha of Korea” and as the “Father of Korea.”¹³²

Conclusion

During the colonial period, Namsan became the ritual center of State Shinto and Japanese Buddhism in Korea, and the history of Korean ritual spaces on Namsan was obliterated. Many Shinto shrines were built on the Korean Peninsula. If Shinto policy in Korea is reflected in

129 *Ibid.*, 1941.3.26.

130 Wakagusa Kannon Hōsankai, *Wakagusa Kannon hōsankai shuonsho*, pp. 1–3.

131 *Keijō nippō*, 1936.3.22–23, 1936.4.11.

132 *Maeil sinbo*, 1936.4.9; *Keijō nippō*, 1936.4.11; Nakamura, *Saitō shishaku o shinobu*, pp. 10–13; Saitō Makoto Kinenkai, *Shishaku Saitō Makoto den*, pp. 517, 525–28.

the history of Namsan, it becomes clear that it held a prototypical function to explore the role of Shinto in Korea—similar projects in cities such as Pusan, Taegu, and Puyō were started, but never came to fruition before the end of the war.¹³³

By showing the role of ritual ceremonies and the imagery that was created on and sent out from Namsan, this article established that the basis for the “new” form of assimilation initiated with *kōminka seisaku* was well laid out on Namsan before the official change in policy. Because assimilation policy had been judged by changes in education policy, continuities in “religious” policy needed to be taken into stronger consideration, for State Shinto in Korea worked closer to a political religion than it did in Japan proper. This was because it had to be enforced even more strictly than in the homeland to secure the spiritual mobilization of a colonized people with an entirely different background from the Japanese.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, the Japanese authorities failed to explain the nonreligious character of State Shinto in a plausible way to the Korean people, because Shinto was always paired together with Buddhism, continuously obscuring the supposedly ostensible character of Shinto.

In the end, the attempts to assimilate Koreans via Shinto and Buddhism ultimately failed, which can be proven by the fact that all Japanese shrines and temples, on Namsan and elsewhere, quickly disappeared after the liberation of Korea. Fearing vandalism, on the morning of 16 August 1945, the priests of Namsan decided to carry out the ritual to send away the spirits (*shōshinshiki* 昇神式) on the same afternoon. However, the shrines and Japanese temples on Namsan were not affected by vandalism, as was often the case in other areas. The following day, the dismantling of the shrines began. Shinto items were sent back to Japan by plane on 24 August.¹³⁵ It took till November for the dismantling to be complete because the American occupying

forces, soon after they landed, started to survey and record the assets of Japanese shrines and temples, and decided to transfer and redistribute ownership rights of private Japanese property to Korean religious organizations. Shinto-related land was given to Christian denominations, and Buddhist possessions were distributed to Korean Buddhist associations. The Keijō Jinja site was turned into a seminary by Presbyterians, and later turned into a school. The state-owned land of Chōsen Jingū was transferred to the Korean state. The Hakubunji land was later given back to the state and the temple dismantled. Wakagusa Kannondō was used by Won Buddhism until 1960, when it was dismantled and merged with Jōnggaksa Temple 正覺寺. The statue held at Wakagusa Kannondō was gifted to Yi Sūng-man 李承晩 (1875–1965), the first president of the republic, and since then has been kept in his house.

During Yi’s term in office (1948–1960) many statues of Korean independence fighters, including one of Yi himself, and other symbols of Korea’s resistance to Japanese threats throughout history were built in a bid to change Namsan from a place of Japanese assimilation to a site commemorating Korea’s plight. During the rule of Pak Chōng-hūi 朴正熙 (1917–1979; ruled 1962–1979), this strategy was upheld, and more statues added.¹³⁶ Among these endeavors, the unveiling of An Chung-gūn’s statue on the grounds of erstwhile Chōsen Jingū in May 1959 had the most lasting impact on Namsan after 1945, for it was in 1971 that the statue was supplemented by a memorial hall to commemorate An’s life and ideas, thereby negating the indoctrination that had taken place at Hakubunji.¹³⁷

N Seoul Tower, commonly referred to as Namsan Tower, was inaugurated in 1972. This finally marked the change of Namsan to a recreational and tourist site, and it has become an icon of the city, helping to overwrite the unpleasant memories of Chōsen Jingū’s existence.

133 Son, “Ilje-ha Puyō”; Yamaguchi, “Shokuminchiki Chōsen.”

134 For a theoretical introduction to political religion, see Gentile, *Politics as Religion*.

135 United States Armed Forces in Korea, *History of the United States Armed Forces in Korea*, pp. 204, 215; Morita, *Chōsen shūsen no kiroku*, pp. 107–10, 164–67. In Pyōng’yang, vandalism was commonplace. The reasons why Namsan evaded vandalism remain in the realm of speculation. While Pyōng’yang was the Christian center and known for the rigid repression of Christians that refused to attend shrines, it can be argued that the people of Seoul kept their respect for the mountain due to its role in pre-colonial Korea or were indoctrinated enough to not vandalize

it. Judging from the police and army presence in Seoul, people might have feared retaliation or that fire might spread to the city.

136 Kim Yōng-nam, *Chunggu hyang’osa kwangye charyojip*, pp. 37–38, 134–36.

137 *Tong’a ilbo*, 1959.5.12; Chōng Un-hyōn, *Seoul sinae Ilche yusan tapsagi*, pp. 84–85. In 2010, the rebuilt hall was reopened with its museum considerably extended.

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Landscapes of Identity: Nature, Art, and Modern Nations in Three Recent Exhibitions

EXHIBITION REVIEW BY LORENZO AMATO

IN 2022, three exhibitions held in Tokyo displayed works that, despite their different backgrounds, shared important common elements. Their themes were nature painting in Europe, landscape painting in Japan, and the collection of Western and Scottish paintings of the National Gallery of Scotland. This review will address the importance and strengths of these exhibitions and will reveal a common flaw in how the crucial connection between landscape painting and Romantic nationalism seems to have almost completely vanished from panels and catalogues. Representations of nature and landscapes have always been polysemic expressions of an artist's culture, society, and belief system, and are often associated with wider ideological-political movements and systems of power.¹ In the catalogue titled *A Mirror of Nature: Nordic Landscape Painting 1840–1910* (published for a joint exhibition held 2006–2008), Torsten Gunnarsson wrote that a painting mirrors the actual natural landscape much less than the world of ideas of the painter who is representing the landscape.² This statement implicitly referred to the myth of Narcissus, described by Leon Battista Alberti in his *De pictura* (book II, par. 26) as the origin of

painting,³ and the caveat that paintings of nature have to be read through the eyes and culture of the painter.⁴

The first Tokyo exhibition, titled *Shizen to hito no daiarōgu: Furīdorihī, Mone, Gohho kara Rihitā made* 自然と人のダイアローグ: フリードリヒ、モネ、ゴッホからリヒターまで (*In Dialogue with Nature: From Friedrich, Monet and Van Gogh to Richter*), was held at the National Museum of Western Art (NMWA) from 4 June to 11 September 2022. It showcased 102 paintings, etchings, lithographs, and photos of nature and landscapes and offered the possibility to admire a number of masterpieces rarely visible outside of the Museum Folkwang of Essen (Germany), vis-à-vis a complementary selection from the collection of the NMWA. This second joint effort between NMWA and Museum Folkwang (the first was in 2002) also celebrated the reopening of the NMWA, and was visited by 223,250 persons, making it the fourth most visited art event in Japan in 2022.⁵

The paintings selected for the exhibition ranged from the Romantic era of the early nineteenth century (e.g., *Woman in Front of Setting Sun*, by Caspar David

1 Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*.

2 Gunnarsson, "A Mirror of Nature," p. 11.

3 Alberti, *De pictura*, pp. 46–47.

4 Filippi, "Narciso nel Quattrocento," pp. 96–99.

5 See the art magazine *Bijutsu no mado* 美術の窓 171 (December 2022), p. 94.

Friedrich, cat. no. 28, dated 1818, and *Landscape near Pichelswerder*, cat. no. 29, painted by Karl Friedrich Schinkel in 1814) to the postmodern, anti-capitalist approach to landscape painting expressed by Gerhard Richter in 1970 in his *Clouds* (1970, cat. no. 25), as elaborated by Shinfuji Atsushi.⁶

The exhibition was divided into four sections, corresponding to different approaches, observations, and personal relationships with nature. The first section, “Skies Across Time” (cat. nos. 1–27), focused on the representation of clouds, water surfaces, and other atmospheric conditions among French Romantics and Impressionists, with a section on photographs by photographer Heinrich Kühn of the Viennese Photo-Secessionism. The second section, “Journey to the Other” (cat. nos. 28–58), focused on the Romantic idea of nature, which, according to the section introduction, “came to be seen as a place for psychological sanctuary and healing, a place that encouraged aesthetic experiences.”⁷ In the nineteenth century, nature became an expression of interiority, acquiring a mystical sensibility that derived from the fusion of the viewing subject with a nature that is often represented as a forest of arcane symbols. The third section, “The Architecture of Light” (cat. nos. 59–76), focused on the definition of a pictorial space that could equal nature’s power, which manifests as intense physical sensations that the painter tries to recreate on canvas (e.g., Paul Cézanne in *The Bridge and Dam at Pontoise* and *House and Dovecote at Bellevue*, cat. nos. 59–60) or as a mystical and even sacred source of life and myth (e.g., Ferdinand Hodler’s *Weisshorn Seen from Montana*, and Akseli Gallen-Kallela’s *Lake Keitele*, cat. nos. 61–62). The fourth section, “Cycles of Time Between Heaven and Earth” (cat. nos. 77–102), focuses on the cycle of the four seasons in the Western tradition, often mirroring the cycle of life and death in the human condition. Paintings representing pastoral activities and other human labor (e.g., Giovanni Segantini’s *The Sheepshearing*, Camille Pissarro’s *The Harvest*, and Van Gogh’s *The Wheatfield behind Saint Paul’s Hospital with a Reaper*, cat. nos. 82–84 respectively) were chosen to represent this sensitivity towards life and death that also involves the creation and representation of flowers and gardens as contemplative moments (e.g.,

Monet’s *Yellow Irises*, cat. no. 97, and in his unfinished and monumental *Water Lilies, Reflections of Weeping Willows*, cat. no. 98, recently acquired by the NMWA).

The second exhibition, *Nihon no fūkei o egaku: Utagawa Hiroshige kara Tabuchi Toshio made* 日本の風景を描く: 歌川広重から田渕俊夫まで (*Depicting Japanese Landscapes: From Utagawa Hiroshige to Tabuchi Toshio*), was held at the Yamatane Museum of Art, Tokyo, from 10 December 2022 to 26 February 2023.

The compact venue of the museum showcased a total of sixty-two artworks, including paintings, sketches, and *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints, in both thematical and chronological order. It included two sections: the first section was dedicated to Edo (1600–1868) paintings and prints from various schools and genres, and had three sub-themes: (1) topical Japanese landscapes inherited from Heian 平安 (794–1185) literature and art, represented as famous places, *meisho* 名所, with representative well-known characteristics (e.g., the Rinpa painting *Mt. Utsu: Scene from the Tales of Ise*, cat. no. 1, by Sakai Hōitsu 酒井抱一 [1761–1829]); (2) several artworks by literati painters, who inherited the tradition of depicting Chinese landscapes, *sansui-ga* 山水画, originating in the Muromachi 室町 period (1336–1573). These works featured idealized Chinese mountains (*Landscape*, cat. no. 2, by Ike no Taiga 池大雅 [1723–1776]), utopian villages (*Shangri-La*, cat. no. 3, by Yamamoto Baiitsu 山本梅逸 [1783–1856]), and occasional experiments of real Japanese landscapes (*A View of Higashiyama* by Ike no Taiga, cat. no. 6); and (3) the new visual genre that emerged during the Edo period: depictions of real Japanese places, especially along the newly constructed main transportation roads of the country. For example, four of Utagawa Hiroshige’s 歌川広重 (1797–1858) *53 Stations of the Tokaido* accompany this section, rotating with another four during the two periods of the exhibition (cat. nos. 7–14).

The second and larger section began with the encounter in the Meiji 明治 period (1868–1912) with the Western landscape tradition, and the birth of *yōga* 洋画 (Western-style painting) based on materials, techniques, and themes derived from European painting, and the *nihonga* 日本画 (Japanese-style painting) created from the fusion of the older *yamato-e* 大和絵 (Japanese paintings) traditions.⁸ As a result, with the

6 Shinfuji, *Beyond the Capitalocene Landscape*, pp. 45–55 (Jp.), pp. 231–40 (Eng.).

7 Jingaoka and Shinfuji, *In Dialogue with Nature*, p. 93.

8 For context, see Foxwell, *Making Modern Japanese-Style Painting*, pp. 1–12.

application of Western painting techniques, subsequent redefinitions of Japanese landscape paintings occurred, such as perspective and shadows, to the depiction of Japanese landscapes. Great stress is placed on how the painters take advantage of features of different schools in the same painting, defining a new Japanese aesthetic that would become dominant in the landscape painting of the next century. The exhibition also underlines the importance of the 1894 treatise *Nihon fūkeiron* 日本風景論 (On Japanese Landscapes) by Shiga Shigetaka 志賀重昂 (1863–1927) that popularized the notion of a national identity towards distinctive Japanese landscapes. It also helped initiate the fashion for travel and mountain hiking throughout Japan and created the representation of new Japanese landmarks in painting and photography.

After the early Shōwa 昭和 period (1926–1989), the exhibition leaped forward to postwar works, with the majestic and dreamy *Oirase in the Four Seasons* (cat. nos. 39–42), completed in 1985 by Ishida Takeshi 石田武 (1922–2010) and here exhibited for the first time in thirty-seven years, dominating an entire room. Next to it was a column devoted to the reinterpretation of the classic painting theme: the *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers* in China. It displayed Hiroshige's two woodblock prints of the *Eight Views of Ōmi* (also changing during the two periods of the exhibition, cat. nos. 26–29), which were a Japanese reinvention of the famous Chinese theme. Yokoyama Misao 横山操 (1920–1973), who had previously followed the model of Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観 (1868–1958) and depicted the Xiao and Xiang rivers in China, created in 1968 a series of *Ten Views of Koshiji*. In the two large paintings exhibited, *Wild Geese over Kanbara* and *Echizen after the Rain* (cat. nos. 37–38), Yokoyama, once a prisoner in Siberia, represents powerful and visionary images of winter desolation in ink. The repetition of tree barks and the dark, gloomy skies, recall not a beautiful, idealist landscape that could be considered a symbol of a cultural tradition, but more of the struggle with death and desperation when he was detained in Siberia. The second section ends with paintings born as projections of personal feelings (*shinshō fūkei* 心象風景), such as *White Wall* (cat. no. 55) by Higashiyama Kaii 東山魁夷 (1908–1999), and abstract reveries over landscapes unseen, like the bird-like view *Frozen Fields* (cat. no. 58) by Kakurai Kazuo 加倉井和夫 (1919–1995).

The third exhibition, titled *Sukottorando Koku-ritsu Bijutsukan: Bi no kyoshō-tachi* スコットランド国立美術館: 美の巨匠たち (*The Greats: Masterpieces*

from the National Galleries of Scotland) was successively held at the Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum (22 April–3 July 2022), Kobe City Museum (16 July–25 September 2022), and Kitakyushu Municipal Museum of Art (4 October–20 November 2022). A group of ninety-three paintings and other visual arts arrived from Scotland, and they were displayed in four chronological sections: (1) “Renaissance” (cat. nos. 5–16); (2) “Baroque” (cat. nos. 17–32); (3) “The Age of the Grand Tour” (cat. nos. 33–55); and (4) “Nineteenth-Century Innovators” (cat. nos. 56–92), with a “Prologue” (cat. nos. 1–4) and an “Epilogue” (cat. no. 93). Each section had text panels, referred to as columns (some of which alas were missing in the catalogue) explaining both the periods and some of the most important artistic movements. The highlights of the exhibitions were *The Virgin Adoring the Christ Child* or *Ruskin Madonna* (cat. no. 5), attributed to Verrocchio (Andrea di Cione, 1435–1488), the *Study for “The Madonna of the Fish”* (cat. no. 6) by Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio, 1483–1520), the *Christ Blessing* (cat. no. 16) by El Greco (Domenikos Theotokópoulos, 1541–1614), *An Old Woman Cooking Eggs* (cat. no. 19) by Diego Velázquez (1599–1660), *A Woman in Bed* (cat. no. 26) by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), *The Ladies Waldegrave* (cat. no. 45) by Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), and an impressive selection of Impressionist paintings, including *A Woman Nursing a Child* (cat. no. 84) by Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919), *Poplars on the Epte* (cat. no. 81) by Claude Monet (1840–1926), *Three Tahitians* (cat. no. 86) by Paul Gauguin (1848–1903), and other great masters. All in all, for the neophyte the exhibition could be an excellent introduction to different ages of Western art, and for an expert a way to admire works usually exhibited only in Edinburgh.

Another important aspect of the exhibition was the celebration of the 150th year of the foundation of the gallery (1859), and more in general of the Scottish artistic tradition. As it transpires from the articles in the catalogue (though never openly stated), the National Gallery of Scotland had great importance in defining the cultural independence of Scotland's capital Edinburgh from London. In the introduction to the catalogue Christopher Baker states that the foundation stone of the Neo-Classical building that would host the museum, designed by William Henry Playfair (1790–1857), was posed in 1850 by Prince Albert, husband of Queen Victoria.⁹ After its opening the gallery displayed

⁹ Baker, “Introduction: The Greats.”

a relatively small collection, which then expanded over the years, becoming one of the most important museums in the world. Baker highlights that such a collection was created from scratch democratically and did not derive from a royal collection. In a subsequent essay Patricia Allerston, after mapping the changing disposition of the paintings within the museum over the decades, states that a future restructuring will give even more space to Scottish artists and will establish the National Gallery of Scotland as the most important center for Scottish culture in the world.¹⁰

The three exhibitions focus on different themes and geographical areas and are organized according to different priorities. However, they show recurrent motives and common threads. One of the most interesting themes is the way these exhibitions decided to tackle, or avoid, the discussion of the relationship between national identities, especially after the Romantic era, and the representation of nature and local landscapes.

The entire exhibition at the Yamatane Museum was openly centered around the “dialogue” between Japanese people and the scenery of the Japanese archipelago. The appreciation of landscapes and natural phenomena such as the changing seasons is essential to Japanese identity, but the exhibition, along with other similar exhibitions of the past, seemed to imply that this sensitivity is somehow innate to the Japanese people. Instead, this supposed harmonious relationship with nature is a notion created by the revival of a literary and visual tradition that flourished during the Edo period.¹¹ During the Meiji Reformation, when the superior military power and technology of the West shook all forms of political and sociocultural order in Japan, national identity needed to be reassessed. It was the cultural construct of the unicity of the Japanese landscape, and a special relationship with nature, which helped strengthen the identity of this “new” Japan: a modern country with ancient roots.¹²

Very similar constructs and the notion of “national landscapes” linked to the definition of national identities can be found in several Western traditions. But despite their importance, especially in painting, they were not mentioned extensively in the panels nor in the catalogues of the Western-centric exhibitions held at

the NMWA (*In Dialogue with Nature*) and at the Metropolitan Museum of Tokyo (*The Greats*).

In the NMWA exhibition the column *Nature and National Identities in the Nordic Countries*, written by the Associate Curator Kubota Azu, introduced “National Romanticism” as a crucial cultural movement for defining Finland and Norway’s national identities.¹³ For brevity’s sake, Kubota focuses on three painters only: the Norwegians Johan Christian Dahl (1788–1857, known as “the father of Norwegian Landscape painting”), Edvard Munch (1863–1944), and the Finn Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865–1931). But the importance of nature in Nordic countries is deeper. The national anthems of Sweden (*Du gamla du fria* [“You Ancient, You Free”] by Rickard Dybeck), Norway (*Ja, vi elsker dette landet* [“Yes, We Love This Country”] by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson), Denmark (*Der er et yndigt land* [“There is a Lovely Country”] by Adam Oehlenschläger), and Finland (*Vårt land* [“Our Land”] by Johan Ludvig Runeberg), all elaborate on the moral resonance of the landscape in nurturing the inhabitants of these respective nations. The painting *Lake Keitele* by Gallen-Kallela, exhibited at the NMWA (cat. no. 62), is an example of the Finnish lakes being envisioned as symbols of Finnish identity. Gallen-Kallela’s most famous painting, the triptych *Aino* of the Ateneum of Helsinki, represents the death of the maiden from the *Kalevala* in front of another “typical” Finnish lake. And the most famous Finnish tone poem, Ian Sibelius’s *The Swan of Tuonela* (*Tuonelan Joutsen*, 1895), centers around the mystical lake Tuonela, gateway to the land of death, as narrated in the *Kalevala*. In Finnish Symbolist culture the lakes harbor the ancient *legendarium* connected to the national poem, first published by Elias Lönnrot in 1835 and 1849. In these works, nature does not stand as a mirror of the authors, but of their “nation,” in the Romantic sense of the term.

Local landscapes represented in connection with the idea of nation and nation-building can be seen in the artistic traditions of other Western countries. The exhibition *The Greats*, a celebration of the titular National Gallery of Scotland, showcased landscape paintings that were meant as an integral part of nineteenth-century British discourse on the identity (and independence) of Scotland. The importance of Scotland, as a territory and as a cultural entity, was in fact the focus of the “Prologue” section, with paintings by Joseph Far-

10 Allerston, “A Work of Art Itself.”

11 Machotka, *Visual Genesis of Japanese National Identity*, pp. 187–208.

12 See Foxwell, *Making Modern Japanese-Style Painting*, p. 9.

13 Kubota, “Nature and National Identities in the Nordic Countries.”

ington (1747–1821), Francis Towne (1739–1816), Arthur Elwell Moffat (1861–1944), and James Burrell Smith (1822–1897). Of particular note was also the selection of Scottish and English painters who represented landscapes of Scotland, such as David Roberts (1796–1864), William Dyce (1806–1864), Sir George Harvey (1806–1876), Sir Edwin Landseer (1802–1873), and Edward Arthur Walton (1860–1922). Apparently unrelated was the painting *Niagara Falls, from American Side* (1867), by the U.S. painter Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900) that was donated to the National Gallery of Scotland by the “Scot” John S. Kennedy (1830–1909).¹⁴

It is from a “Scottish” point of view that we should look at William Dyce’s religious meditations on canvas. While the contemporary tradition prescribed Oriental deserts as ideal settings for religious stories, Dyce represented David (in *David in the Wilderness*, cat. no. 67) and Christ (in *Man of Sorrow*, cat. no. 68) immersed in the windy and barren atmosphere of the highlands, with its shiny white light that chisels the rocks and fixes the crystal-like human figures in a contemplative stasis. This choice—connected to the Anglican theologian John Keble, who “aimed to revive ... liturgical practices usually associated with Roman Catholicism”¹⁵—was so innovative that the works were harshly criticized.¹⁶ The paintings date to around 1860, the year after the opening of the National Gallery of Scotland, and it would be hard to dismiss a cultural relationship between the sacralization of the “typical” Scottish landscape and the establishment of an institution that was meant to represent Scottish national identity to the world.

Other “national identities” were founded on the grounds of the majesty of their nature. Christopher Baker interprets the grandiose *Niagara Falls, from American Side* by Church (cat. no. 93) as anticipating mass tourism, given the small human figures staring at the falls. Not much is said, on the other hand, about Church’s national painting culture and the Hudson River School, of which Church is probably the most famous representative. A late blossoming of the Romantic taste for the sublime, painters of the Hudson River School represented the New World of the young American nation as an immense, strong, pure, holy land.¹⁷ Overall, despite the fact that the curators of *The Greats*

frequently imply that the National Gallery of Scotland was itself a work of art and the cornerstone of Scottish cultural resurgence, the theme of national identity is not really explored in the catalogue.

The NMWA exhibition was even more radical in canceling references to the inter-connected themes of nation, nation-building, identity-building, and nationalism. With the exception of Kubota’s column on Norway and Finland, the only mention of this theme was in Shinfuji’s column *The Reunion of Art and Life: The Worpswede Artists’ Colony*: “The ruralism of these artists, based on a conviction that bucolic Lower Saxony possessed unique and idyllic qualities, echoed the ascendant ethno-nationalist ideology of the time: a German revivalism that located the wellspring of Aryan identity within this region. Leaving that consideration aside, however...”¹⁸ This last word, “however,” could be used as a summary of all the writings in the catalogue that touch upon the use of landscape paintings in the Romantic, Symbolist, and post-Impressionist eras. Not one single occurrence of the words “nation” or “nationalism” can be found in the four main articles of the catalogue, written by Jingaoka Megumi, Raffaele Milani, Nadine Engel, and Shinfuji Atsushi, not even in connection with the meanings of the paintings by Friedrich and Schinkel (cat. nos. 28–29). The focus of the curators is, instead, on the investigation of nature and the appreciation of nature painting as a moment of self-reflection and self-transformation.¹⁹ But the agency and culture of the artist need to be fully acknowledged. The act of considering the painters as single, isolated representatives of humankind as a whole, without any relationship to their contemporary people and cultures, reduces the titular “dialogue with nature” to an interior and probably empty monologue.

In fact, the Folkwang collection that contributes half of the works displayed at the NMWA exhibition is itself proof of the importance of rooting any understanding of paintings and art collections in the culture that generated them. Born as the Germanization of the Norse *Fólkvangr*, the name of the Museum Folkwang derives from the *Poetic Edda*, a medieval nordic collection of poems. *Fólkvangr* indicates the otherworldly field ruled over by the goddess Freyja, a field where some of those

14 Baker, “Epilogue.”

15 See Tsumura, *The Greats*, p. 247, nos. 67–68.

16 Pointon, “William Dyce as a Painter of Biblical Subjects.”

17 See for example Ferber, *The Hudson River School*, pp. 82–131.

18 Shinfuji, “The Reunion of Art and Life: The Worpswede Artists’ Colony,” p. 246.

19 See for example Jingaoka, “In Dialogue with Nature: The ‘Inward Eye.’”

who fell in battle go after they die. The sources of the Norse myths were the Icelandic manuscripts such as the famous *Codex Regius* (thirteenth century), avidly used by the composer Richard Wagner (1813–1883) in recreating the pan-Germanic mythology which lies at the core of his tetralogy *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (a pillar of our contemporary *imaginarium*). Excluding any notion of “nation” from the discussion of the collections of the Museum Folkwang implies being reticent also about the cultural intentions of the philanthropist Karl Ernst Osthaus (1874–1921), founder of the Museum Folkwang.²⁰

But Romantic and post-Romantic national identities, and the myths on which they were built, do not imply a connection with twentieth-century militarism or modern identitarianism. Osthaus demonstrated in collecting French and international painters, including Asian art, and promoting so-called Primitivism, that it was possible to combine national identity and appreciation for other nations and traditions. This is visible also in the history of the National Gallery of Scotland, which could expand its collections and grow as a cultural landmark even if the relations between Scotland and England were not (and are not) completely settled. Cultural dialogue promoted through a better knowledge of different traditions should be considered alternative to militarism, and not a preparation for it.

The association of militarism and nature painting brings me back to the Yamatane exhibition, *Depicting Japanese Landscapes*. The explanatory panels (to which I have to limit my analysis, as, alas, no catalogue was released) openly associated Japanese nature with national identity, and mentioned Shiga's *Nihon fūkeiron*, a book that was later crucial in creating the symbols of nationalistic pride during the militaristic era.²¹ However, the exhibition omits many wartime artworks, which depicted natural landscapes such as Mount Fuji or cherry blossoms as spiritual symbols of Japan's imperial expansion in East Asia. The painting *Young Ladies Planting Rice* (cat. no. 45) by *nihonga* painter Kawai Gyokudō 川合玉堂 (1873–1957), depicts a group of women happily working in a rice field under the sun. The caption label introduced the painting as having been made in 1945, the final year of World War II, when Gyokudō evacuated to Mitake. For this reason, according to the caption, this image represents a “refreshing” image of

nature, a rare moment of serendipity in difficult circumstances. Nowhere is it mentioned that depicting field work as a happy and idyllic activity was actually a mandate of militaristic propaganda: soldiers had the duty to fight on the battlefield, and farmers and traders had the duty to “fight” at home, providing resources for the empire.²²

The general impression is that the Yamatane exhibitors did their best to avoid mentioning the connection between the “harmonious dialogue” that Japanese people have with nature and war propaganda. This also explains why one or two decades of landscape paintings were missing from the selected exhibits. Such reticence could also be perceived in previous exhibitions, such as the special exhibition held for the 110th anniversary of the Nitten 日展 art organization, *Okuda Gensō and the Nitten Masters: From Fukuda Heihachirō to Higashiyama Kairi* (23 April–3 July 2022, Yamatane Museum of Art). Nitten had a pivotal role in establishing the trends of Japanese painting (both *yōga* and *nihonga*), and was also strictly controlled during the militaristic era; not surprisingly, the exhibition never mentioned this period.

Jingaoka, one of the organizers of the NMWA exhibition *In Dialogue with Nature*, voices in her essay her concerns about the dark side of culture, including the arts: “Modern ‘culture’ has continued to cultivate nature and enrich human beings. At the same time, however, this culture also resulted in two World Wars during the 20th century... both Japan and Germany heedlessly dashed into two world wars, carving deep scars in both the history of mankind and in the earth.”²³ This is probably the reason why Jingaoka tries to limit her analysis of landscape paintings to a meditation on the mysteries of the nature represented. By quoting Alberti's myth of Narcissus, Jingaoka seems to think that the purpose of appreciating art derives from a process of self-transformation on an individual basis:

Alberti ... called Narcissus looking at the reflection in the water the genesis of painting, not because he tried to scoop out the image of the mirror, much less because he despaired and was ruined by the fact that the person he fell in love with was his own image, but rather because he transformed into a

20 Gorschlüter, “On the History of Museum Folkwang.”

21 Toyosawa, “An Imperial Vision.”

22 See for example Ikeda, “Twentieth Century Japanese Art.”

23 Jingaoka, “In Dialogue with Nature,” p. 211.

“flower” thanks to his love for painting as an image of illusion.²⁴

This idea of meditation, self-improvement, and self-transformation in front of nature and, by proxy, in front of nature paintings, seems to be offered as an alternative to the knowledge of more problematic aspects of the “culture” connected to the artwork. And this seems, indeed, the approach that many exhibitions have in Japan, especially when confronted with similar exhibitions held in the West.

But even the darker sides of history connected to art need to be known, as they are also an integral part of our history and identity. In the case of the Japanese militaristic regime, a proper explanation of the historical context of nationalism and imperial expansion could have helped understand, at least as historical documents, the paintings that were created in those difficult circumstances.

I will conclude by saying that all three exhibitions reviewed offered stunning masterpieces to admire, created by men and women who lived in different countries and historical periods. Getting to know their ambitions and fears is part of what makes their art beautiful, even if they involve complex themes such as nationalism. But if we superimpose our current ideologies, with their reticence and political mandates, to the culture of the artists, then we stop seeing nature, or paintings of nature, or even our own image reflected into nature. This way we limit our vision to the mere physical surface of the painting, and we end up seeing nothing at all.

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Brian Daizen Victoria. *Zen Terror in Prewar Japan: Portrait of an Assassin*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2020.

BOOK REVIEW BY PARIDE STORTINI

BRIAN Victoria's *Zen Terror in Prewar Japan: Portrait of an Assassin* concludes a trilogy of books the author started in the 1990s that explore the collusion between Zen Buddhists and Japanese fascism, militarism, and expansionism in the first half of the twentieth century. Even more than the first two volumes,¹ this book is aimed at provoking its readership, as is evident also in the choice of title, and to challenge stereotypical views of Zen and Buddhism as peaceful religious traditions. The innovative structure of the book, which gives plenty of detail from primary sources while also providing a rich apparatus of appendixes to contextualize the main character and events discussed, makes it accessible to a readership broader than scholars of Japanese or Buddhist studies. As this review will argue, the same structure might constitute one of the weaknesses of this publication, as its separate historical and religious analysis of the primary sources reveals an important and unsolved tension in Victoria's scholarship. *Zen Terror* offers a deep reflection on key questions concerning Buddhism and violence that the author first raised in *Zen at War*—a book that stirred heated debates both among Zen practitioners, especially in the West, and in scholarship on modern Jap-

anese religions—making this last installment of the trilogy worth reading.

While the previous two volumes by Victoria survey Zen Buddhist lay and monastic participation in imperialist ideology and military expansion, *Zen Terror* focuses on one single figure: Inoue Nisshō 井上日召 (1886–1967). A radical Buddhist with experience as an army spy and extensive connections with the military and right-wing groups, Inoue led an assassination plot in 1932 known as the Blood Oath Corps Incident (*ketsu-meidan jiken* 血盟団事件) that caused the deaths of a former finance minister and of a businessman. Largely building on Inoue's autobiographical account and on the transcripts of his 1933 trial, Victoria aims at investigating Buddhist justifications of violence and terrorism from the insider perspective of the terrorist band leader Inoue. He structures his analysis of the primary sources into two main arguments: a historical one, where he stresses the responsibility of Emperor Shōwa 昭和 (1901–1989) in supporting right-wing political agitations and assassinations that ushered in 1930s totalitarianism; and a religious one, where he claims that Inoue's radical view of Buddhism must be traced to his Zen training and experiences, rather than to the inspiration of the thirteenth-century monk Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–1282) and Nichiren's modern nationalist interpreters, which is how Inoue has usually been described.

1 The first two volumes are *Zen at War* and *Zen War Stories*.

The specific case of Inoue and the historical study of Buddhist-justified terrorism in modern Japan represent for Victoria a constructive purpose: that anyone identifying with a religious faith should keep a self-critical attitude in order to prevent terrorist actions.

The book's chapters are structured by separating primary sources from scholarly analysis and contextualization in order to, as Victoria argues, provide the readers with an insider's perspective on religiously justified terrorism. After two prefaces, an introduction, and a chapter sketching out the historical context, the largest part of the book (chapters 3-12) recounts in detail Inoue's autobiography and the transcripts of his trial, what Victoria calls in the introduction the "insider's perspective" (pp. 6-8). This is followed by two chapters where Victoria provides his interpretation of the sources through a historical (chapter 13) and religious (chapter 14) argument. He then adds a "trilogy conclusion" where he links this book to the previous two, presenting his views on the relation between Buddhism and violence, and closes with an additional epilogue that expands beyond the Japanese context and offers a constructive argument aimed at preventing religiously justified terrorism. The appendixes enrich the book with additional cases of Zen-related terrorist actions and a list of all mentioned historical figures connected with Inoue.

The two prefaces—by the author and by James Mark Shields, who has contributed greatly to research on Japanese Buddhism and political radicalism²—significantly contextualize the book within the legacy of Victoria's previous work and introduce its impact on both the scholarly investigation of Buddhism and on Zen communities and practitioners in the West. These prefaces reveal that the purpose of the book is not limited to historical investigation but includes a constructive proposal about religion and violence. The introduction clarifies Victoria's methodology and use of concepts. His definition of terrorism as "a tactic employed, typically by the weak, to place pressure on the powerful, especially governments, to do the terrorists' bidding" (p. 2), presents one of the main conundrums of the book: the agency of individuals, such as Inoue, coming from a low-class background but deeply embedded in military and radical political networks that reach Em-

peror Shōwa. The author explains his choice of a "life history" method centered on Inoue's own account of his life and motivations leading to the assassination plot and concludes by clearly stating that the ultimate aim of the book is to prevent future reiterations of religiously motivated terrorism.

Before Inoue's life history, Victoria sketches the dire socioeconomic conditions which informed the discontent of radical groups that organized political assassinations in pre-World War II Japan, and introduces his perspective on Emperor Shōwa's role in weakening the democratic institutions that flourished in the 1920s. Starting from chapter 3, the reader ventures into the life of Inoue, based on Victoria's detailed retelling of Inoue's autobiography *Ichinin issatsu* 一人一殺, published in 1953.³ We learn that Inoue's youth was marked by family problems, alcoholism, flirts with socialism, and a moral and religious crisis that inspired suicidal thoughts (chapter 3). We then follow his activities as a spy and political agitator in China in the 1910s, where he built his connections with the Japanese military and started to experiment with the Buddhist practices of Zen meditation and sutra chanting (chapters 4 and 5). Chapters 6 and 7 offer more information on Inoue's commitment to Buddhism after he returned to Japan at the end of World War I: Victoria details how Inoue reached enlightenment after practicing *zazen* 座禪 meditation, solving his childhood moral doubts about the distinction between good and evil. These chapters also provide early evidence for Victoria that despite Inoue's devotion to the *Lotus Sutra* and connection with the nationalist Nichiren thinker Tanaka Chigaku 田中智学 (1861-1939), Inoue's Buddhist views were dominated by Zen training (pp. 76-77, 86-88). Chapter 8 shifts the focus to the early 1930s, with the growing involvement of Inoue with military and ultranationalist groups and political assassination plots in Tokyo, including the one he was most directly involved in: the Blood Oath Corps Incident of 1932. This was the attempt by a group of right-wing extremists to initiate a socioeconomic revolution and overturn the government by assassinating twenty politicians and businessmen. The group was successful in killing only two of the targeted victims, and its members were ultimately arrested. Victoria then

2 See Shields, *Against Harmony*, which provides a large survey of Buddhist intellectuals' engagement with political thought and differing views of modernity, freedom, nationalism, and socioeconomic equality.

3 Later in the book (chapter 8), Victoria clarifies that the title chosen by Inoue for his autobiography means "one person, one kill" and is linked to the assassination strategy used for the 1932 Blood Oath plot.

turns to another source, the transcripts of the trial that followed the incarceration of Inoue (chapter 9). In particular, he points out the Zen concepts and logic that Inoue used to justify his violent plot, also mentioning a further experience of enlightenment allegedly recognized by Inoue's Zen master Yamamoto Genpō 山本玄峰 (1866–1961). The two subsequent chapters tell of Inoue's life in prison and explain how his political networks allowed him to go from an initial death sentence to becoming a secret advisor to Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro 近衛文麿 (1891–1945). The last chapter on Inoue's life focuses on the investigation of his war responsibilities after the end of World War II and reports his pride in winning arguments against his interrogators through the use of Buddhist thought.

Chapter 13 is the first of two chapters that contain Victoria's analysis of Inoue's actions and focuses on what the author considers the main historical point his book wants to make: that Inoue's terrorist plot and his later political role are evidence of Emperor Shōwa's responsibilities in the demise of Taishō (1912–1926) democracy and the rise of Japanese totalitarianism. Building on the historian Maruyama Masao's 丸山眞男 (1914–1996) interpretation of Japanese fascism, Victoria defines Inoue as an example of an "outlaw" who contributed to the establishment of totalitarian imperialism in Japan (pp. 181–83). That said, Victoria also suggests that Inoue's actions "from below" were connected with interests and interventions "from above," as the emperor benefited from Inoue's attacks on the political and economic elites, and Inoue's release from prison and service to Konoe's pro-emperor politics can be seen as further evidence of this link (p. 183).

After the historical argument, Victoria invokes a religious one in the following chapter, centering on two main points: he argues against previous scholarship that saw Inoue as a Nichiren Buddhist, shifting focus to the centrality of Zen in both his practice and ideas, and then discusses the main problem of Buddhist justifications of violence. This last point is further explored in the conclusion, which is meant as an overarching reflection on the content of his three books. Victoria sees the embrace of violence as the result of Zen's focus on selflessness, action, and intuition, especially in the modernist form exemplified by Suzuki Daisetsu Teitarō 鈴木大拙貞太郎 (1870–1966), one of the main targets of the author's criticism. Victoria argues that the lack of ethical reflection in East Asian Buddhism is one of the main causes of the modern Buddhist acceptance of

Japanese militarism. While this consideration brings him to look for better models of nonviolent and ethical forms of Buddhism in Theravāda and in Buddhist canonical sources,⁴ he admits that history has provided us with examples of religiously justified violence in both East Asian and South Asian Buddhist traditions, and identifies potentially problematic passages also in Buddhist scriptures. The final comparison with other religions further extends this consideration of the link between violence and religion. In the additional epilogue, Victoria returns to his initial definition of terrorism as a strategy used by the weak against the powerful, using Inoue as a case study to discuss the political manipulation of religious justifications for violence, and to criticize how terrorism has been dealt with in recent American foreign policy. The last chapter, the conclusion, and the epilogue testify to Victoria's long-term commitment to exploring the link between Buddhism and violence—and give him the chance to introduce his next project on violence across religious traditions.

Victoria's argumentation reveals both the complexity of the topic and his assessment of it, while at the same time exposing tensions within the author's approach. The book, and more broadly Victoria's research, reveals a tension between history and religion and the attempt to separate the two and place violence in the former category. Despite Victoria's call for awareness over historical connections between religion and violence, which he documents at length, the epilogue seems to use Inoue's political plots and the role of the emperor as a way to disassociate religion from violence, or at least suggest the manipulation of the former for political purposes: "Religion-related terrorism is not primarily a religious phenomenon" (p. 246), which might lead one to conclude that this terrorism is ultimately political and motivated by historical, socioeconomic conditions, and not religious ones.

I believe that Victoria's analysis of religious terrorism and its inherent tension between history and religion might have benefited from engaging with some of the previous scholarship on the topic, such as Bruce Lincoln's work on the 9/11 terrorist attacks and their

4 Victoria made a similar comparison in previous publications such as *Zen at War* and "A Buddhological Critique of 'Soldier-Zen' in Wartime Japan," but in *Zen Terror*, we can see further developments that correct an attempt to isolate a more ethical Buddhism in either South Asian traditions or in early canonical sources.

aftermath.⁵ Lincoln's distinction between maximalist and minimalist views of religion allows for a spectrum of religious roles in society, while avoiding the dismissal of religiously justified violence as an irrational and unexplainable event (chapter 4). Lincoln's consideration of the revolutionary potential of religion (chapter 6) can also be applied to cases of Buddhist justification of violence against state power, left-wing radical action, and socialist utopias that would have nuanced Victoria's argumentation.

In this sense, Victoria's analysis of religious terrorism and its relation to totalitarianism in *Zen Terrorism* would have benefited from a discussion of the anarchist Zen monk Uchiyama Gudō 内山愚童 (1874-1911), executed for his participation in a plot to assassinate Emperor Meiji 明治 (1852-1912) in 1911, which Victoria himself had included in his first book and was later the focus of a publication by Fabio Rambelli.⁶ In addition, Victoria's effort to identify in East Asian Buddhist thought potential elements that led to an acceptance of imperialism and militarism could have included consideration of the left-wing and progressive stances also present in modern Japanese Buddhism.⁷

In light of the ultimately constructive intention of *Zen Terror*, it is also possible to understand why it is so important for Victoria to define Inoue's approach to Buddhism as based on Zen, rather than on Nichiren thought. The author points out every connection with Zen ideas and practices that can be found both in Inoue's autobiographical account and in his answers to the interrogations during the 1933 trial and the post-World War II ones. Even if Victoria's argument for the Zen basis of Inoue's action can be an important correction to previous scholarship on him, the reader is left to wonder why it is so important to identify and isolate a Zen core when the autobiography contains numerous mentions of interactions with Nichiren Buddhists, devotion to the *Lotus Sutra*, and the centrality of Shinto-inspired worship of the emperor. Rather than in the historical context of Japanese Buddhism or of its modern interpretations, the answer must be found in Victoria's purpose to offer a self-critical reflection on Zen and violence to a Western readership, whose views of Zen might be dominated by the orientalist stereotype of Buddhism as a peaceful religious tradition.

Victoria's aim to revise the image of Zen in the West informs his argument and the way he writes about Zen elements in Inoue's autobiography and interrogation reports. In much of his analysis, "Zen" becomes a reified and unified subject to which Inoue's statements can be associated. Rather than looking at Zen as an essential nucleus of ideas and practices that directly or indirectly provided justifications for Inoue's terrorist actions, it would be useful to look at the rhetorical nature of Inoue's use of concepts of intuition and personal experience to justify his actions and make them unexplainable to the "unenlightened" interrogator (chapter 9). Victoria's efforts to turn Zen into an active element in Inoue's decisions risks subtracting agency from Inoue himself and from his networks, and it might also be in contradiction with the author's own choice of a life history method to center the attention on the perspective of the terrorist as a human being, which is connected to my last, methodological, criticism of the book.

The tensions and contradictions that characterize Victoria's scholarship, which make it simultaneously problematic and thought-provoking, are already present in the methodological introduction of *Zen Terror*: he strongly claims an objective stance based on reporting the insider's account through primary sources without intervening on them (pp. 6-7), but then states that rather than an objective history, his book is a "spiritual history" (p. 9) because of the attention paid to the insider's perspective and motivations. Victoria's detailed summary of Inoue's autobiography offers a service to the readership that cannot access the Japanese original and constitutes a useful tool in undergraduate teaching, although at times his overview contains repetitions, and it might have benefited from more direct translations of important passages, which become more frequent in the final part of the account. However, his use of the primary sources needs further scrutiny. First, Victoria selects episodes that strengthen his later arguments, complementing them with additional evidence not present in the autobiography, such as when he mentions the *zazen* practice of Inoue's band (p. 111). Second, and more importantly, it is hard to consider Inoue's 1953 autobiography as historical evidence for events that happened during a period of over fifty years. The autobiography should be read as a retrospective interpretation of his own life and of the political history he was involved in, and it also contains many interesting elements that could be analyzed as a form of self-hagiography, such as when Inoue claims to have had reve-

5 Lincoln, *Holy Terrors*.

6 Rambelli, *Zen Anarchism*.

7 These have been explored in rich recent scholarship; see Shields, *Against Harmony*, and Curley, *Pure Land, Real World*.

latory dreams and to have foreseen later events. While Victoria's portrait of Inoue gives us a representation of a complex and fascinating historical agent within an extended network of connections with religious, political, and military figures, Victoria's later separation between historical and religious arguments and efforts to find potential justifications for violence in Buddhist doctrine or practice risk forgetting a useful observation shared by multiple presenters at a recent conference on Japanese Buddhism at the University of Chicago, and that also resonates with Victoria's own methodological statement: that, ultimately, Buddhism is made of people.

The problems inherent in the argumentation of *Zen Terror* make it a book that does not necessarily help a reader understand a specific period in the history of religion and politics in Japan, for which other Japanese scholarship would serve them better.⁸ However, when read in light of Victoria's constructive purpose of inviting readers toward a more critical self-awareness, the book raises important ethical issues and has the merit of discarding orientalist stereotypes about Zen as being a peaceful and nonviolent religious tradition. In addition, the book places the specific cases of Inoue Nisshō and of the relation between religion and totalitarianism in Japan in dialogue with more recent examples of religiously justified violence in a way that does not essentialize the Japanese context and that could be of use in teaching global history. This makes *Zen Terror* an interesting read not only for scholars of Japan and Buddhism, but for anyone interested in reflecting on the role of the individual in totalitarian regimes, in the relation between religion and violence, and more broadly in politics and ethics. Finally, it sheds light on the personal and scholarly trajectory of Brian Victoria, who has had a significant, if not controversial, impact on the study of modern Buddhism and on the image of Zen in the West.

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8 Among others, see Ōtani, *Kindai bukkyō to iu shiza*; Ogawara, *Nihon no sensō to shūkyō, 1899-1945*; Niino, *Kōdō bukkyō to tairiku fukyō*; and Ishii et al., *Kindai no bukkyō shisō to Nihonshugi*.



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