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How Japanese Athletes Are Changing Japan's Image at Home and Abroad

Midori Masujima

"I saw [the novelist] Yasushi Inoue [1907–91] about a year before he died, and he said something rather odd: 'Pretty soon the Japanese'—or maybe he said 'Japan'—'are going to have to become members of the world.' 'Members of the world'—that's a nice expression. Of course, he didn't mean like members of a labor union; more like members of a trade guild—the bathhouse operators' association or the gold and silver merchants' guild or the pawnbrokers' league.

"During the Edo period [1603–1868], Japan was a closed country. Then, in the Meiji era [1868–1912], we began to study the West, and that made us feel weak. We believed we couldn't compete with the West. But after our victory in the Russo-Japanese War [1904–5], we got kind of cocky, and we began to think of ourselves as one of the world's five great powers. . . . In any case, from the Edo period down to the present, we have never really been a member of the world community. [Before World War II,] we pulled out of the League of Nations. Then later, during the postwar economic boom, we flooded the world with Japanese exports. . . .

"I don't want to read too much into Mr. Inoue's offhand remark, but I do think he was saying that we've never really been a member of the world community—not in the Edo period, not in the Meiji era, and not today. Though we may have been a guest, or a provisional member, or a member-in-training, we have never been a full-fledged, card-carrying member. Full membership entails duties and responsibilities, and the time has come for us to accept them.

"When the wall between East and West Germany fell [1989], I was deeply moved. That was the greatest historical event we have seen in our brief time on the planet. Probably bigger than Mao Zedong's founding of the People's Republic of China. If we do not recognize that we are part of that great event, if we think of it only as something that we saw on TV—then we are still not members of the guild or association."

This statement by the late author Ryōtarō Shiba (1923–96) appears in "Sekai no Kaiin e" [Toward Membership in the World], the final chapter of *Sekai no Naka no Nihon: Jūroku-seiki madé Sakanobotte Miru* [Japan in the World Since the Sixteenth Century] (Chuokoron-Shinsha, Inc., 1992), a dialogue between Shiba and the American scholar of Japan, Donald Keene (b. 1922).

After graduating from Tokyo's Gakushuin University with a degree in political science, Midori Masujima joined Nikkan Sports News *to cover association football and professional baseball. She became a freelance sportswriter in 1997. Her numerous published books include* Rokugatsu no Kiseki: Kyūjūhachi Furansu W-hai Nippon Daihyō Sanjūkyū-nin Zenshōgen *[June Voyage: The Thirty-nine Members of Japan's 1998 FIFA World Cup Team Tell Their Stories] (Bungeishunju Ltd., 1998),* Samenai Yume: Asurīto Nanajū-nin ga Katatta Mahō no Kotoba *[Unending Dream: Words of Magic from Seventy Athletes] (The Masada, 2000),* Shidonī e: Kanojotachi no Yonjūni-ten-ichikyūgo-kiro *[To Sydney: The Women's Marathon Experience] (Bungeishunju Ltd., 2001), and* Gōrukīpāron *[On Goalkeeping] (Kodansha Ltd., 2001). She won the 1998 Mizuno Sportswriters Prize for* Rokugatsu no Kiseki. *Her Web site is at <http://www.asahi-net.or.jp/~mu2m-msjm/stadium/>.*

On Other Pages

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Toward Membership in the World

The conversation between these two gentlemen covers a number of aspects of Japanese culture —from the Dutch influence on Japan during the period of national seclusion and the effects of the seclusion policy on modern Japan to the spirit of autonomy among the common people in the Meiji era. Though it touches on a number of topics, from linguistics to cultural theory, their conversation also conveys something deeper that has made me reread it many times.

Some readers may be thinking: "She is a sportswriter; why isn't she talking about the batting stance, rifle arm, and finely honed fielding of Ichirō Suzuki of the Seattle Mariners as he made his mark as a major-league player, breaking record after record on his way to becoming the best hitter in the game? Or about pitcher Hideo Nomo of the Boston Red Sox, with his slow, back-bending 'tornado' windup and wicked forkball? Or the iron physique of Parma football star Hidetoshi Nakata and the way he can thread his unbelievably accurate passes through the smallest holes in the defense? Why is she focusing on Ryōtarō Shiba and Donald Keene and some discussion they had about Japan's national seclusion and the Meiji era?"

I will tell you why. I believe that the statistics and the records and the splendid skills displayed by Japanese athletes playing overseas are not just about athletic talent. I believe that these athletes, in this brand-new century, represent a new way of thinking, a new philosophy that has arisen within Japanese society, and that this new philosophy will have a tremendous influence.

Since taking office Japan's prime minister, Jun'ichirō Koizumi (b. 1942), has stressed that "structural reform" is needed to revive Japan's economy—but so far we have seen no changes. Stock prices continue to fall to record lows.

The issue of real responsibility is extremely difficult to pursue in Japanese society. Politicians talk about "restructuring" measures and call on the Japanese people to "share the pain," yet the politicians themselves are exempt from severe salary cuts and "restructuring" measures. That contradiction clearly shows how strongly Japan is still trapped in the old structures.

At the same time, the outstanding abilities of today's athletes, both professional and amateur, make a stark contrast with the keen sense of frustration and impotence felt in much of contemporary Japanese society.

Watching the Italian Serie A football league games via live satellite broadcasts in the wee hours of Sunday and Monday mornings is a habit among sports fans in Japan; and now they can also watch broadcasts of the English Premier league, the Dutch league, and the Argentine league. Exhausted from weekend late nights supporting Japanese athletes active in association football around the globe, Japanese fans have no time to rest; for as the week opens, it is time to get up at the crack of dawn, change the channel to major-league baseball, and watch the exploits of Nomo and Ichirō and Shinjō. This practice of hopping around the world's sports competitions via live TV broadcasts is a new custom that has established itself in Japan in the last couple of years. For some Japanese, TV is not enough: they must travel to watch the games in person. Travel agents have found that tour packages for overseas sports events are a very powerful draw.

Stock prices are falling, and Japan's long recession continues. Violence and crime appear to be on the rise as a result. Yet today's Japanese athletes—active overseas in greater numbers and in more sports than ever before—have made us remember the confidence and the pride we have lost.

"Maybe we can make it through these hard times after all." "Maybe the world will finally accept us for what we truly are, regardless of whether we are good or bad at foreign languages." I think Japan's athletes can inspire such hopes in the Japanese people.

This is why I started this article with such a long quotation from "Sekai no Kaiin e." I will not expand on Shiba's remarks, but I would like to point out that the world that both Inoue and Shiba envisioned Japan joining was something like a trade association or an intellectual community. As a sportswriter, I would like to focus on the fact that Japanese athletes are taking their place in the world today. Not only are they standing shoulder to shoulder with their overseas peers, in some cases they are leading the way.

If there is ever a time when Japan is pitted against the world in sports, it is during the Olympics or the various world championships. The Olympics, in particular, seem like an extension of the National Athletic Meet and are extremely popular in Japan.

In contrast, the "structural reform" that began when Nomo (b. 1968) left Japanese baseball and went to America in 1995—and which has continued, gradually but irreversibly, with the departure of many other Japanese athletes—has given new hope to Japanese sports. And it has helped give young and old alike a new vision of the world.

Already the notion of sports as gladiator combat among nations seems out of date. The spirit of Japan's athletes now goes beyond any borders. They have lessened at least some of the language complex and other inferiority complexes that the Japanese have for many years had regarding our eligibility for "membership in the world." And the sense of achievement that this has brought us may be one of the few positive assets of the present era.

Originality Remedies the Japanese Inferiority Complex

Without even waiting to be asked whether he could speak English, Kōji Murofushi (b. 1974), who works for the Japanese sporting goods manufacturer Mizuno Inc. and holds the

Photo Kishimoto

Kōji Murofushi.

Japanese record for the hammer throw, opened his press conference at the World Championships in Edmonton with a winning smile and fluent English.

In August 2001, at the 8th IAAF World Championships in Athletics in Edmonton, Canada, Murofushi became the first Japanese thrower in history to win a silver medal at the world-championship level. At 187 cm (about 6′2″) tall and even after struggling to increase his weight to 96 kg (almost 212 pounds), he still seemed so small in an event in which the contestants are giants, weighing in at an average of 120 kg (nearly 265 pounds). Yet Murofushi somehow made a virtue out of the disadvantage that Japanese athletes are said to have in events geared to sheer physical strength. His effort to win the silver medal was a miracle of technique.

He has a compact delivery, taking four and a half turns before release. In this difficult sport, which requires both continual small adjustments and immense strength, he showed the world his steady nerve. During the World Championships in Edmonton, he was the only competitor to throw past the 82-meter (269-foot) mark in three out of his six tries.

At the same time, he seems to have overcome weaknesses that make it difficult for Japanese athletes to adapt to "global standards" in sports and the tough environment of overseas competition. He has participated regularly in the high-stakes, grand prix circuit. The top European and American athletes have been doing that for years. He has been fortunate enough to receive the backing of his company, but he himself has handled a daily routine filled with negotiations and complex qualifying procedures, interviews and conversations with throngs of foreign journalists, and joint press conferences. And in the process he has developed a relaxed, natural speaking style in English.

"Sometimes I still get a bit embarrassed. But I am not an English student. I am a hammer thrower in world competition, and if I make a few mistakes in speaking, it really doesn't bother me."

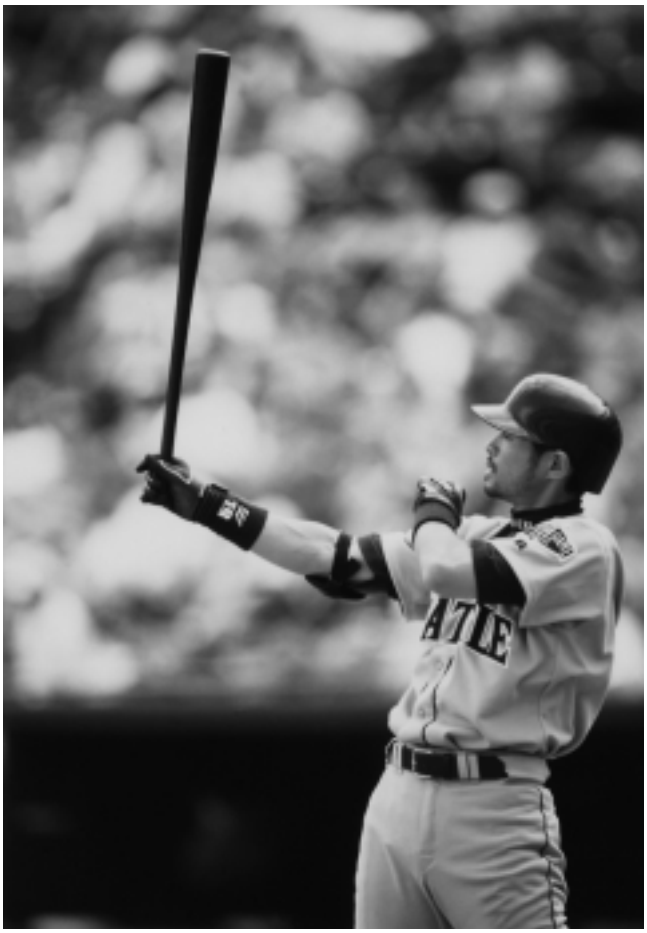
This shy young man from Japan has made an overwhelmingly positive impression on the foreign press. In certain quarters he has already achieved a degree of global name-recognition that would be hard to find even in major-league baseball; and if things continue like that, he may soon earn the "Iron Man of Asia" nickname given to his father, Shigenobu Murofushi (b. 1945), who held the Japanese national record in the hammer throw before him. Who knows? He may even become the "Iron Man of the World."

He had this to say at the World Championships: "I want to express my sincere respect for the first-place winner. For me, the silver medal means 'Don't get complacent; keep aiming higher.' But I am proud of today's results." As I listened with representatives of the international media to Murofushi expressing himself in such fluent English, my thoughts went back to a press conference after the Chicago Marathon in 1986 in which the Japanese runner Toshihiko Seko (b. 1956) overwhelmed a field of the world's top runners to take what was then the largest prize purse of all marathon races. No one had thought to provide a Japanese interpreter, and it fell to me, with my terrible English, to do the job.

Seeing how natural Murofushi appeared, with his English that reflected such a relaxed and confident stance and his pivot foot planted firmly in "the world," I couldn't help thinking of those earlier days. The image of Murofushi, still an amateur but on the world stage of international sports thanks to his original technique, may yet become a symbol for us all.

It is clear that possession of something original can

Y. Koike/Photo Kishimoto



Ichirō Suzuki.

compensate for the chronic Japanese inferiority complex, and this can be seen in all sports.

When Nomo first joined the Los Angeles Dodgers, the Japanese media seemed to worry more about his ability to adapt to life overseas and his obvious inability to speak English than about his skills as a pitcher. His response still impresses me: "Don't worry about me. I'm not going over there for language school."

This comment filled with biting wit and unshakable self-confidence gave us a glimpse of a new age dawning. He was not going to let some misguided feeling of inferiority bother him; in lieu of fluent English he had something original up his sleeve: a terrifying forkball and the unique "tornado" windup that made it possible.

The previous year, during some Japan-U.S. exhibition games in Japan, someone from American baseball circles told Nomo that his delivery would never work in the majors. His response was emphatic: "I'm not planning on changing it." In those words we can see a steely resolve founded on his faith in his own original technique.

A similar story involves Ichirō (b. 1973). During spring training, as they watched him at batting practice working on his opposite-field hitting style—so different from that used by American power hitters—top Seattle Mariners executives grew increasingly irritated, telling him he would never get away with that against the strongest pitchers in the major leagues. But Ichirō's response was much like Nomo's. "You don't have to worry about it. I'll be fine. I'm just doing a little fine-tuning."

Later, on American TV, I saw Seattle manager Lou Piniella (b. 1943) laughing about this incident, recalling how upset he had been at the time. Yet even in Ichirō's comments, I do not think there was any hint of such outdated notions as "I'm going to test myself in the majors" or "I'm here to compete against the world."

Instead of worrying about living overseas, Ichirō is concentrating on polishing his batting (he no longer takes his unique "pendulum" swing). He puts more energy into nonverbal communication on the field than into language study, and he appeals to fans not with clever comments but with the determination he shows when he runs the bases. That is where his unshakable faith in his own originality comes from.

It certainly is no exaggeration to call these young men "Japanese originals," and something about their technical innovations recalls the glory days of Japanese auto exports. Flurries of articles and commentary in the American media have suggested that Japan's principal export commodity has shifted from automobiles to major-league baseball players. But there is a crucial difference. For better or worse, improvement in industrial technology is usually a result of mutual imitation among the manufacturers. But no one can imitate Ichirō's unique swing, nor can they emulate Nomo's tornado windup or throw his forkball, no matter how hard they might try.

I often think there should be something like an "international sports patent center" where original techniques could be registered and protected like other industrial processes—techniques like Ichirō's swing, Nomo's windup, Murofushi's four-and-a-half turn release, or the V-position flying technique used by Japanese Nordic combined athletes that met such blatant resistance from Europe a few years ago.

These Japanese athletes have taken the Japanese sports inferiority complex—the sense that Japanese are not physically or experientially ready for world competition—and proved it wrong. Perhaps people in the field of education in Japan—who continually emphasize their students' weaknesses and shortcomings—should take note.

Shigetoshi Hasegawa (b. 1968) of the Anaheim Angels conducted his first press conference with the team in English, to the applause of the media. Tsuyoshi Shinjō (b. 1972), who left Nishinomiya's Hanshin Tigers and joined the New York Mets in the spring of 2001, has somehow managed to use the body language Japanese are ordinarily so poor at to express his joy and anger, sadness and elation, and in doing so has won the love and admiration of his teammates and the fans.

Despite the originality, competence, and communication skills that these Japanese major leaguers have shown while adapting to American baseball and life in America,

the American media still describe them using invariable, stale clichés. At events sponsored to make the Japanese players feel at home, someone inevitably trots out Kyoto, Mount Fuji, women in kimonos, or traditional Chinese customs. And we have really had quite enough of the "Rising Sun" metaphor being used at every media opportunity.

The Advent of a New Concept: "Away"

One of the points raised in the dialogue between Shiba and Keene mentioned earlier was that Japan had never really been able to become a full-fledged member of the international community after it dropped out of the League of Nations in 1933. This is quite interesting in terms of the world of sports, as well.

The two largest organizations in the world in terms of member nations are sports organizations. One, with 210 member countries and regions, is the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF); the other is the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), with 204. When we consider that the United Nations has 189 members, we can understand something of the size of these sports associations.

Compared with these groups, the major leagues of American baseball are isolated organizations. The fact that America's level is the highest that Japanese baseball players seek to reach when testing their own skills is, in a sense, a reflection of the limited worldview that dominates Japanese professional baseball.

But association football is a sport with a different worldview.

In baseball, a team playing a string of games away from its home ballpark is said to be "on the road." The term "road" is not laden with connotations of apprehension, lurking enemies, or a huge change in surroundings. The team on the road, in contrast to the home team, is known as the "visitors," a term connoting hospitality, treating visitors as guests.

In association football the contrast is more striking. In the world of football, "home" and "visitors" become "home" and "away"—conveying much deeper connotations of physical dislocation, of being in alien territory.

Almost everything—from the size of the pitch to the type of leather used in making the ball—can vary considerably between South America and Europe, and all World Cup matches are contested by teams that must at some point play on unfamiliar ground, in an unfamiliar climate, in an unfamiliar time zone.

Cheering sections enthusiastic enough to sway the umpires are totally unthinkable in baseball; yet in football, stadium riots are not only frequent but sometimes deadly. And all of this contributes to the anxiety associated with the "away" mind-set.

Even so, FIFA is one of the most closely united associations in the entire world. No matter where one is in the world, the same rules are enforced—they are actually called the "Laws of the Game." And there are only seventeen of them. Quite simple. And precisely because of this simplicity, they tend to lend emphasis to the differences among regions and among nations that inflame fans' passions.

The influence of the national seclusion that Shiba and Keene touched on in their comments on the Japanese worldview remains deeply rooted in the world of sports, as well. Ten years ago, Japan, relying on the power of money, invited all the big overseas football stars and clubs to play in Japan and gave them VIP treatment as "visitors." Although Japanese athletes got to rub elbows with the world's top players, the games themselves were never much more than exhibition matches, and Japanese teams were denied the genuine "away" experience of contending on foreign soil.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the Chinese Football Association wanted to strengthen its youth football program. Since stadiums and other sports facilities were not fully developed, the association decided to round up the most promising players and send them to Brazil, which was then the world's top football nation. They went for two years, without a trip home. This is an extreme example perhaps, but the element of having to overcome differences in environment and culture in sports is an embodiment of the "away" mind-set.

I am not talking here simply of athletes. Japanese in general are poor "away" players. When they go abroad, they always carry emergency supplies of Japanese food—as if to keep "home" easily in reach. When Italians go on a trip overseas, they do not stock up on pasta and olive oil. Germans do not stuff their suitcases with potatoes and sausages. As for the Americans, well, anywhere in the world is going to seem like "home," since there is bound to be a McDonald's or a Starbucks on almost any corner.

In any case, I think football has provided the best antidote to this weakness of the Japanese, as both the concept and the reality of "home" and "away" play have been demonstrated to them by Japan's professional football players.

For a long while, World Cup Soccer, the pinnacle of world football, was more or less irrelevant to the Japanese football community; and the Italian Serie A league, for example, which ranks at the top in the world standings, seemed remote from Japan—nothing more than something interesting to watch on TV. All that changed when a fierce ball of determination named Hidetoshi Nakata (b. 1977) first set foot on an Italian football pitch.

In September 1998, Nakata arrived in Perugia, the capital of both Perugia Province and Umbria Region, north of Rome. What happened after that, in this town that few Japanese had ever heard of, can be described as a miracle in certain respects. Without any advertising, thousands of Japanese tourists suddenly showed up and

Photo Kishimoto

Hidetoshi Nakata.

team shirts and other paraphernalia for one of the weakest teams in the league began to sell fast, while back in Japan it seemed that everyone was paying tens of thousands of yen to watch satellite broadcasts of the matches on the weekends.

But the biggest miracle was Nakata's football. When he arrived, both the Japanese and the Italian media had a lot of negative things to say about him—he was at a disadvantage because of his small stature; he was not competent technically; his Italian was a question mark. How, they wondered, was he going to navigate the complex internal politics of an Italian football club; in fact, how could some kid from the Far East understand Italian football at all? As if to laugh all this off, in his first game Nakata scored two goals against Juventus, the league champion. With his first dramatic steps into the league, which has been called the best in world football, Nakata was taking giant steps for Japanese football as a whole.

In 1998 Japan played in World Cup Soccer for the first time—gaining what one might call associate member status in the world community. And in the years since, following Nakata's lead, many Japanese players have played successfully overseas. Now, with the 2002 FIFA World Cup Korea/Japan™ close at hand, Japanese athletes are running onto pitches not just in Italy, but in England, the Netherlands, Spain, Argentina, and elsewhere. This global presence was almost unimaginable a few years ago, but it will no doubt continue, as Japan's athletes go on to meet new challenges.

In football, athletes play many "away" games in other countries, especially as they advance in the international rankings. They must make sure that their performance does not suffer and that they face their opponents fearlessly, even when they are playing in places where the local customs, environment, culture, language, food, and climate are completely different from what they are used to. In my years of covering the professional football scene, I have often thought about this; and I realize that Japanese society does not yet understand how much toughness it takes for athletes to do that.

The Japanese players taking up this challenge have, by kicking a small leather ball, boldly shown the rest of us that there is a radical alternative to the sort of weakness that I think almost all Japanese find within themselves, even on a pleasure trip abroad. That alternative is to act freely and fearlessly on the world stage, embracing the idea that the Japanese are indeed full-fledged members of the world community.

Not long ago, some Italian sports newspapers, which are usually known for their sharp commentary, ran lengthy features on Hidetoshi Nakata. He moved to Italy a little over three years ago and now gives all his press conferences in Italian, appears on TV without an interpreter, and even does a little public speaking. He has fallen in love with Italian food and acquired a sharp eye for Italian fashion. The articles described him with various adjectives: "new samurai," "young emperor," "a player with the technique of a South American and the cleverness of a European." Does he represent their image of Japan and the Japanese? Quiet, thoughtful, laconic, always playing with endurance and strength, never giving in to weakness. No doubt he will re-create the image they hold of the Japanese. In any case, he will have a greater and more commendable impact than the Japanese automobile.

To become full-fledged members of the world community, we have to have a worldview that has both breadth and depth; but before that, we must have a strong grasp of our own identity, or where our roots are planted. The hope for Japan's structural reform lies less in the dismantling of quasi-government corporations than in the new system of values displayed by our athletes, which is likely to have a far greater and more positive impact on the Japanese people.

As I watch satellite broadcasts of sports programs morning and night, impressed by Ichirō's hitting and Nakata's toughness in the face of opponents' attacks, I realize that it takes courage to survive in sports—the same courage that is needed to be a member of the world community in this difficult age. Without being aware of it, these athletes demonstrate this through their magnificent play.

From the Japanese Press

(April 1–July 31, 2001)

AWARDS

Japanese Literature in Translation Prizes

The Donald Keene Center of Japanese Culture at Columbia University announced the winners of the 2001 Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission Prizes for the Translation of Japanese Literature. The prize for best translation of a modern literary work has been awarded to Professor James Philip Gabriel, of the University of Arizona, for *Life in the Cul-de-Sac* [*Gunsei*] by Senji Kuroi. Professor Mae J. Smethurst, of the University of Pittsburgh, has received the prize for the best classical literary translation for *Dramatic Representations of Filial Piety: Five Noh in Translation*. (S: May 2)

Yukio Mishima Prize

Yuriika [Eureka] (Kadokawa Shoten Publishing Co., Ltd., 2000) by the film director Shinji Aoyama and *Arayuru Basho ni Hanataba ga* [Bouquets Everywhere] (published in the April 2001 issue of *Shinchō*) by the writer and musician Masaya Nakahara have been awarded the 14th Yukio Mishima Prize for works of fiction, criticism, poetry, or drama that have opened up new literary vistas. *Yuriika* depicts the effects of a bus hijacking on the survivors: the driver and a boy and his younger sister who were passengers. *Arayuru Basho ni Hanataba ga* is a collage of fragmentary scenes, some absurd, some violent. (A, M, Y: May 20)

Fukuoka Asian Culture Prizes

The city of Fukuoka announced the recipients of the 12th Fukuoka Asian Culture Prizes, which honor outstanding achievements in the creation or preservation of Asian culture. The grand prize was awarded to the Bangladeshi economist Muhammad Yunus, founder of the Grameen Bank and originator of the microcredit system of making unsecured loans to the rural poor. The Japanese economist Yūjirō Hayami, a professor at the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, received the academic prize; and the arts and culture prize was given to the Thai painter Thawan Duchanee and the Philippine film director Marilou Diaz-Abaya. (A, M, Y: Jul. 4)

Kawakita Prize

The film director Kon Ichikawa was named to receive the 19th Kawakita Prize. The prize is awarded annually to an individual or organization contributing to international exchange or the popularization of Japanese culture through film. Ichikawa has directed nearly eighty films, including his recent work, *Dora Heita* [*Dora-Heita;* 2000]. He was cited for his mastery of many cinematic genres, ranging from adapted literary works to suspense, comedy, and documentaries, as well as for the critical acclaim he has received at home and abroad. (A: Jul. 14)

Akutagawa and Naoki Prizes

The winner of the 125th Akutagawa Prize for belles-lettres by new writers was Sōkyū Gen'yū for *Chūin no Hana* [Flowers in Limbo], which appeared in the May 2000 issue of *Bungakukai*. The 125th Naoki Prize for popular fiction by more established writers was awarded to Yoshinaga Fujita's *Ai no Ryōbun* [Love's Domain], published by Bungeishunju Ltd. Like Gen'yū, the protagonist of *Chūin no Hana* is a priest of the Rinzai Zen sect. The protagonist questions the meaning of faith after the death of a local female shaman. *Ai no Ryōbun,* a subtle account of the feelings of a middle-aged man and woman, revolves around the love affair between a widowed tailor in his fifties and an artist in her thirties. Fujita's wife, Mariko Koike, received the Naoki Prize for her novel *Koi* [Love] in 1996. This is the first time that a husband and wife have won the award. (A, M, N, S, Y: Jul. 18)

HISTORY

Kitora Tomb Mural Discovered

A digital camera inserted into the late-seventh- or early-eighth-century stone-chambered Kitora Tomb in Asuka, Nara Prefecture, has revealed a *suzaku* (red bird), one of the four sacred creatures regarded as guardian deities in ancient China, painted on the chamber's south wall. This is the first painting of a *suzaku* to be found in a Japanese tomb. Paintings of the other three mythological creatures had been found earlier: a *genbu* (a cross between a tortoise and a snake) on the north wall in 1983 and a *seiryū* (azure dragon) on the east wall and a *byakko* (white tiger) on the west wall in 1998. (A, M, N, S, Y: Apr. 4)

Copy of Lost Map Found in the United States

Ink and watercolor copies of 207 of the 214 sheets of a large-scale map of Japan's main islands, the most detailed of the maps by the late-Edo-period (1603–1868) geographer and surveyor Inō Tadataka (1745–1818), were found in the United States Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. The original map, submitted to the Tokugawa shogunate, was destroyed in a fire. This manuscript copy

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Abbreviations used here: A: *Asahi Shimbun* M: *Mainichi Shimbun* N: *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* S: *Sankei Shimbun* Y: *Yomiuri Shimbun*

The Cultural Politics of Identity Strategies in the Japanese Literature of Resident Koreans in Japan

Elise Edwards Foxworth

The concept of identity is a complex but topical issue in academia and society at large and undeniably holds a special significance for members of the Korean diaspora in Japan, commonly referred to as *zainichi* Koreans.[1] The little-known Japanese literature of *zainichi* Koreans takes up Japanese colonialism, postcolonial oppression in Japan, the Korean War, Korean political affairs, ethnicity, nationalism, and inter- and intragenerational struggles, all of which have (or have had) a direct influence on *zainichi* Korean identity formation and self-determination in Japan. Reading and analyzing the Japanese literature of *zainichi* Korean novelists not only promotes a rich understanding of the Korean experience in Japan and the processes by which people realize independent subjectivities but also allows for an original approach to the understanding of Japanese society from its defeat in World War II to the present.

My thesis analyzes two representative novels by each of four second-generation Korean writers in Japan: Kim Suok Puom, Lee Hoe Sung, Kim Ha Gyon, and Lee Yan Ji. Despite the fact that they are all second-generation *zainichi* Koreans, they are dissimilar in age and essentially writing in different eras. The four writers thus articulate an enormous variety of cultural, historical, and linguistic knowledge or experiences of *zainichi* Koreans. One goal of my research is to situate the novels in a chronologically correct historical and social framework to shed light on the ideological and political paradigms that characterized a given decade or era, especially as it was experienced or understood by the Korean diaspora. Methodologically, my project is therefore as much a sociological analysis as a literary analysis. The following very brief introductions of the four writers offer only a minimum of information about them and their literature, but I hope they inspire readers' interest.[2]

Kim Suok Puom

Born in Osaka in 1925, Kim Suok Puom (pronounced Kin Sekihan in Japanese) graduated from Kyoto University with a major in literature and in the 1950s embarked on a brilliant, though little-known writing career. Kim arguably rivals any number of world-renowned writers in literary prowess with his tight narrative plots, lifelike characterization, and impressive use of such stylistic devices as realism (magical and grotesque), satire, and irony. As a social commentator, Kim writes prolifically on a variety of topics, including ethnicity, nationalism, racism, assimilation, naturalization, and the dilemma of writing in Japanese as a Korean.

Kim's tour de force is a seven-volume epic novel, *Kazantō* [Volcano Island], which took him more than twenty years to write and was inspired by the positive reception of his 1967 debut novel, *Karasu no Shi* [The Death of the Crow], itself a work of genius. *Karasu no Shi,* a spy story, recounts the Cheju Rebellion, a little-known massacre that took place on his family's native island of Cheju.[3]

Virtually all of Kim's fiction takes up American imperialism and the Cheju Rebellion, which began on April 3, 1948, when Cheju islanders took up arms to protest the United States–sponsored "South only" elections, to be held that May. The U.S. military and South Korean militias responded by torturing and killing communists and suspected sympathizers, killing 80,000 islanders out of a total population of 200,000; the killings occurred primarily in 1948 and 1949 but continued until as late as 1955.[4] Over 40,000 islanders fled to Japan, giving rise to a distinctive group of *zainichi* Koreans for whom Kim is a celebrated voice. Most Japanese critiques of his work fail to mention (purposely?) how forcefully his narratives allegorize what it means to be a *zainichi* Korean in postwar Japan.

Lee Hoe Sung

Lee Hoe Sung (pronounced Ri Kaisei in Japanese) was born a decade later, in 1935, in Japanese-occupied Sakhalin and relocated to a refugee camp on Kyushu at the age of twelve. A graduate of Waseda University, Lee was the first *zainichi* Korean writer to reach a wide audience in Japan when he won the 1972 Akutagawa Prize for belles-lettres for his poignant *Kinuta o Utsu Onna* [The Cloth Fuller], about the life and death of his mother.

Lee's early novels are heart-rending portraits of family strife, discrimination, and internal conflict, all of which, says critic Takeda Seiji (b. 1947), accurately characterize *zainichi* Korean life in Japan between the 1940s and the 1960s.[5] Lee's paradigmatic sketch of the process of identity formation, from Japanese to half Japanese–half Korean to Korean, was hailed by his *zainichi* Korean peers as an accurate description of their process of self-determination. Taken as a whole, his narratives depict an ideological evolution from a stance of imperial fascism

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to a utopian vision of postwar democracy to Korean nationalism.[6]

In *Kita de Aré Minami de Aré Waga Sokoku* [North or South, My Country; 1974], Lee articulates an increasing interest in the reunification of the Korean *people* and a measured allegiance to both sides of the divide. However, his 1998 adoption of South Korean nationality embroiled him in some controversy.[7] His current writings increasingly endorse the interests of all oppressed peoples, regardless of their ethnicity, and champion peaceful coexistence.

Kim Ha Gyon

In 1985 Kim Ha Gyon (pronounced Kin Kakuei in Japanese) tragically committed suicide at the age of forty-six. Kim's life, death, and literature were informed by three facts: he had a severe stutter; he had a violent father; and he was a *zainichi* Korean. His novels and essays, largely autobiographical, are introspective accounts of the psychological ramifications of *being* and *feeling* "different" and how one should face a harsh, unjust, and sorrowful life. For some protagonists, and finally for Kim himself, suicide was a (positive?) means to alleviate suffering.

Kim's stutter determined much of the thematic substance of his literature and his very exceptional approach to ethnicity. Unlike the majority of his peers, Kim distrusted the notion that appropriating a "Korean" identity could remedy the difficulties and tribulations that existence generated. He was highly knowledgeable about *zainichi* Korean affairs and certainly drew attention to problems of prejudice in his novels and essays; but his portrayal of "ethnic pride," Japanese or Korean, is censorious. When faced with racism, Kim's heroes tend to muse over the inanity of it, defy it internally with simple logic, and carry on in spite of it. Kim's heroes simply experience reality rather than seek refuge in what the author depicts as ineffectual political or ethnic alliances or activities. His writings thus provided readers with a new lens through which to critique the degree of importance ethnicity need necessarily hold for a given individual in his or her pursuit of fulfillment and self-worth. He was especially praised by disaffected *zainichi* Koreans who lacked or avoided alliances with *zainichi* Korean associations.

Lee Yan Ji

Born in 1955, Lee Yan Ji was the first *zainichi* Korean woman to win the prestigious Akutagawa Prize for belles-lettres, for her 1989 novel *Yuhi*. Largely autobiographical, *Yuhi* tells the story of a young woman's endeavor to locate her Korean ethnicity in Seoul, where she is finally forced to come to terms with her "hybrid" subjectivity. Lee's literature validated the then oft-heard pitiful cry of younger generations of *zainichi* Koreans: "Korea is not really our country." She demonstrated to both Koreans and Japanese that younger *zainichi* Koreans, by their very status, were not in fact linguistically or culturally Korean, at least in the sense in which the word "Korean" signified the nature of Koreans on the peninsula. Nevertheless, she never stopped advocating the assertion of a unique Korean subjectivity.

Lee tended to write fiction akin to memoirs. Her characterizations of women are refreshingly realistic, depicting the totality of a given woman—a complex continuum of personality, knowledge, experiences, and emotions. A hard talker, drinker, and lover, Lee was a sensitive and intelligent woman who achieved greatness in her literary endeavors, as well as in Korean dance and music. But Lee suffered from depression. Her parents' bitter ten-year-long divorce proceedings, as rendered in her novel *Nabi-taryon* [The Sorrowful Butterfly; 1989], caused her immense heartache. And to her lasting chagrin, her father had the family naturalized when she was a child. Lee is thus an example of a Japanese national who affirmed a "Korean identity." In 1992 she tragically died of heart failure at the age of thirty-seven, depriving her readership of the prospect of witnessing her evolution as a writer.

The Nature of Literature

The largely semiautobiographical narratives presented by the four writers introduced above pose highly philosophical questions of existence and give counsel on self-determination through the strategic uses of plot, characterization, allegory, and metaphor and a rich, distinctive use of the Japanese language. Indeed the novels I analyzed, in traditional exemplary literary form, provide not only gripping accounts of humanity but also insight, guidance, and solace to the inquiring mind and receptive reader. Additionally, *zainichi* Korean literature illustrates the increasingly obscure or intangible mechanisms that sustain racism, exclusivity, and misconstructions of reality but which remain hugely deleterious to both minorities and society at large. By providing insights into systemic racism, a major dilemma in every nation-state, *zainichi* Korean literature has enormous potential to educate its readership in new ways of both understanding and combating racism.

Bringing Literature to Life

During my stay in Japan as a Japan Foundation fellow, I made a point of interviewing as many *zainichi* Koreans, and some Japanese, as possible to hear firsthand their life stories or discuss *zainichi* Korean literature and whatever knowledge about *zainichi* Koreans and Japanese society they wished to share with me. I was fortunate enough to interview over fifty individuals, including the writers Kim Suok Puom, Lee Hoe Sung, and Yang Sok Il; the poets Kim Shi Jong and Chon Jan; and the *zainichi* Korean literary critic and philosopher Takeda Seiji. I am especially indebted to the latter two intellectuals, who spent a great deal of time with me discussing *zainichi* Korean literature in depth. Every interview brought with it new information, insights, and inspiration. In particular, the interviews powerfully brought to life the events rendered in the novels, lent coherency to the complexity of the issues taken up, and helped me understand the many intricate nuances or subtle references to *zainichi* Korean affairs that manifest in the literature, purportedly less and less comprehensible to an increasingly uninformed populace. I hope my research on *zainichi* Korean literature offers an

insightful analysis of the literature itself, as well as the *zainichi* Korean experience of self-determination in Japan, and finally a more objective analysis of multiculturalism in Japanese society.

Notes

1. The term "*zainichi* Koreans," as opposed to "newcomer Koreans," refers to Koreans and/or their descendants whose presence in Japan is the direct result of Japan's occupation of the Korean Peninsula from 1910 to 1945.

2. In these very short abstracts, I have not included negative appraisal or discussion of the more complicated political aspects of the literature or writers, choosing instead to highlight their positive attributes.

3. Volumes 1 through 3 of *Kazantō* won Kim the Osaragi Jirō Prize, considered the ultimate literary prize by many writers, since it is given only to esteemed novelists who have made a valuable, long-term contribution to *Japanese* literature. (Interview with poet Chon Jan, Higashi Osaka, April 19, 2001).

4. See Peter Lowe, *The Origins of the Korean War* (London: Longman, 1986), 217–24; and Bruce Cumings, "American Responsibility for Suppression of the Cheju-do Rebellion" (paper and keynote address presented at the 50th Anniversary Symposium on the April 3, 1948, Cheju-do Rebellion; Tokyo, March 14, 1998).

5. Takeda Seiji, *"Zainichi" to Iu Konkyo* [What It Means to Be *"Zainichi"*] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo Publishing Co., Ltd., 1995), 11–98, especially 14.

6. Sumiko Watanabe, "Ri Kaisei no Sekai" [Ri Kaisei's World], *Bungakuteki Tachiba* 4 (1971): 28; or Itaru Kawashima, "Hito to Bungaku" [People and Literature], in *Furui Yoshikichi, Kuroi Senji, Ri Kaisei, Gotō Meisei Shū* [Works of Yoshikichi Furui, Senji Kuroi, Ri Kaisei, and Meisei Gotō], vol. 96 of *Chikuma Gendai Bungaku Taikei* [Chikuma Collection of Modern Literature] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo Publishing Co., Ltd., 1978), 522.

7. The controversy, primarily between Lee Hoe Sung and Kim Suok Puom, appears in a series of articles and letters in the 1998 editions of the journals *Sekai* and *Shinchō*.

The History and Ecology of the Extinction of the Japanese Wolf

Brett L. Walker

On the morning of the nineteenth day of the first month of 1810, six hunters, armed with swords, lances, firearms, and *bentō* lunchboxes, headed out into the mountains of the Akita domain (in present-day Akita Prefecture) to hunt down the murderous monsters. Simultaneously, one hundred peasants and townspeople set out in the direction of the mountain Akamochi-yama, while another hundred people, all armed with lances and carrying *bentō* boxes, formed two groups: one party made its way toward the headwaters of the river Tama-gawa, while the other pushed its way through nearby farm fields. All parties, including recruits from villages along the way, such as peasants from Kaifuki Pass, planned to converge on Takanosu-yama. Almost like a scene out of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein,* by the time they reached their destination, some twenty-one parties boasted a total membership of an astonishing nine hundred and thirty people. This frightening mob was not after murderous human beings, however. Rather, they were after wolves. Despite the mob's size, chronicles report that "No wolves were met; the hunt was without results." Not deterred, the mob made its way to Furushiro-yama; again, no wolves were killed, and hunters were forced to be content with two foxes shot near the temple Saimyō-ji.[1]

The Takanosu-yama hunt, with its frightful imagery of armed mobs marching through the evergreen and broad-leafed forests of northwestern Honshu, raises important questions concerning Japanese perceptions of the natural world and changing attitudes toward such animals as wolves. For example, were the canines hunted by Akita mobs really "wolves" (*ōkami*)? If so, why were they called "mountain dogs" (*yamainu*) or sometimes "honorable dogs" (*o-inu-sama*), and what light can wolf taxonomy shed on Japanese attitudes toward animals, science, and the classifying imagination? What happened in Japan in the nineteenth century that transformed wolves from the "large-mouthed pure god" (*ōguchi no magami*), an object of worship and subject of traditional poetry in such classics as the *Man'yōshū,* to a "noxious animal" (*yūgai dōbutsu*) that needed to be erased? And why did wolf killing become more intense during the Meiji era (1868–1912)? With such questions in mind, I traveled to Hokkaido University under a Japan Foundation fellowship in the summer of 2000 to research Japan's two subspecies of wolf, the Japanese wolf (*Canis lupus hodophilax* Temminck, 1839) and the Hokkaido wolf (*Canis lupus hattai* Kishida, 1931).

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Wolf Taxonomies

Two Japanese taxonomic schools, what I call the "natural evolutionists" and

the "cultural evolutionists," continue to debate the forces that led to the evolution and eventual extinction of Japan's two subspecies of wolf. The natural evolutionists, on the one hand, posit that natural forces, such as geographic isolation, dramatic changes in climate, and prey-species size and distribution, were central forces in shaping the evolution of the two wolves. The cultural evolutionists, on the other hand, argue that crossbreeding with ancient dogs, or a process of semidomestication, caused morphological changes in the wolves, leading to the emergence of a hybrid species of sorts—the *yamainu,* or mountain dog. In other words, cultural forces, that is to say, influences emanating from the human-fashioned world, or the familiar, as in *Canis familiaris,* influenced the evolution of the two subspecies.

Both taxonomic schools agree that in prehistoric times, *Canis lupus* dispersed from Siberia in a diaspora rivaled only by the human species (and possibly lions). Some members of this lupine diaspora found their way from Siberia to the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese archipelago, which in the late Pleistocene Epoch (130,000–10,000 B.P.) were linked together as one large peninsula.[2] On this prehistoric Korean-Japanese peninsula, three distinct subspecies of wolf evolved. The first was the Hokkaido wolf, which had a historic range of Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kamchatka Peninsula, as well as Iturup and Kunashir in the southern Kuril Islands.[3] The Japanese wolf inhabited the main Japanese islands of Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu, while the Korean wolf (*Canis lupus coreanus* Abe, 1923) lived on the Korean Peninsula.[4] Exactly how the Siberian wolf evolved into the two Japanese subspecies remains a point of debate between the natural and cultural evolutionists.

Kazue Nakamura (b. 1940), of the Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Natural History, best represents the natural evolutionists. He speculates that when Japan separated from the continent, the larger Siberian wolf settled in northern Honshu before its extinction, just prior to historic times. Highlighting natural events, Nakamura speculates that its extinction was related to spiraling ecological changes, such as climate shifts and the extinction of large prey species, and that these changes also led to the evolution of the smaller Japanese wolf. Yet even Nakamura admits that one question raised by craniometric and morphologic analyses of the Japanese wolves remains unanswered. That is, why Japan's wolves have certain physiological features that more resemble dogs like the Shiba or Kishū, both Japanese breeds, than other wolves. It is a point, he concedes, that needs further exploration, but he floats the possibility that the isolation of the Siberian wolf on the Japanese islands, and the further restriction of its range of activity as a result of human settlement, might have sparked evolutionary changes that made the later Japanese wolf resemble *Canis familiaris*.[5] For the cultural evolutionists, by contrast, this critical taxonomic question represents a point of departure for an entirely different theory regarding the evolution of Japan's wolves.

The dean of the cultural evolutionists is the late Nobuo Naora (1902–85) of Waseda University. He argues that the morphological changes of the Japanese wolf were related to a historic process of crossbreeding with dogs, implying that the animal might not be an authentic wolf at all. "After the ancient alluvial world," writes Naora, "on the islands that became Japan, without actual fences or chains, an environment similar to a pasture for raising animals emerged." These events, he argues, led to ruin for the Siberian wolf. Within a period of about ten thousand years, the Siberian wolf was forced into what Naora calls an "unnatural life ecology" and then disadvantaged through crossbreeding with dogs within what modern taxonomists call a hybrid zone, in this case encompassing the entire Japanese archipelago. In the process, he speculates, the Siberian wolf was driven to extinction, while its descendants were assimilated or absorbed into the physiological world of *Canis familiaris*.[6] The *yamainu,* in other words, was not a real wolf at all; rather, it was, quite literally, a mountain dog.

Wolf Worship

Prior to the Meiji Restoration (1868), Japanese worshiped this canine, whether wolf or mountain dog. The Shinto shrine Mitsumine Jinja was of particular importance in wolf worship and has been associated with both Shugendō, or traditions of mountain asceticism, and wolf iconography. Mitsumine Jinja stands near the village of Ōtaki, in Saitama Prefecture. The main gods worshiped at the shrine are Izanagi and Izanami, two powerful deities who feature in the Japanese creation myth. Tradition holds that the shrine was built by none other than Prince Yamatotakeru, the legendary unifier of Japan, who, during pacification campaigns in central Honshu, wandered astray off the Karisaka mountain-pass road. The prince found himself lost until a white-wolf god led him out of the mountains, hence the shrine's connection with wolves. Later the prince's father, the legendary twelfth emperor, Keikō, retraced his son's route through the mountains during an imperial tour. According to tradition, after climbing the mountains, the views of the three peaks of Kumotori-yama, Shiraiwa-yama, and Myōhō-ga-take so stunned Keikō that he bestowed on them the name Mitsumine-gū, the "shrine of the three peaks." Over time the three peaks became objects of worship. Spring thaws caused swift and pure rivers to flow from the mountains and, not surprisingly, local farmers revered the mountains in their agrarian traditions. Today Mitsumine Jinja sits at about 1,080 meters, on the northwestern slope of Myōhō-ga-take, having been moved there from Kumotori-yama after the Meiji Restoration.[7]

Standard forms of *o-fuda* (talismans) and other iconography, ranging from statues to hanging-style prints, were distributed at Mitsumine Jinja. The great majority of these images feature two wolves facing each other. The wolf on the right usually has its mouth open, symbolizing *a,* or the sound of an open mouth, and iconographically representing the first letter of the ancient Siddhamatrika script used to write Sanskrit. The wolf on the left has its mouth

closed, symbolizing *un,* or the sound of a closed mouth. Although abstract, the three sounds contained in the sound *on,* or *aun* in Japanese, refer to the three states of consciousness: *a* being the first state, of waking consciousness; *u* being the second state, of dreaming consciousness; and *n* being the third state, of sleeping consciousness. When placed together, these two wolves strike poses similar to those of the Deva Kings, Niō in Japanese, two fierce Buddhist guardian deities who protect temple precincts. These *o-fuda* and other iconography were distributed by shrines; and some *o-fuda,* called *shishiyoke* (boar deterrents), were used by peasants to spare their crops from the ravages of deer and wild boar.

The Ainu, the indigenous inhabitants of Hokkaido, knew the Hokkaido wolf as the high-ranking god Horkew Kamuy. In Hokkaido's Tokachi and Hidaka regions, there flourished versions of a myth about a white wolf that mated with a goddess, or sometimes a Japanese court lady, and the offspring from this union became the ancestors of the Ainu people. Several regional versions of this origin myth exist, and some feature a white dog rather than a white wolf. The difference between wolves and dogs appears to have been less important to the Ainu, since both wolves and dogs inhabited much the same space in their classifying imagination. One version of this myth from Shizunai, in the Hidaka region, explains that the god of the mountain Poroshiri-dake, Retaruseta Kamuy (the white-wolf god), could not find a suitable mate, even though he searched the entire island. So Retaruseta Kamuy summoned his divine powers, seeing all the way to lands across the seas, and in time spotted a mate in a distant country. Again drawing on his divine powers, he coerced the woman to get in a small boat, cross the seas, and once on the island become his wife. From this union, it is said, the Ainu people were born.[8]

Wolf Killing

Some of the earliest records related to the killing of the Japanese wolf come from the Morioka domain (in present-day Iwate Prefecture). Although officials initiated bounties as early as 1701, such payments continued into the Meiji era and contributed to the ultimate extinction of the Japanese wolf. In 1876, Emperor Meiji led one of many imperial processions to northern Honshu. These imperial processions, designed to place the entire realm under the gaze of the newly refashioned sovereign, became common in the late nineteenth century. While in Morioka, where depredation by wolves was traditionally high because of horse pastures, the emperor reportedly inspected a small wolf pup that had been kept alive by a hunter. Inspection of the Morioka pup represents a transcendent moment in Japanese history. Prior to the imperial procession, massive wolf hunts had been undertaken to curb horse depredation. The Iwate prefectural government offered bounties for wolves, ¥7 for a male and ¥8 for a female, and the pup that the emperor inspected had been taken from its den and left alive. Reports suggest that this campaign alone produced about forty dead wolves. The moment is indeed a transcendent one, because when the emperor traveled to Morioka, his gaze touched not only the emerging modern realm, with its new buildings and citizenry, but also, briefly, a vanishing and once sacred part of the Japanese landscape.

Wolves were killed under imperial grant (*kashi*) on Hokkaido as well. In May 1878, under the Kaitakushi (Hokkaido Colonization Office) officials proposed a bounty plan. The first step placed the bounty for wolves at ¥7 and the bounty for bears at ¥5. The second step articulated the method of collecting bounties. Professional hunters, many of whom were Ainu, relied on the marketability of animal pelts to make their living, thus, unlike earlier practice, rather than cut off the ears as evidence of the kill (a process that, officials explained, made the animals less attractive to rug and pelt peddlers), the four paws would be cut off instead. Hunters then took the paws to the office of the village head, who provided a stamp of authenticity. The hunter received payment from either a branch office of the Kaitakushi or a local ward office.[9]

Interestingly, that Ainu hunters believed themselves to be born from wolves situated wolf killing as a kind of mythological patricide. In the context of the bounty system, officials compelled Ainu hunters to commit such patricide, erasing old ancestral gods in favor of what would become a new imperial one. Officials positioned Ainu as imperial subjects in the context of the bounty system, and killing wolves was subsequently cast as a form of imperial loyalty, a sign of the Ainu's commitment to their new ancestral god in the context of the later Japanese family-state.

Epilogue

On the evening of July 8, 2000, Satoru Nishida, a high school principal from Kitakyushu, Fukuoka Prefecture, photographed a small canid with its tongue hanging from its mouth as it loped within about three or four meters of him. He sent the photograph to Yoshinori Imaizumi, former director of the Department of Zoology, the National Science Museum, who replied that the canine resembled the supposedly extinct Japanese wolf. Needless to say, with the sighting of an animal that now inhabits only the Ministry of Environment's "extinct species" list, the incident caused quite a stir. Naoki Maruyama, however, of the Tokyo University of Agriculture and Industry, immediately questioned speculation that the canid was a wolf. Currently spearheading an effort to reintroduce wolves to Japan, Maruyama explained that during his studies of Mongolian wolves, even to get within five hundred meters of a wolf was extremely fortunate, and so he doubted that a wolf would approach so close.[10]

Rather than wade into the debate concerning whether this sighting was a wolf or not (as it probably was not), I submit that it serves as an epilogue of sorts for this short article. One issue raised in our above discussion of Japanese wolf taxonomy was the intriguing notion that the traditional intellectual boundary that separates the inquiry of things "natural" from the inquiry of

things "cultural" is inherently misleading, much like the taxonomical lines separating the categories of canines in Japan. Kazue Nakamura and Nobuo Naora should be seen not as presenting opposing theories on wolf evolution but as presenting different parts of the same ecological continuum that was Japan's wild canines. The wolves of Japan, in other words, were works in progress, animals shaped by natural and cultural forces—both worshiped and reviled at different historical moments—still in the process of change when erased from the Japanese landscape. If we open our minds, indeed, we can see the wolves of Japan as works in progress that now live in the mountains of Kitakyushu.

Notes

1. Yonekichi Hiraiwa, *Ōkami: Sono Seitai to Rekishi* [The Wolf: Its Ecology and History] (Tokyo: Tsukiji Shokan Publishing Co., Ltd., 1992), 131–35.

2. Kōichirō Ichikawa, Yukinori Fujita, and Mitsuo Shimazu, eds., *Nihon Rettō Chishitsu Kōzō Hattatsu-shi* [Developmental History of the Structural Geology of the Japanese Archipelago] (Tokyo: Tsukiji Shokan Publishing Co., Ltd., 1970), 1–10.

3. Tetsuo Inukai, "Hokkaido-san Ōkami to Sono Metsubō Keiro" [The Hokkaido Wolf and Its Road to Extinction], *Shokubutsu Oyobi Dōbutsu* 1, no. 8 (August 1933): 14.

4. Yoshio Abe, "Nukutē ni Tsuite" [On *Nukutē*], *Dōbutsugaku Zasshi* 35 (1923): 380–86.

5. Kazue Nakamura, "Nihon Ōkami no Bunrui ni Kansuru Seibutsu Chirigakuteki Shiten" [A Biogeographic Look at the Taxonomy of the Japanese Wolf, *Canis lupus hodophilax* Temminck, 1839], *Kanagawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Hōkoku: Shizen Kagaku* 27 (March 1998): 50–58.

6. Nobuo Naora, *Nihon-san Ōkami no Kenkyū* [Research on the Japanese Wolf] (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1965), 236–52.

7. *Nihon Dai Hyakka Zensho* [Encyclopedia Nipponica 2001], 22:372; *Saitama-ken* [Saitama Prefecture], vol. 11 of *Kadokawa Nihon Chimei Dai Jiten* [The Kadokawa Japanese Geographic Dictionary], 816; Hiraiwa, *Ōkami,* 90.

8. Genzō Sarashina and Kō Sarashina, *Yajū Kaijū Gyozoku Hen* [Land Mammals, Sea Mammals, and Fishes], vol. 2 of *Kotan Seibutsuki* [Biological Journal of Ainu Villages] (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1976), 291–92.

9. "Kuma Ōkami Nado Mōjū Ryōsatsu no Ken" [Matters of Hunting and Killing Bears, Wolves, and Other Wild Animals] (January 21, 1878, and May 31, 1878), in *Shūsairoku* A4-54-48. Hokkai Dōritsu Monjokan [Hokkaido Governmental Archives], Sapporo, Hokkaido.

10. "Nihon Ōkami ka, Yaken ka: Kyushu no Sanchū deno Mokugeki Sōdō" [Japanese Wolf? Feral Dog? Debate over an Observation on Kyushu], *Asahi Shimbun,* November 22, 2000, evening edition.

Japanese Colonial Literature

Faye Kleeman

Scholarship on Japanese colonialism from the perspectives of political, military, and economic history has been substantial, but comparatively little has been done from the perspective of literature and culture. Literature is unique in presenting the totality of the human experience in a way that cannot be captured by other disciplines. Only in literary and cultural endeavors can the essence of humanity be most fully articulated. I went to Japan hoping to recapture the lost voice of a generation and to restore these displaced texts to their rightful place in literary history. Through the close reading of colonial texts that until recently had received little scholarly attention, I found an untapped treasure-trove rich in lived experience, narrated by a wide range of voices that cut across boundaries of linguistic, cultural, race, gender, and class identities. The diversity of representations I discovered has provided ample resources for understanding the colonial experience at an intimate, personal level.

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Colonial Literature by Japanese and Non-Japanese Writers

My current project focuses on Japanese colonial literature, especially literary works by Japanese writers who lived in Japan but visited the colonies, expatriate colonial writers who lived in the colonies, and natives of the colonies who were educated in the Japanese language and wrote and published in Japanese. I examine the conceptualizations of the ideological and geographical South by Japanese writers, such as Atsushi Nakajima (1909–42) and Fumiko Hayashi (1903–51). Atsushi Nakajima's poetic rendition of the British Romantic novelist Robert Louis Stevenson's last days in Samoa, in *Hikari to Kaze to Yume* [*Light, Wind, and Dreams;* 1942], frames a very personal, pensive narrative within the larger context of colonialism, both in its Western manifestation and, implicitly, in its Japanese interpretation. Fumiko Hayashi's *Ukigumo* [*Floating Clouds;* 1951], one of the most significant novels of the postwar period, portrays the atmosphere of personal and sexual liberation that characterized the colonial milieu and the continuing impact of these experiences on a man and woman years after the conclusion of the war. The personal experiences of these two writers in the South Pacific and Southeast Asia prompted them to create a kind of war literature that captured the hypercolo-

nial ambiance of the Asian colonies that Japan took over from Western powers.

Writers who were born and raised in the colonies wrote about the colonial experience from a different vantage point than those Japanese writers who merely visited them. Mitsuru Nishikawa (1908–99) is an interesting example of a writer whose literary production reflects his roots in the Japanese colony of Taiwan, outside the Japanese homeland. He was an important figure on the Taiwanese cultural scene, a poet, novelist, and amateur ethnographer who was passionate about collecting native folklore and chronicling local customs and material culture. Many elements of the vocabulary of images and ideas that he developed to describe Taiwan have been reappropriated in the discourses of the Taiwanese nativist movement today.[1] Though he is still a controversial figure in both Taiwan and Japan, his literary creations provide a glimpse into the prewar literary scene, where many Japanese and native writers interacted, transcending the boundaries of ethnicity and class.

The most prominent result of this cultural cross-fertilization was a new category of literature loosely unified under the term "Japanese-language literature" (*Nihongo bungaku*).[2] Like "Francophone literature," which refers to literature written in French by individuals who are not French citizens (mostly natives of former French colonies), "Japanese-language literature" serves to distinguish literature written in the Japanese language by authors who are not ethnically Japanese. Recently we have seen the emergence of a new type of transnational writer—such as Hideo I. Levy (b. 1950) from the United States and David Zoppetti (b. 1962) from Switzerland—who lives in Japan and writes in Japanese rather than his or her native tongue.

These authors have injected a certain globalization into a century-old institution, but most examples of Japanese-language literature have been produced by natives of regions that were once part of the Japanese empire who do not live in Japan. Unlike Levy or Zoppetti, who freely selected Japanese as their literary language, native writers living or educated during the colonial period lacked this luxury of choice. It was something imposed on them, and often not writing in the master's language meant not writing at all. To be sure, there were other options: one could emigrate beyond the borders of the empire, as Zhang Wojun (1902–55) did in Beijing, or one could choose to write in one's native language, publishing in small, coterie-based publications (*dōjinshi*), as Lai He (1894–1943) had done. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the implementation of the Imperial Subject policies accelerated rapidly; all outlets for native publications were shut down; and Japanese became the only language available to writers in Taiwan and other colonies. It was during this period, from the late 1930s to the end of World War II, that Japanese-language literature flourished.

Linguistic/Cultural Hybridity and Identity

Issues of linguistic and cultural identity and hybridity are essential to understanding this body of literature. In examining texts by individual native writers who vary significantly in upbringing, education, and literary style, I have tried to avoid value-laden characterizations, such as collaboration. Instead, I have tried to approach each author's works as the product of an individual's unique lived-experience. As Benedict Anderson has persuasively argued in his *Imagined Communities* (1983) and *Language and Power* (1990), language is the single most powerful factor uniting a group of people under a single national identity.

The linguistic colonization of Taiwan was not without its trauma. Efforts by the natives to modernize literary Chinese or develop an orthographic system for the local dialect met with determined resistance from the colonial authority. Initial attempts to popularize use of the Japanese language met with only limited success but gradually became more successful as assimilation to Japanese culture progressed. After the strong implementation of the Imperial Subject policies, the population who had effective command of Japanese jumped dramatically, from 37.8 percent in 1937 to 57.0 percent in 1941.[3]

By the early 1940s, the diffusion of the Japanese language in the colony, and the proscription of publishing in any other language, fostered a substantial market for Japanese-language reading materials. Though most of these were imported from the metropole, homegrown literary journals also proliferated to meet the demand. In Taiwan, two major journals dominated the literary scene, vying for prominence and competing fiercely for readership. Contemporary critics and modern scholars have tended to see the relationship of these journals, *Bungei Taiwan* and *Taiwan Bungaku,* in oppositional terms, casting the former as the organ of a colonialist literary group and the latter as a nativists' forum. On closer examination, however, this division along ethnic and racial lines does not really hold up. In fact, both groups included both Japanese expatriates and natives, who seem to have worked together rather well. Conflicts between the two coteries were largely ideological in nature, with *Bungei Taiwan*'s romanticism at odds with *Taiwan Bungaku*'s insistence on realism as the ultimate literary form. This rivalry notwithstanding, important writers associated with these two groups helped shape a variety of colonial literature that complemented that being produced in Japan while retaining a distinctive local color and flavor.

Coloniality in Literature

Although the current tendency in colonial literary studies, in both Japan and its ex-colonies, is to treat each region as a self-contained area for study, the complex nature of linguistic and cultural interactions at this time warrants a more holistic approach, one that gives due weight to issues of exchange and cross-fertilization. For example, studies of modern Japanese literary movements have emphasized the impact of Western influence but tend to see this impact as limited to the geographic boundaries of the Japanese homeland. Further examination reveals that the metropolis served as a conduit to channel these ideas to the colonies.

Native writers in the colonies were as diverse as members of the metropolitan literary establishment. Most had studied in metropolitan universities and had been exposed to the various intellectual trends of the time. Yang Kui (1905–85), a writer with socialist leanings, was an active participant in the proletarian literature movement. Like many young native intellectuals of his time, Yang took back to Taiwan proletarian ideas that he firmly believed had the power to transcend colonialism by uniting together workers in Japan and the colonies. Yang's association with Japanese proletarian writers, such as Sunao Tokunaga (1899–1958), helped launch his writing career, a career characterized by a strong commitment to social justice, an overt political agenda, and boundless sympathy for the downtrodden. Realism, advocated by the naturalist school, had a great impact on Zhang Wenhuan (1909–78), who understood his mission to be the faithful recording of rural life, including its pastoral tranquility, the hardships surrounding eking out a meager living, and the gradual disappearance of native traditions.

Not all writers adopted socialism or realism, however. Long Yingzong (1911–99), Weng Nao (1908–40), and Liu Na'ou (1900–1940) turned to the avant-garde experimentalism that was popular, first in Europe and later in Japan, in the thirties. Long depicted the languorous tropical landscape with a sense of melancholy for the frustrations of life in a small town. Weng fetishized Japanese femininity. His characters' obsessive pursuit of romantic liaisons with Japanese women is even more disturbing when read against his own tragic end, dying of illness and starvation in Tokyo yet unwilling to return home. These writers were influenced, to varying degrees, by the Neo-Sensualist school (Shinkankaku-ha), a modernist movement inspired by Italian Futurism, Dadaism, and European Surrealism. Here, colonial mediation connected the colonies with Western literary ideals.

A nationalist reading of these colonial texts, often supplemented with charges of collusion, ignores the complexity of overlapping and often conflicting interests that characterized these authors. Lü Heruo (1914–51) is skillful in expressing this ambivalent sentiment, capturing in his tales the attraction and repulsion that characterizes the relationship between the colonizer and colonized. The relationship is ambivalent because the colonized subject is seldom simply and completely opposed to the colonizer.

Lü's writings encompass a restrained yet seething indictment of both colonialism and the entrenched patriarchal system of traditional Taiwanese society; and colonialism, despite its injustices, is also the bearer of a modernity that is the best counterweight to oppressive tradition. Rather than assuming that some colonized subjects are "complicit" and some "resistant," Lü's literature suggests that complicity and resistance exist in a fluctuating, complementary relationship within the colonial subject. In the short stories "Neighbors" (*Rinkyo;* 1942) and "Magnolia" (*Gyokuranka;* 1943), he reveals that to the colonized subject the colonial discourse is by turns exploitative and nurturing (or at least represents itself as nurturing). Lü is representative of a new generation of writer, much younger than Yang Kui, whose command of the Japanese language as a literary language reached its height during the colonial period. Lü is an excellent example of the subversive appropriation of "colonial knowledge," which can be used to talk (write) back to the master.

Conclusion: The *Taiwan Man'yōshū* and Postcoloniality

In 1994 and 1995 the *Taiwan Man'yōshū,* a two-volume anthology of *waka* (Japanese-style poems), was published in Japan. This collection, comprising more than 5,000 poetic entries by 360 poets, was modeled on the preeminent poetic canon of Japan. All of the participating amateur poets are of the so-called Japanese-language generation; many express nostalgia for the past and a sense of loss regarding this poetic tradition that was once, but no longer, their national tongue. We should not read too much into this colonial nostalgia. Looking back fondly and romanticizing one's formative years is a near universal phenomenon. Like the *Taiwan Man'yōshū,* the recently published *Taiwanron* [Taiwan Discourse; 2000] by Yoshinori Kobayashi (b. 1953) and the revisionist Japanese history textbook that is currently the center of controversy remind us that the colonial past is still very much with us. It is high time for an objective, rigorous academic study of the literature of colonialism, one that is not bound by nationalistic sentimentality but puts a "human face" on a traumatic historical encounter.

Notes

1. Faye Kleeman, "Xichuang Man he *Wenyi Taiwan:* Dongfang Zhuyi de Shixian" [Mitsuru Nishikawa and *Bungei Taiwan:* The Orientalist Gaze], *Zhongguo Wenzhe Yanjiu Tongxun* [Bulletin of the Institute of Literature and Philosophy] 11, no. 1 (March 2001): 135–46.

2. On this topic see Chie Tarumi, *Taiwan no Nihongo Bungaku* [Japanese-Language Literature in Taiwan] (Tokyo: Goryū Shoin, 1995) and my "The Boundary of Japaneseness: Between Nihon Bungaku and Nihongo Bungaku," *Proceedings of the Association for Japanese Literary Studies* 8 (2000), 377–88.

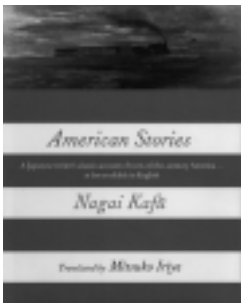
3. Shōzō Fujii, *Taiwan Bungaku Kono Hyaku-nen* [Taiwanese Literature in the Past One Hundred Years] (Tokyo: Toho-Shoten Co., Ltd., 1998), 31.

New Web Site

The Japan Foundation Japan Cultural Center in Seoul has launched a Korean-language Web site to provide information on cultural and academic events, Japanese-language education, and Japan Foundation programs. Some of the site's content is also accessible via English- and Japanese-language pages. The site's URL is <http://www.jpf.or.kr/>.

Books in Other Languages

Subsidized Under the Japan Foundation Publication Assistance Program



American Stories. *Kafū Nagai. Trans. Mitsuko Iriye. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000. xxxv + 239 pp. ISBN 0-231-11790-6.*

American Stories *is reviewed by Donald Richie, the noted authority on Japanese cinema and author of a rich body of fiction and nonfiction dealing with all aspects of Japan. A new collection of his writings,* The Donald Richie Reader *(edited by Arturo Silva), was recently published by Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California.*

American Stories

In 1903 a young man named Sōkichi Nagai, later to become Kafū Nagai (1879–1959), one of Japan's finest writers, left for the United States. He did not particularly want to go—he would much have preferred France—but his father insisted. The twenty-three-year-old had proved a disappointment to his parent. The trip was to give him enough prestige to return as a *kichōsha* (a forward-looking person who had been abroad) and settle down as a respectable businessman.

This the young Nagai was determined not to do and though he moved around the country (Tacoma; Seattle; Kalamazoo; Washington, D.C.; New York) he wasted no time learning trading expertise or American know-how. Instead, he profitably spent the years (five in all, including one—finally—in France) by observing what he saw and jotting it down. He already knew that he would be a writer.

For example, on the West Coast he saw (and experienced) prejudice. "The way Japanese people are ostracized in this place is almost unbelievable. . . . no decent house or apartment will rent to Japanese or Chinese." He talked with many of the people there and recorded the degrees of their unhappiness but he also knew that "the United States is a country where you can see both the best and worst in society, so that it is possible for a person to go in either direction, following his inclination."

Kafū's own inclinations had been formed first by being upper middle-class Japanese and second by becoming early besotted with French literature. He was thus gifted with a kind of double vision. The Saint Louis World's Fair was a "nightless city," after the example of Tokyo's Yoshiwara. Mount Rainier became the "Tacoma Fuji."

New York itself turned into a Japanese print. "From the tall Times building and the Astor Hotel up north to the opera house and the far-away Herald Square with department stores like Macy's and Saks Fifth Avenue in the other direction, the rows of buildings . . . loom like clouds. . . . Only from the windows, higher up and lower down, lights are shining like fireflies or stars."

Kafū's other lens was French literature. The America stories are studded with quotes from Verlaine. The pleasures of New York's Chinatown are referred back to Baudelaire's "*paradis artificiels*" [*sic*], and the young Japanese traveler could assume the role of *flâneur*—one cultivated by Baudelaire himself—the stroller on the pavement, the uninvolved observer, he who sees the heights and depths but remains himself unmoved.

The stance served him well. Here Kafū was very unlike another transplanted Japanese author, Sōseki Natsume (1867–1916), miserable in London. Both may have been lonely but Kafū had an excuse for it—the *flâneur* is always lonely: it is part of the definition. "Alone," he says, sitting in Central Park, "looking at each occupant of the passing cars, I comment endlessly on the person's choice of fashion and degree of tastefulness." His apartness became not only a defense but also a way to communicate.

From this comes the authentic Kafū tone—apart but empathetic. "As the piano and violin played on, the sight of sailors and laborers embracing these women . . . in a dim electric light that was yellow from the dust on the floor, the smoke from cigarettes, and the smell of alcohol, gave me an indescribable sensation of pathos, going beyond disgust or detestion."

This sense of pathos in ordinary things—identified as Japanese, though this country certainly has no monopoly on it—is in the work of Kafū particularly linked to the lives of prostitutes, and here the double lenses of old Japan and literary France fuse.

The finest of these American stories, "Ladies of the Night," is a description of goings-on in a high-class New York brothel. The account has a certain anthropological interest, but this is surpassed by the compassionate artistry with which the scene is conveyed. In "Midnight at a Bar" he is downtown, just off Chatham Square, this time watching the misbehavior of the lower classes. But it is not a matter of class. It is the matter of

being human, a classless state. And it is the pathos of this condition which Kafū so clearly sees and which, after he had returned to Japan, he would so successfully communicate in such masterpieces as the 1937 *Bokutō Kidan* [*A Strange Tale from East of the River*].

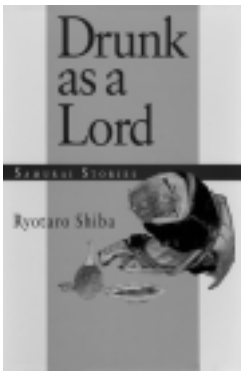
His theories about prostitutes were backed by healthy practice. He writes about it himself. While he was sitting in a bar in Washington the woman next to him struck up a conversation. Later, he confided to his diary (not included in the *American Stories*) that "at her invitation, I went to her house." Thus began a fairly long affair with Edyth (for such was her name), one which provided the template, as it were, for those lovely, lonely relationships (such as that with O-Yuki in *A Strange Tale*) which so distinguish the Kafū page.

(Edyth, incidentally, goes unmentioned in Mitsuko Iriye's otherwise informative introduction. The full story is wonderfully told in Edward Seidensticker's magisterial *Kafū the Scribbler* [1965] and further details are to be found in the Kafū section of Donald Keene's *Modern Japanese Diaries* [1969].)

Flinging Edyth aside in the best *flâneuresque* manner, Kafū then happily steamed away to longed-for France. But not having really much liked America, he discovered that he did not like France either. Indeed, he made something of a speciality of not liking where he was. He loathed Meiji Japan (1868–1912) until it became Taishō Japan (1912–26), then he longed for Meiji until the Shōwa era (1926–89) appeared, at which point he transferred his affections to Taishō. But this attitude too is part of flâneurship. It is essentially antiquarian, since it looks for timeless values in the transient present.

And even in a work as uneven and at times as callow as the *American Stories* (and continuing in the *Furansu Monogatari* [French Stories], which followed) there are passages which clearly foreshadow the hard-boiled compassion of this vulnerable observer.

American Stories was an instant success in Japan when it was published in 1908 because it gave such firsthand news. It was treated as reportage, which is not what it is at all. We now read it because of the angle from which Kafū viewed America—one which may have both preserved and illuminated what he saw happening, but also one which immortalized it by insisting upon the pathos of all existence. *D. R.*



Drunk as a Lord: Samurai Stories. *Ryōtarō Shiba. Trans. Eileen Kato.*

Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 2001. xvii + 253 pp. ISBN 4-7700-2737-0

Drunk as a Lord: Samurai Stories *is reviewed by Theodore Goossen, a professor of humanities at York University, Toronto.*

Drunk as a Lord: Samurai Stories

Few writers anywhere have wielded the influence of Ryōtarō Shiba (1923–96), often called Japan's "national writer" (*kokumin no sakka*). When a commemorative collection of his writings was published after his death, for example, national political leaders—including then prime minister Ryūtarō Hashimoto; his successsor, the late Keizō Obuchi; and the present prime minister, Jun'ichirō Koizumi—contributed essays acknowledging the debt each owed to Shiba's historical fiction. Corporate warriors and their employees (the ubiquitous *sararīman*), bureaucrats, college students, and history buffs are similarly drawn to his stories, essays, and biographies and to the charm of the man himself. Shiba took his responsibility very seriously. In fact, in his final years he was more public figure than functioning writer: as his wife lamented, he took Japan's economic woes and other traumas of the 1990s so much to heart he had little time or energy left for creative work.

History in Shiba's hands is not a dry and boring textbook subject but a study of the human personality and the unpredictable ways it can affect the development of a nation. His protagonists are imperfect people, shaped by circumstance and their own distinctive natures. Seldom do they emerge triumphant or meet a glorious end. Yet they make a strong impression on readers, and on the nation as a whole. In fact many, including the three prime ministers mentioned above, claim that Shiba's characters help them reach a deeper understanding of the possibilities and pitfalls of leadership, and of what it means to be Japanese in modern times.

Virtually all of Shiba's work focuses on early modern Japan, specifically the period between the unifying of the nation in the latter half of the sixteenth century and the consolidation of the Meiji state three centuries later. *Drunk as a Lord* (*Yotte Sōrō,* originally published in 1965), for example, is set in the 1850s and the 1860s, during the last years of the Tokugawa shogunate, when outside pressure from the West and structural economic problems were eroding the 250-year-old edifice of shogunal rule. This was a time when feudal lords, especially those whose domains lay far from the political capital of Edo (present-day Tokyo), could play major roles in national affairs. *Drunk as a Lord* introduces four such figures, as well as a number of lesser-ranking—though sometimes more significant—individuals who figured in the events that led to the fall of the last

shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu (1837–1913). Yoshinobu also happens to be the subject of Shiba's other long work available in English, *The Last Shogun* [*Saigo no Shōgun*] (New York: Kodansha America, Inc., 1998). In fact these two volumes can be read as a set that tells the stories of many of the crucial events and personalities of that era.

The four lords of *Drunk as a Lord* hail from the domains of Tosa (present-day Kōchi Prefecture) and Uwajima (part of Ehime Prefecture) on Shikoku, and Satsuma (Kagoshima Prefecture) and Saga (Saga Prefecture) on Kyushu. Each man has his quirks. The Tosa lord, Yamauchi Yōdō (1827–72), for example, conducts some of his most important business when dead drunk; while his counterpart in Saga, Nabeshima Kansō (1814–71), suffers from an obsessive-compulsive ailment so severe that he has to wash his hands countless times in the course of a single day. Shimazu Hisamitsu (1817–87) of Satsuma, regent for his youthful son, is a childishly self-centered, mediocre man whose bumbling acts nevertheless set in motion the chain of events that leads to the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Only Daté Munenari (1818–92), the lord of Uwajima, seems relatively normal, although his choice of a lowly handyman named Kazō—one of Shiba's most endearing characters—to design one of Japan's first steamships sets him apart from the social norms of his times.

Ryōtarō Shiba's profound distrust of ideology, a product of his experience of World War II, is in full view in *Drunk as a Lord.* His four lords are driven by many things—feudal loyalties, financial gain, personal glory, sheer curiosity—but never by the "revere the emperor, expel the barbarians" fever that was consuming the lower-ranking samurai in their domains. In many cases, the lords had to protect themselves from those youthful hotheads, who were only too willing to die for their cause. Assassination and betrayal were always close at hand. At the same time, however, the volatility of the situation, exacerbated by the foreign threat, gave the lords unprecedented freedom to develop new policies. Educational and technological innovation flourished. Indeed, one of the great successes of *Drunk as a Lord* is its powerful evocation of the creative energy unleashed by the unfolding national crisis. Caught in the maelstrom, Shiba's lords and other figures —most notably brash young samurai leaders Takechi Hanpeita (1829–65) and Ōkubo Ichizō (1830–78)—devise strategies and forge allegiances whose ultimate ramifications they could scarcely have contemplated at the time.

Shiba's narrative approach can make for fascinating reading, but it requires patience. Those readers whose interests are primarily historical will be perplexed by the blend of fact and fiction that animates all of his work. What sources did Shiba use to reconstruct the private moments and inner thoughts of his characters? Can we rely on his interpretation of events? To take one instance, is it true that the fate of the shogunate might have been different had Yamauchi Yōdō not made a drunken blunder at a crucial strategy meeting held in the presence of the young emperor? Would Yōdō really have been killed on the spot had he not backtracked from his position, namely, that were the shogun forced to relinquish his lands to the throne, then, by the rules of logic, "loyalist" domains like Satsuma and Chōshū (present-day Yamaguchi Prefecture) would also have to relinquish their lands? In short, when do the demands of the narrative supersede the limitations of the historical record? This is less a problem for Shiba's Japanese audience, who have so many other sources at their disposal, including Shiba's own commentaries on his work. For other history buffs, however, it will take a considerable effort to separate fact from fiction.

Readers looking primarily for a "good read" are also likely find *Drunk as a Lord* somewhat off-putting. Japanese names abound. In some cases, characters are referred to by family name in one paragraph, by given name in the next. Geographical references are often unclear. Even more distracting, perhaps, is the manner in which the narrative unfolds. Shiba loves to digress, sticking in nuggets of information he has picked up along the way. Yet, no matter how fascinating, these asides tend to distract a Western reader used to more "linear" forms of storytelling. In a similar vein, Shiba's frequent use of direct quotation to reveal his characters' thoughts and feelings flies in the face of Western narrative convention, which favors the indirect, third-person mode. Finally, Shiba's use of poems, including one by Saigō Takamori (1827–77), to shed light on his characters suffers in translation. Some readers will be able to work through these stylistic barriers. Others, however, will give up along the way.

To remedy some of these problems, *Drunk as a Lord* includes a map, an annotated list of characters, and a glossary of key terms, as well as a general historical introduction by the journalist Burritt Sabin. Shiba's afterward to the Japanese edition is also included. The fact that even these aids are insufficient, however, forces us to reexamine the thorny problem of the transfer of

popular literary forms from Japanese to Western languages. Many, including this reviewer, feel strongly that it is high time that the best of Japan's popular literature be made available to international audiences. Yet we all need to consider more carefully how this is to be accomplished. The problems we face likely have less to do with translators' skills and more with editorial policy.

Both Eileen Kato, with *Drunk as a Lord,* and Juliet Winters Carpenter, with *The Last Shogun,* worked admirably to render difficult texts into readable English. Yet, in the end, their versions fall far short of the Japanese originals due to the stylistic barriers I have just mentioned. Unavoidably, a certain amount of creative editing is needed if Shiba's books are to reach their intended readers—direct translation is not enough. More than anything, Ryōtarō Shiba was a great "communicator." Attempts to introduce him and other popular writers abroad, I believe, should be undertaken in the same spirit. *T. G.*

Continued from page 7
includes 140 sheets that had not been seen in modern times. (A, N, S: Jul. 5)

MISCELLANEOUS

Interactive Courses Offered on the Internet

A joint project to provide interactive distance education on the Internet has been launched. At the heart of this project is the 3D Interactive Education System, developed by the Nomura Research Institute and Kyushu University, which supports multiuser, real-time interactive lectures in a 3D virtual classroom. Universities in the United States and Europe will participate in the pilot studies, offering instruction in major and minor foreign languages and eventually developing universal evaluation standards to ensure that course credits are transferable. (Y: May 8)

Nōgaku Theater Named an Intangible Heritage of Humanity

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) has designated Japan's Nōgaku theater as one of the first nineteen Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity to be honored. The complement of UNESCO's World Heritage properties, the intangible masterpieces include traditional music, dance, languages, games, myths, and rituals, as well as outstanding craft techniques, knowledge, and skills and other expressions of culture that are rooted in the lives of the world's people. Nōgaku, which Japan had designated an Intangible Cultural Property in 1957, dates to the eighth century and encompasses two performing traditions: Noh and Kyogen. Bunraku and Kabuki will be proposed for recognition at future UNESCO deliberations. (A, M, N, S, Y: May 19)

World Go Championship

The Japan Go Association has announced the launch of the biennial Toyota and Denso Cup, the first international go competition to include both amateur and professional go players from Japan and abroad. The main tournament will be held in Tokyo from March 2002 through January 2003, and a total of thirty-two players will compete for the world championship. Go is said to be popular in more than sixty countries throughout the world and has nearly twenty-nine million aficionados. (N, S: Jul. 31)

OBITUARIES

Utaemon Nakamura VI (born Fujio Kawamura), 84, Kabuki actor, March 31. The second son of Utaemon Nakamura V, he made his stage debut in 1922 under the name Kotarō Nakamura III and succeeded to his father's name in 1951. Blessed with natural grace and good looks, he outshone others by the brilliance of his acting skills. He was named a Living National Treasure in 1968 and received the Order of Culture in 1979. (A, M, N, S, Y: Apr. 1)

Hiroshi Teshigahara, 74, film director and grand master of the Sogetsu School of Ikebana, April 14. Son of Sogetsu grand master Sōfū Teshigahara, he graduated from the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music in 1950. In 1964, he directed the film adaptation of Kōbō Abe's novel *Suna no Onna* [Woman in the Dunes], with a screenplay by the author. For this film, he won the Jury Special Prize at the Cannes Film Festival, the first of many awards, and received instant international recognition. In 1980 he became the third grand master of the Sogetsu School of Ikebana and in that role strove to develop flower arranging into a modern art form. (A, M, N, S, Y: Apr. 16)

Ikuma Dan, 77, composer and conductor, May 17. Encouraged to enter the field of music by the composer Kōsaku Yamada, he graduated from a forerunner of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music in 1945. His works range from operas to symphonies, wind music, film music, and children's songs. His opera *Yūzuru* [The Twilight Heron] has been performed more than six hundred times in Japan, Europe, North America, and China. (A, M, N, S, Y: May 17)

Uzaemon Ichimura XVII (born Mamoru Bandō), 84, Kabuki actor, July 8. The eldest son of Hikosaburō Bandō VI, he assumed the name Uzaemon Ichimura in 1955. Known for his solid and dependable acting style, he had a passionate interest in training young actors and made it his mission to pass Kabuki down to future generations. He was named a Living National Treasure in 1990 and a Person of Cultural Merit in 1999. (A, M, N, S, Y: Jul. 8)

The 2001 Yokohama Triennale: Undertaking a New Challenge

The International Triennale of Contemporary Art: Yokohama 2001 opened its inaugural exhibition (September 2–November 11, 2001). In recent years, the long-established biennales in Venice and São Paulo have been joined by one new international art exhibition after another around the world. In East Asia alone, there are biennales in Gwangju (South Korea), Shanghai, and Taipei; now an international art exhibition has been launched in Yokohama to rank beside them.

At one time Japan, too, had a continuing world-class art exhibition, the Tokyo Biennale, but its focus changed several times after it reached its peak, in 1970; and it was eventually discontinued. Thereafter, despite the persistent calls of artists and others in the art world for an international exhibition to be held in Japan, no large-scale event ever materialized. During this hiatus, the Japan Foundation served as a Japanese organizer at every biennale in Venice and São Paulo, as well as at the Triennale India and Asian Art Biennale Bangladesh, and sent representative artists and commissioners and displayed Japanese artworks. In 1991, we held a three-day international symposium on the future of art, in which curators and art critics from Japan and abroad participated, and began laying the groundwork for an international art exhibition in Japan. Since the mid-1990s we have conducted a series of seminars with curators and mass-media representatives to examine the ideal form for such an exhibition in Japan.

Thus, as an organizer, the Japan Foundation has played a key role in the Yokohama Triennale since its inception. We did so because the holding of a major, continuing international art exhibition is consistent with the aims of the Japan Foundation—to promote international cultural exchange between Japan and the rest of the world. Yet, strictly speaking, the essence of any international exhibition is the artists, the sponsoring city, and the local community that supports it. Inasmuch as the purpose of the Yokohama Triennale is to create an environment for encounters and interaction between people, art, and the city itself, it was natural that the city of Yokohama should participate in the planning. The Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) and Asahi Shimbun subscribed as joint sponsors from the media world. In Japan newspapers and television broadcasters have a long history of acting as the organizers of major exhibitions, and we hoped to bring their management expertise to the Yokohama Triennale. These four organizers established the Organizing Committee in 1999; since then the committee has been in charge of all aspects of the Yokohama Triennale from the preparatory stages to its opening and administration.

For the significant occasion of the first Yokohama Triennale, four Japanese are serving as artistic directors—Shinji Kohmoto, Nobuo Nakamura, Fumio Nanjō, and Akira Tatehata. This approach is the opposite of the one used at Documenta, the highly acclaimed international art exhibition in Kassel, Germany, where each exhibition is the product of the strong personality and bold vision of a single artistic director.

The organizers felt that a conventional format and a narrowly defined vision with a circumscribed way of looking at art were inappropriate for a large-scale international exhibition. Instead, we tried to make the fullest use of the different perspectives—the "compound eye," as it were—of the four artistic directors to present as wide a sampling as possible of the latest currents in today's art, which is becoming more and more diverse in both modes of expression and media used. As a result, we gained the participation of 109 artists from 38 countries, including Japan.

"Mega-Wave—Towards a New Synthesis," the theme for the 2001 Yokohama Triennale, celebrates the forging of a new, more comprehensive vision of art, one that creates a closer relation between art and society and that advocates moving beyond existing frameworks and boldly promoting a dialogue with science and philosophy, as well as with other art forms. With this theme in mind, the four directors have selected the participating artists from their own unique points of view, bringing together an exhibition that is integrated yet reflects their individual personalities and perspectives. The first Yokohama Triennale has undertaken a task that might at first glance appear difficult if not impossible—the creation of a unified whole through the interplay of four different personalities. Most of the artists have responded to this ambitious challenge, and within the various constraints produced outstanding works of art.

The Yokohama Triennale opened after careful preparation, yet it is bound to provoke much discussion—criticism, as well as praise. But there is no single, perfect way to mount an international art exhibition. Our paramount concern is to understand and analyze the results of the first Yokohama Triennale and apply these findings in planning the next one. Accumulating a wide range of feedback, trial and error, and constantly rising to new challenges—this is what it takes to mount a continuing exhibition. Every new effort will energize the project and make each Yokohama Triennale bigger and better than the one before. The challenges have only just begun.