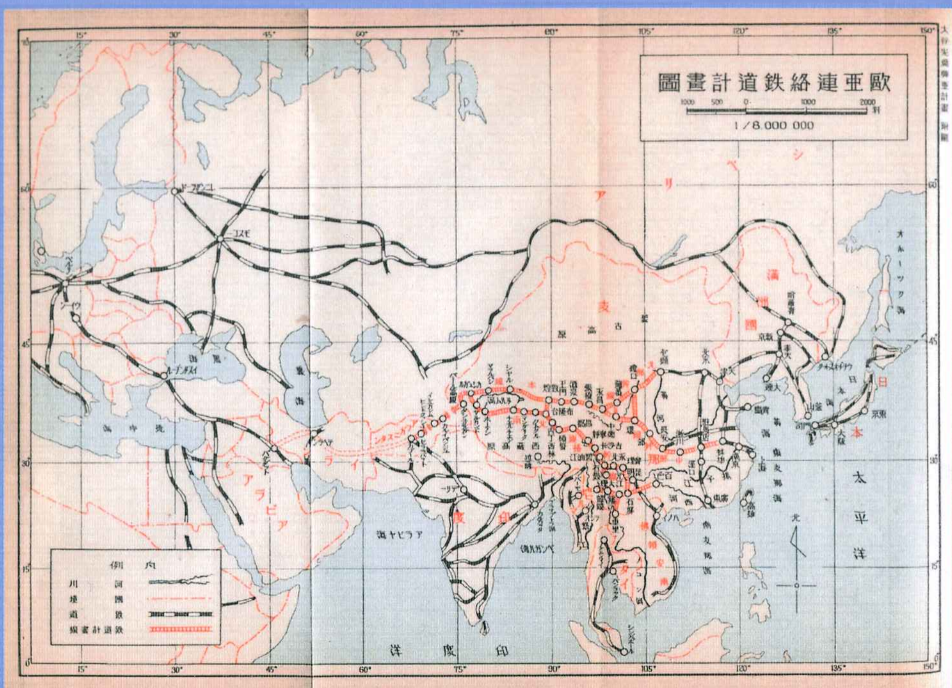
Japan on the Silk Road

Encounters and Perspectives of Politics and Culture in Eurasia



Edited by

Selçuk Esenbel

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Japanese names are mostly given with last name first in line with Japanese practice unless preferred otherwise by the author. Turkish letter c is pronounced as j, ç is pronounced as ch, ş as sh in English, ğ as a soft g that is not pronounced, ö and ü as in German ö and ü. The Turkish letter ı which is an i without a dot is similar to the exclamation sound "uh" in English. Japanese words are written according to Hepburn romanization unless originally published in a different style.

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Gesellschaft-Die Entwicklung der Textilverarbeitung durch der staatlichen Organisation seit der Einführung des Staatsmodels der Tang Dynastie" (Silk as the Source of Technology and Techno-ethics in Japanese Culture and Society: The Development of Publicly Organized Textile Manufacturing Since the Introduction of Tang Dynasty's State Model in Konrad Meisig (ed.), *Techno-Ethics—Humanities and Technology—*, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013. pp. 83–128.

Introduction

Selçuk Esenbel

This work looks at modern Japan's global history from the novel perspective of the Japanese gaze toward the "Silk Road": the Central Eurasian geo-cultural space which extends from the Mediterranean coastline of the Near East to the shores of East Asia. Already from the Meiji period and right up to this day, the Japanese have shown a keen interest in this geography—a geography that has been perceived as the historic site of cosmopolitan peaceful exchange and commerce of indigenous peoples that linked Europe and Asia. At the same time, and paradoxically, the Silk Road has also come to mean the geo-political strategic site for nationalisms and for conflicts between competing global powers and empires. During the nineteenth century the Japanese entered into the region in their imperial quest to replace the Qing Dynasty's historic legacy in the region and to form a series of alliances against the Russian and Chinese empires. Japanese interest in the Silk Roads of Central Eurasia gains significance because it is an important history of pre-war Japanese Pan-Asianism and imperial interest that in due course totally challenged the Western colonial empires in Asia. But Japan on the Silk Road at the same time produced a rich depository of scholarship on the region that is little known in the West and which is introduced for the first time in a comprehensive manner in this volume.

The Japanese expertise and strong interest in the Silk Road geography has, in recent years, come under the spotlight once again to play a significant role in the revival of interest on the Silk Road after the end of the Cold War, which has made the region accessible. The present volume is thus especially timely at this moment of history to understand the history of Japan's interest in the region. The famous NHK documentary series of the 1980s that became very popular in Japan and globally, was a Japanese project with Chinese collaboration. Japanese scholarly expertise in Silk Road Studies that has been built up over the past century has also noticeably prompted the formation of the five major UNESCO expeditions between 1988–1997 in the region.[1] Needless to say, the phrase "the Silk Road" is also back in use in the terminology of current geo-politics after the end of Soviet hegemony in Central Asia and the establishment of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan as independent republics.

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1 Vadime Elisseeff, editor, *The Silk Roads Highways of Culture and Commerce*, (New York Berghahn Books, 2000), 1–26 for the active role of Japanese scholars of the Silk Road.

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In recent years, the Chinese authorities are energetically pushing forth China's multi-billion dollar One Belt One Road project of building a high-speed train network along the Silk Roads in Eurasia as a major Chinese foreign policy line. Recently, the Chinese government has burst onto the global stage, making use of the Silk Road concept as a platform for peaceful interaction among the nations that inhabit the routes, but as the means to describe its mega-project willing to invest multi-billion dollars to construct a high speed train network across Central Eurasia that has "opened" the Pandora Box paradox on the Silk Road. The Silk Road: "One Belt-One Road" has been interpreted globally as signaling the rise of new Chinese geopolitical ambition in the region. The One Belt One Road project is also accompanied with a parallel, maritime Silk Road traversing the Indian Ocean and the China Sea.[2]

Politics and economics are again on the agenda of the Silk Road discourse in Japan as well, to make sure that China does not dominate this critical region in competition with Japanese interests—a concern which reflects shades of the pre-war legacy. The Japanese counterpart to China's ambitious project for the Silk Road is also newly visible in Japan's strategy for Central Asia as a significant player in the region. According to the *Japan Times*, October 27, 2015, Prime Minister Abe's visit to five Central Asian countries of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan catapulted Japan again as a major player in the region. Japan has countered China's project with a proactive policy of promising more than three trillion Yen for infrastructural investment in the five Central Asian Republics. These projects and others from Russia, the EU, and the US have recharged the Silk Road as a geography, and are a signifier of global geo-political and economic competition.[3]

The papers in this book provide a comprehensive exposé of the Japanese involvement with the Silk Road as a geography and as an imaginary during modern Japan's history between 1868 and 1945—an exposé of what is, to the global academy today, a little known history of that legacy. The authors who constitute an international academic community from Britain, Germany, Japan, Mongolia, India, and Turkey with specializations in Japanese history,

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2 *Wall Street Journal*, China Real Time, April 21, 2015.

"China Makes Multibillion-Dollar Down-Payment on Silk Road Plans."

China's unveiling of a $28-billion infrastructure investment package for Pakistan on Monday offers an early glimpse into how Beijing plans to finance its ambitious vision for a modern reconstruction of the Silk Road.

3 *Japan Times*, October 27, 2015, "Abe says Japan can reap ¥ 3 trillion in Central Asia Projects"; Timur Dadabaev, *Japan in Central Asia Strategies, Initiatives and Neighboring Powers* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Central Asian History, Turkology, Linguistics and Literature represent a rich combination of global expertise on Japanese connections to Central Eurasia, South Asia, Inner Asia, and the Islamic world. Their papers provide a multidisciplinary exposé of Japanese transnational history along the Silk Road that is juxtaposed with the better known European one along the same paths. By opening up this discussion, the research in this volume helps globalize the standard narrative of modern Japan's history based on the familiar trajectories of Japanese relations with Europe, China, and the United States, by bringing into light the parallel history of the Japanese interaction with these less traversed regions.

Japan on the Silk Road represents Imperial Japan's noticeable shift to Central Asia-Inner Asia, and the world of Islam, a shift which was abruptly cut off with Japan's defeat in the Second World War. Studying Japanese activities along the Silk Road also fell into the taboo of Pan-Asianism for historians in the post-war era who ignored or dismissed topics associated with the pre-war Asianist-turn.[4] The present work intends to remedy some of this gap by shedding light on the Japanese connection to the Silk Roads, tracing politics and culture throughout Eurasia.

From a global perspective, Japan on the Silk Road is embedded in the history of the geo-political and economic interests of empires in world history during modern times.[5] Japan adapted the model of the European way to power of Germany, France, and Britain that entailed the development of an industrial economy, a parliamentary system of constitutional monarchy, and capitalism that linked Japan to global markets, politics and the acceleration of communication and transportation which quickened contacts, networking, diffuse mobility of cultural images and technology between inter-regional relations on West Asia and East Asia.[6]

Readers need to be cautioned, however, that the Silk Road is a concept that we as authors have selected as a conscious choice to place the Japanese experience with this geography in a comparative framework of modern imperial trajectories that link to the history of Silk Road explorations. Even if the term

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4 Sven Saaler, Christopher W.A. Szpilman, *Pan-Asianism, A Documentary History* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2011), 2 Volumes. The recent publication of Pan-Asianist documents indicates the late rediscovery and return to the topic. In the introduction of the editors to volume 1 they point out that the post-war taboo on Pan-Asianism has hampered the study of modern Asian and Japanese history, Volume 1, xi.

5 Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

6 Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 356–367, 392–402, 712–723.

was not used by all of the protagonists discussed in the papers, they took th(same routes nonetheless. The concept of the Silk Road has meant many thing: to different people and polities depending on time and context. Since th(nineteenth century, the Silk Road region that actually incorporates the geog raphy of Central Eurasia, the Mediterranean and the Middle East has gener ated the scholarly investigation of cultural pluralism in that vast geograph' of travel routes between the Europe and Asia. Some of this scholarly interes was also entangled with the geo-political ambition of major outside powers (Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, today the United States) to gain access to the rich natural resources and or to gain a foothold in a region that was situated between the historical hegemony of Russian and Chinese empires in that geography. Thus, on the one hand the Silk Roads represent the cosmopolitan ancient and medieval encounter between the Occident and the Orient as the land of transmissions and exchanges between different peoples and ethnicities. On the other, since the nineteenth century and to this date the Silk Roads of Central Eurasia have become a zone that incited a political debate with forced cultural interpretations as to where it belongs.

The term Silk Road was a European invention of global geographic imagination that is connected to empire building. Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833–1905) the German geographer and traveler invented the term "Seidenstrasse' or "the Silk Road(s)" in his work on the geography of China in 1877, where he designated the routes of inter-continental trade in the precious commodit) of silk, which he thought was much in demand in the Roman Mediterranean This Central Eurasian world attracted the Europeans during the nineteenth century to search for the historic journey of Occidental civilization into the Orient in a combination of 19th century imperial interest and scholarship tc discover the tracks of Alexander the Great that brought Hellenism to Centra Asia. European explorers proceeded to unearth the physical remains and manuscripts of ancient and medieval sites such as the documents of the Dunhuang Caves in West China's gateway to the Silk Road, which were taken back to European Museums. At the time, imperial governments enthusiastically supported the work of the European explorers of Central Eurasia who pioneered mapping this unknown region and published the detailed investigation of the natural resources and the ethnic-national communities in the region as this information was thought to be crucial for global geopolitical strategic interests. Their well-known biographies narrating extensive travels along the arduous routes attest to this merger of scholarship with imperial interest. By way of example, the British explorer of Hungarian origins, Aurel Stein (1862–1943), served the British Empire in India; the German archeologist Albert von le Coq (1860–1930) Imperial Germany; the French scholar Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) the

French colonial government in Hanoi; and the Swedish explorer-geographer Sven Hedin (1865–1952), the student of von Richthofen, was supported by the Swedish and German governments.

Japan on the Silk Road

Between 1868 and 1945, just like their European counterparts, Japanese explorers and travelers—at times as lone riders or in teams—climbed through steep highlands and crossed arid deserts in arduous journeys as they took the traditional caravan routes to Persia and the Ili region of at the frontier of Russia and China. Others took advantage of the new Trans-Siberian railway and the Chinese Eastern Railway that quickened transportation across Eurasia. Much of this Japanese experience in modern history has been originally narrated in their investigation reports, memoirs and travel accounts with detailed information about the regions which are full of interesting insights and intriguing episodes. Japanese expeditions not only included scholars and Buddhist monks that traced the roots of Japanese Buddhism, but also military officers who conducted diligent surveys of military reconnaissance or performed adventuresome field operations of intelligence.

The Japanese interest in the Silk Road is generally explainable as part of the Japanese public's strong fascination with the outside world after the 1868 Meiji Restoration in their desire for "civilization and enlightenment." The best known example was the Prince Iwakura mission between 1871 and 1873 to the major capitals of the West with a team of 48 including officials and scholars, that produced volumes of reports and brought back information about the contemporary world of Western civilization that was crucial for the reforms.[7] As Meiji Japan came to be seen as the new "rising star of the East" toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Japanese turned their gaze towards Asia including the peoples and geography of the Silk Road that was part of Japan's quest to be among the great powers. The Japanese endeavor to acclimate to the West and find its foothold in the coming age as one of the major powers included imperial Japan's vision of Central and Inner Asia as a significant strategic and cultural arena of engagement because these areas were territorially close to Japan and constituted a kind of "buffer zone" between the Russian and Chinese empires. The indigenous native populations comprising mostly Turkic Muslims, Mongols and other non-Chinese and non-Russian peoples

7 Ian Nish, ed., *Iwakura Mission in America and Europe: A New Assessment.* Taylor and Francis e-Library, 2005, original publication (Folkestone: Japan Library Curzon Press Ltd., 1998).

now became important for the Japanese as a potential friendly peoples, and some Japanese even with "possible kindred affiliation," with whom there cou be future political engagements for autonomy or independence with Japane help.[8] In contrast, the Japanese perception of "Western Muslim regions" of t "Silk Road" that covered the Middle East and the East Mediterranean was r as a territory of direct engagement but rather an important geography to fo friendly relations with in order to monitor the activities of the great pow and help extend Japan's global commercial ties.

The Meiji Japanese turn toward the "Silk Road" region, though we shou again caution that this region was not described with this concept at the tim starts in 1880–1881, a decade after the 1871–1873 Iwakura Mission. At the tim the Meiji government organized a mission to visit the Qajar monarchy of Ira and the Ottoman Empire, which were the major Muslim polities of the Ne East. The Gaimushō (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) envoy Yoshida Masaha headed the Japanese "*kaikyō tanken*" or "The expedition to the Islamic Worl that constituted a small mission of seven Japanese that included mostly me chants who wanted to export Japanese goods like tea and silk and a youn army officer representing the newly established General Staff who was order to prepare a detailed investigation of the region. Yoshida's instructions were extensively investigate the Muslim hemisphere and seek possible contacts f Japanese business. At the same time, he was also to investigate the activiti of Russia and Britain in this vast geography that was the proxy stage for glob rivalry between great powers. The Yoshida mission thus can be viewed as t beginning of Japanese informal diplomatic contacts with the Muslim politi of West Asia that represented the new interest of the Japanese leaders in t Islamic world at the gateway to the "Silk Road." The participants of the Yoshi Mission first visited Shah Nasir al-Din (1831–1896), the ruler of the Qajar dyna ty in Persia in 1880. The envoy conducted investigations there for close to fo months between September and December as special guests of the Shah, to b followed by a journey of investigation through the Caucasus that ended wi a short visit to the Ottoman government of Sultan Abdulhamid II for thre

8 Stephan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley, Calif.: University California Press, 1993), 88. Shiratori Kurakichi the founder of the field of tōyō-shi, Orien history during the Meiji period, advocated the view that Japanese history was distinct an separate from Western history and Oriental history which encompassed the Sinocent world. Shiratori argued that Japan's historical roots were North Asian with special links to t Altaic language speaking peoples-Turkic and Mongol populations-of Inner and Central As See Li Narangoa paper in this volume.

weeks in March the following year.[9] The itinerary reflected the importance of Iran and its geography as the gateway to Caucasus and Central Asia for the Japanese authorities at the time. The visit also marked the Meiji perception of the Islamic world as somewhat behind Meiji Japan in the quest for civilization but making some strides under the authoritarian regimes of the regional sovereigns. Yoshida observed with a jaundiced eye the fierce contest between the two Western imperial powers of Great Britain and the Russian empire in the Great Game over Central Asia in the 1890s, which he describes as *the ferocious fight between tigers and dragons* that verbalizes quite accurately the Japanese political perception of the region.[10]

The Japanese entry was part of the global history of high imperialism's "discovery and exploration" of hitherto less known regions of the large spatial geography along Central Eurasia in the quest for overcoming the frontier of nomads and accelerate Great Power politics of imperial expansion.[11] The "long nineteenth century" that extended into the early decades of the twentieth century was, in the words of a recent study, "the golden age" of European and now Japanese scientific, geographic, archeological, and ethno-cultural studies expeditions, along with military reconnaissance investigations. The recent work of Imre Galambos on Count Ōtani Kōzui's Japanese archeological exploration of Central Asia constitutes one of the few studies of Japan's expeditions on the "Silk Road".[12]

In European scholarship, the Silk Road signified the exciting discovery of cosmopolitan encounters and plurality of national identities of an indigenous demography that incorporated the historical interconnections between nomads, traders, and settled peoples, independent of the neighboring Russian and Chinese empires. The Russian empire that conquered Central Asia and took over the Khanates throughout the nineteenth century especially projected a dark shadow over the region that the British and the Japanese later considered to be a serious threat to their political interests. The Silk Road

9 The Yoshida Masaharu mission will be discussed at some length in the Esenbel paper in Chapter 4.

10 Yoshida Masaharu, *Kaikyō tanken perusha no tabi* (The expedition to the Islamic World the Journey to Persia) (Tōkyō: Hakubunkan, 1894), p. 190 for "the ferocious fight between tigers and dragons" *ryūtōkosō* 竜争虎闘。

11 Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 356–367 for the conquest of the Eurasian frontier, 392–402 for imperial expansion.

12 Imre Galambos, "Buddhist Relics from the Western Regions: Japanese Archaeological Exploration of Central Asia", in Nile Green, ed., *Writing Travel in Central Asian History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 152–169.

represented an extraordinary "international" history of the descendants of th Greeks, Nestorian Christians, Sogdian merchants, Turkic and Mongol nomads Uyghur kingdoms, Chinese travelers, and Indian pilgrims. The Silk Road wa the site for major transformations in world history such as the transmission o silk, paper, gunpowder technology, the Aramaic and Sanskrit scripts, the fusio of Hellenism with Buddhism and Indian culture. All of these together with th political unification under the Mongol world empire, the Turkish Khanate, an the influence of Chinese are themes that surfaced along the ancient routes of caravan travel that crisscrossed along the East-West and North-South axis between Europe and Asia.

Though Japan's historical presence on the Silk Road is part of the global history of expeditions and empire building like that of the West, there are some features of the Japanese imaginary about the Silk Road that mark it as distinct from that of the European/Western perception. The legacy of Buddhism particularly interested them: as the roots of Japanese medieval cosmopolitan connections to Asia, the Silk Road was seen as the site for the origins of Japanese Buddhism. Like the Western scholarship on the Silk Road, the Japanese investigators also put emphasis on the historical legacy of the Turkish Khanates, and the present-day local Turkic populations as an autochthonous phenomenon potentially independent of the neighboring empires. In addition, the Japanese perception of the Silk Road stretched to Istanbul, the center of the Ottoman Turkish polity in the West, as a buffer zone between the Russian, British and Chinese imperial influence. Conversely, some Japanese scholarship on Turkology has also been inspired by the debate that there might have been historical connections between the ancient Japanese and the Altaic language speaking peoples of North Asia. Not surprisingly, generations of Japanese scholars in the pre-war period have produced an accumulation of studies o the archaic medieval and modern linguistic and cultural aspects of Turkology that will be introduced in depth for the first time in this volume.

Revival of the Silk Road

Today's scholarship expands on the legacy of the early explorers. Recent scholarship on the Silk Roads projects it to actually be a complex web of many routes of travel over a large space across Eurasia as a contained geography that revises the older von Richthofen view of the Silk Road as a primary route of silk trade with the Roman Empire. Valerie Hansen's work on the Silk Road represents the new, enriched understanding of the region based on the study of indigenous historical documentation in many languages—Sogdian, Uyghur

Chinese, Arabic—that have been retrieved from many expeditions. The new research on the region cautions us that the peoples of this geography had their own understanding and terms for their environment and did not use the term "Silk Road."[13]

A second distinctly politicized perspective focuses on the nomad Eurasian empires throughout history as fertile ground for empire formation that reasserts the present political character of this important region with the emergence of independent republics in the post-Cold War era.[14] Here, the Silk Road peoples of Central Eurasia emerge as primary agents of significant political formations in world history that counter the image of the region as the "playground" of major outside world powers. James A. Millward expands on the centrality of the region with the main idea that humanity thrived along the Silk Road before the steppes were closed in by the rise of the major empires of Russia and China that put an end to independent Inner Eurasian nomad states. Both empires inherited Mongol imperial heritage, though. He notes that today the historical resonances of the term Silk Road is potent again as a shorthand for bilateral and multilateral relations across Central Eurasia, citing Hillary Clinton in 2011 and other US spokesmen.[15] Critical of Russian and Chinese hegemony in the region, in his new book on Central Asia, Frederick Starr places the central importance of Central Asia, the region of the Silk Roads, in world history for having created an authentic intellectual history of the age of enlightenment during the middle ages 800–1100 AD that was lost to humanity with the rise of nomad empires (Mongol empire) and the stifling scholarly restrictions of mystical Sufism. Starr too makes references to the present relevance of the region that was once the center of the world, today though overlooked, remains as a vitally important geopolitical space.[16]

The Silk Road is, however, embedded in our mind with the popular image of the Great Game as the stage for the exciting adventures of European explorers and charismatic spies like those in Peter Hopkirk's "Foreign Devils on the Silk

13 See Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road, A New History* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1–24, the history of the Silk Road based on historical documentation and not art, on von Richthofen, Sven Hedin, and Aurel Stein's discoveries.; Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road Key Papers: Part 1: The Pre-Islamic Period*, editor, (Leiden: Brill Global Oriental, 2012), Volume 1, introduction, ix–xvii.

14 Christopher I Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

15 James A. Millward, *The Silk Road A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 110.

16 S. Frederick Starr, *Lost Enlightenment: Central Asia's Golden Age from the Arab Conquest to Tamerlaine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 1–27.

Road", who are agents of the Great Game, primarily Great Britain and Russia, but also Germany and the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century and beyond.[17] In the first half of the twentieth century the same "Silk Road" historical geography has also been targeted as the arena for determining the rivalry between the Soviet Union and China, an image that still carries present-day connotations. Owen Lattimore (1900–1989), the Inner Asia and Mongolia expert who served the American government during the Second World War and was the political advisor to Chiang Kai-shek—later the victim of McCarthyism in the United States, conceptualized Xinjiang and Mongolia the frontier zone of dynamic interaction between pastoral nomads and settled societies, as the pivot of Asia—the center of gravity for global politics. This well-known perspective puts emphasis on Xinjiang with the Uyghur population who live across the border between Russia and China as politically and strategically significant.[18]

The Silk Road regions' history of ethno-religious political upheaval obviously carries the potential for the destabilization of the Chinese and Russian empires that is integral to this geo-political vision. During the nineteenth century, from the time of the famous Yakub Beg Rebellion of 1865–1877 challenging Qing China and Romanov Russia that led to the brief Russian occupation of the region in 1871 later to be returned to China by Russia in 1881, the "Silk Road" became synonymous with ethno-religious political upheaval and conflict spots of diplomatic and military engagement between the European and regional powers. Today's routes of radical Islam also inhabit the same Silk Road regions and make use of the same routes of travel. The geo-political vision was strongly operative in the Japanese military perception of the Silk Road regions as a potential buffer zone against the Russian and possibly the Chinese empires.

In historiography, the subject of the Silk Roads is especially suitable for recent global history narratives searching for transnationality of multi-cultural encounters and transfers of knowledge in world history. Morris Rossabi advocates the use of the Silk Roads as a concept which is particularly conducive for teaching world history. He draws attention to the themes of cultural borrowing, interactions of civilization development of new economic institutions and technologies to facilitate commerce, and the sheer excitement of travel

17 Peter Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road: The Search for the Lost Treasures of Central Asia* (London: John Murray, 1980); Peter Hopkirk, *Setting the East Ablaze: Lenin's Dream of an Empire in Asia* (London: John Murray, 2006 reprint).

18 Owen Lattimore, *The Desert Road to Turkestan* (London: Methuen, 1928); Owen Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia: Sinkiang and Inner Asian Frontiers of China and Russia* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1950).

and adventure.[19] Nicola Di Cosmo has explored the use of proxy data from climatology and other palaeosciences in the study of the history of China and Central Asia, with special reference to military relations among early Eurasian nomads, the Mongol Empire, and the Qing Dynasty.[20] Many pre-war Japanese also constructed a world history narrative through the prism of a cultural Asianism, admiring the rich overlay of cosmopolitan cultural and ethnic diversity of this grand space. The Silk Road appealed to the modern Japanese imagination by reminding them of the Tang aura during the early Japanese monarchy or even the rustic origins of their ancestral past on the continent.

Japan and the Revival of the Silk Road

The history of imperial Japan's accumulation of information and experiences in this vast region during the pre-war history of modern Japan has also come to play an important role in this recent revival of the Silk Roads concept in the post-Cold War era. The major turning point with the end of the Cold War was the *UNESCO Project of the Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue* that was first launched in 1988. Criticizing the Cold War that had made Central Eurasia inaccessible, the Director General of UNESCO, Frederico Major pointed out at the onset of the project in 1988 that the region of the Silk Roads should be investigated as the historical site of the harmonious co-existence of

19 Morris Rossabi, *The Silk Roads An Educational Source*, 1999, Education about Asia, Vol. 4, No. 1, Spring, 1999.

20 Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Powers in East Asian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and on Mongol and Manchu history, *Manchu-Mongol Relations on the Eve of the Qing Conquest* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), and he has edited several books, including *Military Culture in Imperial China*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), and *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Rossabi has provided a convenient outline of the four, major, historic periods of the Silk Road as the historic site of cosmopolitan encounters with the first period representing "ebb and flow" as a concept of a link between East and West, the Han dynasty and the Roman empire. The second period represented the encounter between the Tang dynasty and the Arab expansion of Islam into Central Asia during the 8th century. The third period entailed the rise and fall of the Mongol world empire that uniquely united Eurasia in the biggest transcontinental empire to date. Rossabi defines the fourth period as the late nineteenth century scramble for colonies in Asia, which was coupled with the revived interest in Central Asia and the Silk Roads region that fits our study of Japan on the Silk Road.

peoples.[21] The five major UNESCO expeditions that took place between 1990 and 1995 followed the tracks of Desert, Maritime, Steppe, and Buddhist routes from Venice to Central Asia, Nepal, China, Mongolia, and concluded in Osaka In all, 227 specialists from 47 countries took part, plus local scholars and more than 100 representatives of the world's media.[22]

The conclusions of the UNESCO Project are noteworthy as they mark the main thematic points about the Silk Road's historic transformation. The influence of Hellenistic traditions made a strong impact on the artistic trends of settled peoples of southern Central Asia from Bactria to the peripheries of Sogdiana and Khorezm. A new concept of human personality was reflected in their arts; portraits appeared on coins, and clay sculpture, which was widespread in the Bactrian period, became rich in human images.[23] The Turkic peoples' conquest of Central Asia gave them control over the export of Chinese silk to Europe. Through Turkic crafting, that artistic symbiosis spread to the arts of agricultural Sogdiana, enriched with new ideas, images and motifs.[24] From Arabia, pious Muslim merchants carried both their trade goods and their faith across Central Asia, where it remains the predominant religion. Monks in saffron robes travelled the Silk Road as missionaries, laying the foundation for the prevalence of Buddhism in East Asia. Zoroastrianism, the ancient pre-Islamic religion of Persia, spread to India along the Silk Road, while two other religions—Manichaeism, a blend of Judaism and Christianity, and Nestorianism, a Christian sect—also spread to China via this route.[25] In sum, the UNESCO project reflects the optimistic cosmopolitan vision of Central Eurasia, independent of major outside imperial domination, as the site of peaceful exchange in the past between Europe and Asia that can serve today as the inspiration for the harmonious coexistence of peoples in the 21st century empowering the role of the indigenous republics independent of major power interests.

The 1988 UNESCO project also sheds light on this work's agenda of Japan on the Silk Road for it illuminates the strong legacy of the pre-war Japanese engagement along the Silk Roads geography. Only a few years after the end of the Second World War, Japan contributed to the UNESCO meeting with twenty scholars and a 750-book bibliography that attested to the accumulation of pre-war studies of the Silk Road in Japan. Vadime Elisseeff explains that the

21 *UNESCO Project of the Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue*, (Unesco, 1997), Unesco Director-General Frederico Mayor statement, 3.

22 *UNESCO*, 32.

23 *UNESCO*, 22.

24 *UNESCO*, 23.

25 *UNESCO*, 27.

1956–1957 decisions of UNESCO to study the cultural heritage of the Orient-Occident and the Silk Roads were undertaken with the major contribution of Japanese scholarship. The scientific appraisal of the Silk Roads was already prepared by the Japanese National Commission of UNESCO on the occasion of the *International Symposium on the History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts* (Oct–Nov. 1957). The Japanese scholars helped define the notion of three intercultural routes of the Steppe, Oasis, and Maritime Silk Roads and defined the topics which should be studied under each route. The Japanese conceptual frame was to help form, decades later, the foundation of the UNESCO 1988–1997 project.[26]

In his article on the Silk Road and the Japanese, the eminent scholar of Turkology and Chinese dynastic records on the ancient Turks, Mori Masao (1921–1996), pointed to the main events that have led to the growth of the Japanese interest in the Silk Road that formed the basis of this relatively strong scholarship legacy in 1957. The Ōtani expeditions formed the major event that made a strong impression among the Japanese public. The journalist and traveler who was interested in archeological sites, Mori Yutaka (1917–2001) explained that publications on the Ōtani expeditions were at the core of his continued fascination with the Silk Road. Mori Masao also notes the publication of Army major Hino Tsutomu's (1865–1920) experiences from his entrance to the Uyghur region about the same time as the Ōtani expeditions in 1906–1907, as the Ili Notes, which significant in representing the military strategic interest in the region. The second event, according to Mori Masao, that impacted Japanese Silk Road interest, was the Second World War when general interest on the Silk Road region was fertilized with wartime news on Inner Asia. The writer Matsuoka Yūzuru (1891–1969) wrote *Dunhuang Story* from 1937 on in the *Kaizō* journal, which was later published as a monograph in 1943 that became very popular. After the war, the novels of Inoue Yasushi (1907–1991) titled *Dunhuang* (1959), and *Loulan* (1958) created a "Western regions *Seiikimono*-tales" genre in fiction that led to the rise in the interest in the Silk Road. According to Mori Masao, the third event that fertilized the Japanese vision of the Silk Road, was the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games that fostered the concept of the Silk Road when the Olympic torch was brought from Greece. The novelist writers Shiba Ryōtarō and Inoue Yasushi have traced back the origins of the Japanese admiration for their dream about the Silk Road to the amazement of the Japanese missions when they saw Chang'an during their visits to the Tang

26 Vadime Elisseeff, editor, *The Silk Roads Highways of Culture and Commerce*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 1–26, 12 for reference to the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO.

dynasty, explaining how Tang poetry still carries forth the magic and mystery of Western Regions even today. Mori Masao concludes that Japanese interest in the Silk Road can thus be categorized into two categories: military strategic interest in the region as the source of intelligence gathering which Mori thought was no longer important in the post-war era, and the land of cultural road that brought Buddhism or the cultural heritage of the imperial collection in the Shōsōin that exist at the core of Japanese culture.[27]

In his recent article on the Japanese perspective of the Silk Road, Katayama Akio who is one of the authors in this volume explains that the Silk Road term was first used as *shiruku rōdo* in *katakana* in Japanese during the 1930s, but it was still not standard practice. During the 1940s, the characters 古代絹街道 *kodai kinu kaidō* (The Ancient Silk Road) were used with the pre-war hiragana reading of *shirukuroudo* for the translation of the title of August Herrmann's book that used von Richthofen's term *Seidenstrasse* for the Silk Road, also the term *kinu no michi* 絹の道 was used for the translation of Sven Hedin. The term *shiruku rōdo* really came to be used during the 1960s to explain the journey of Chinese monks to India in the Middle Ages and during the 1970s for the Japanese and Chinese joint collaboration in archeological studies with the normalization of relations.[28] The Japanese travel accounts of the Meiji period in the multi-volume Meiji Silk Road Expedition Series that have been published over the 1980s represents the generic use of the term to conceptualize Meiji Japanese interest along the large geography across Eurasia.[29]

The 1988 Nara Silk Road Exhibition and the 1994 Silk Road Research Center, invented the term, *shirukurōdo-gaku*, that can be translated as *"Silk Roadology"* to be the generic term to define the research on the region, especially for the study of manuscripts. During the last twenty years Japanese and Chinese joint projects have continued in the forms of Loulan research trips (sponsored by Asahi newspaper), restoration projects for the Kizil Buddhist caves, Niya ruins, and Turfan archeological excavations, which have all been published. The latest trends in Japanese Silk Road studies focus on the history of the Sogdian

27 Mori Masao, "Shiruku Rōdo to nihonjin" (Silk Road and the Japanese), in Che Muqi, (ed.), *Shiruku Rōdo: ima to mukashi—Vol. 1* (Silk Road: Past and Present Vol. 1), (Tōkyō: Shogakukan & Jinmin Chūgoku Zasshisha, 1981), 248–77.

28 Katayama Akio, "Shiruku Rōdogaku no kyō" (The Present day of the Silk Road Studies) in *Aija Yugaku—Intriguing Asia*, Special Edition: *Shiryō ni miru saishin chūgokushi*, Vol. 96 (Feb 2007), (Tōkyō: Benseisha), 62–72, for the translations. *Kodai kinu kaidō* was published by Kasumigaseki Shobō in 1944.

29 *Meiji shiruku rōdo tanken kikō bunshūsei* (Tōkyō: Yumani Shobō, 1988), 23 volumes. Reprints of Meiji era Japanese travels and reports on Asia.

people of Iranian origin who traded along the Silk Road routes from their base in Samarkand. The new research of Yoshida Yutaka and Moriyasu Takao and Arakawa Masaharu were incorporated into the volumes of the 1997 Iwanami Press World History series.[30]

Japanese interest in the Silk Roads, has again suddenly reappeared with the relaxation of access to the region at the end of the twentieth century. This was witnessed with the extraordinary success of the NHK documentary on the Silk Road in the 1980s with its popular Kitarō background music that was broadcast in more than 30 countries, including Turkey. The documentary was the first of many Japanese-Chinese collaborations on the region after the normalization of diplomatic relations, which shows the importance of this historical theme of shared cultural memory. While the Chinese start the Silk Road from China, the Japanese have linked the Silk Road to Nara, the first historic capital of the Japanese monarchy 710–784 AD which became a center for the flow of Buddhism and artifacts from the Silk Road trade during the middle ages. The Nara Symposium for Digital Silk Roads, December 10–12, 2003 also represents the Japanese interest that locates the starting point of the Silk Road in Japan. The famous Japanese style painter Hirayama Ikuo (1930–2009) the *nihon-ga* artist devoted his entire artistic career to spreading the Silk Roads message by painting scenes from his journeys along the silk road geography. In 1961, Hirayama was the first recipient of a UNESCO fellowship and from 1990 to 1999, he financed ten fellowships a year, through the Hirayama Silk Roads Fellowships program. Hirayama's activism indicates the continuation of a cultural cosmopolitan version of Asianism after the end to political Asianist interest in the region.[31]

The Japanese perception of the Silk Road region and Central Asia in turn fosters Turkish interest in the geography of the Silk Roads, where that academic knowledge of the region has remained relatively diffuse and thereby benefits from Japanese expertise. Founded in 1923 after the fall of the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the First World War, the primary orientation of the Republic was toward the West and Anatolia. Part of the late Ottoman and early Republican debate on a new national identity to replace the historic, dynastic one, romanticized the Turkic peoples of Central Asia as the rustic uncorrupted

30 Katayama Akio, "Shiruku Rōdogaku no kyō" (The Present day of the Silk Road Studies) in *Aija Yugaku—Intriguing Asia*, Special Edition: *Shiryō ni miru saishin chūgokushi*, Vol. 96 (Feb 2007), (Tōkyō: Benseisha), 63.

31 UNESCO issued its first two medals on Japanese themes in 2005, one for each of the two series.
The medal was designed by renowned Japanese *nihon-ga* painter Ikuo Hirayama.

roots of the *ur-nation.* The Turkist agenda actually derived from the Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism discourse of Imperial Russia's Muslim intelligentsia, which has had a strong influence in Turkey. But the existence of Soviet rule and the Cold War handicapped any real access to the region for scholarly or geo-political investigations from Turkey. Since the end of the Cold War however, the Turkish government and businesses have taken the initiative in entering the Central Asian markets and construction projects—a move which imbues a strongly commercial tone to the use of the Silk Roads as a concept. The government has constructed a highway in Ulan Bator to the historic site of ancient Turkish monuments in Mongolia. Japanese academic research teams who possess strong training in the archeology and languages of the Silk Road and have direct contacts with academics in Central Asia also collaborate on occasion with Turkish counterparts from Turkey in a way that disseminates knowledge on the Silk Road and at the same time attests to the present-day relations between Japan, Turkey, and the region. The few Turkish scholars who have been truly interested in the Silk Road regions beyond ideological agendas, usually collaborate with German or Japanese scholars in their pursuit of Silk Road studies. Others such as the Chinese and Inner Asian historian of Turkey Isenbike Togan have been active in the UNESCO Project.[32]

The Papers

The authors of this collective study present a rich combination of global expertise on Japan, Central Asia, and the Islamic world, which provides a multidisciplinary exposé of the Japanese narrative along the Silk Road. The papers include a first time survey of Japan's earliest knowledge about Central and Inner Asia. The book exposes the Japanese interaction in a wide geography

32 The members of the Turkology Department of Istanbul University have collaborated with Japanese academics who have been reading the Uyghur and ancient Turkic documents. Erdal Küçükyalçın, one of the authors in this volume is a member of Ryūkoku University Institute of Buddhist Culture Research Center for Central Asia and the Tokyo Turkic Runic Reading Group. Another one of the authors in this volume, Mehmet Ölmez, organized the 38th ICANAS (International Congress of Asian and North African Studies) in Ankara, Turkey in 2007 where a Silk Road Panel of Turkish, Azerbaijani and Japanese academics presented the results of the 1996–1998 Japanese historical research in Mongolia. The Azerbaijan Silk Road Research Center Director Kamil Veli Nerimanoğlu announced the completion of a Silk Road Cultural Atlas and the preparations for the restoration of cultural monuments in the region with Japan's help. Mehmet Ölmez, organizer, "Silk Road Panel," (Ankara: Atatürk Dil Tarih Yuksek Kurumu, 2006).

from the Ottoman empire and Qajar Iran to Russia, Afghanistan, India and Mongolia. Each paper discusses the Japanese perspectives and policies, and at the same time brings to light the role of individuals in this venture: men such as the intelligence officers of the General Staff, Colonel Fukushima Yasumasa and Tanaka Giichi, who were to be instrumental in imperial Japan's military strategy vis-à-vis Russia; diplomats such as Nishi Tokujirō; Pan-Asianists such as Uchida Ryōhei, the Chairman of the Kokuryūkai (Amur River Society also known as the Black Dragons); the Japanese explorer and investigator and abbot of Nishi-Honganji temple, Count Ōtani Kōzui; the architect Itō Chūta who pioneered "national architecture"; the founder of Oriental History Tōyōshi and the study of the North Asian nomad peoples, the historian Shiratori Kurakichi; and the founders of Turkology in Japan such as Mori Masao, Tachibana Zuichō and Watanabe Tesshin, among others.

The studies in this volume show that the Japanese interest along the geographic territories of the Silk Road represent the multiple components of the Silk Road imagination. The papers that discuss the Japanese outreach to Central Eurasia and the Silk Road are well-placed within the grand global historical narrative of imperial expansion, conquest of the Eurasian nomad frontier, and acceleration of communication and transportation by railroad and steamship which ensured the mobility of travelers as well as images and technology that underline the transformation of the world during the nineteenth century.[33] The thematic topics of the papers can be categorized into five distinct categories: studies that relate to: Imperial Japan's geopolitical strategic interest in the region, the search for a modern Japanese Asian civilizational identity, Japanese scholarship on the indigenous historical legacy of the Silk Road, tracing historic cultural transfer to Japan, and finally Japanese investment in the economy and modern mobility along the routes of the Silk Roads. All represent different aspects of nineteenth and early twentieth century global history through the Japanese experience.

Japanese imperial geopolitics and the search for a contemporary civilizational identity in Asia form the shared thematic component of the Nish, Szpilman, Saaler, Esenbel, Narangoa, Komatsu, Dündar, Tankha, and Girardelli papers. Narangoa, Esenbel, and Komatsu focus on the Japanese images of Central Eurasian peoples, Mongols, Turks, and Muslims as subjects of Japanese imperial geo-politics. Saaler, Szpilman, Narangoa, Esenbel, and Komatsu shed light on the Japanese Pan-Asian gaze toward the Silk Roads Central Eurasian

33 Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 392–402 imperial expansion, 712–723 communication and transportation.

geography of Turkic populations, Mongols, and Central Asian Muslims. The Japanese gaze toward the ethno-national peoples of Central Eurasia forced Japanese Pan-Asianism to go beyond the familiar arguments of the same race (the yellow race) and the same culture (Chinese culture-Confucianism), which were the early arguments of *Ajiashugi*—Great Asianism—in the Meiji period. Inter-Asian connections of Pan-Islamism and nationality questions in Central Asia and South and South East Asia launched Imperial Japan's global vision of Islam policy that became a geo-political strategy. The research of Esenbel, Szpilman, Komatsu, Narangoa reveals that already in the late Meiji era, the Japanese authorities had started to form contacts along the Silk Roads geography from Russia and China to the Ottoman empire to serve as a friendly network for Imperial Japan. Some of that network would presumably aid the Japanese empire's imminent challenge against the Western empires during the twentieth century.[34] On the other hand, the work of Tankha and Girardelli traces the search of the Meiji architect Itō Chūta for a cosmopolitan Asian architectural aesthetic in his journeys along the Silk Road that took him to the Ottoman Empire and India: The journeys served as a mobile geography for constructing the modern civilizational identity of Japan that oriented toward Asia.

The global processes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century age of empire accelerated the modern mobility of cultural images and transfer of technology over the Silk Roads geography. The paper of Dündar on the travel of Japan's image into Central Asia during the Russo-Japanese War, Baykara on modern Japanese literary imagination about the Silk Road, and Kaygusuz on the inter-regional mobility of modern photography technology from Istanbul to Yokohama are examples of the mobility of images and technology along the Silk Roads. Küçükyalçın outlines Ōtani's vision for a mega-scale Central Eurasian speedy bullet train railway connection that would unite Tokyo with Berlin via Istanbul, shades of the present Chinese ambition for One Belt One

34 Sven Saaler, Christopher W.A. Szpilman, eds., *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History Volume 1: 1850–1920* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2011) 121–131 for Sven Saaler, the Kokuryūkai, 115–120 for Urs Matthias Zachmann for the Tōadōbunkai Common Culture Society, 195–204 for Selçuk Esenbel for the World of Islam and Japan, 223–230 for Kurban Ali and the Tatar Community in Japan; Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007) for similarities in both intellectual discourses; Sven Saaler, Christopher W.A. Szpilman, editors, *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History Volume 2: 1920-Present* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2011), 6–7 the review of the early common race and culture vision of Pan-Asia to links with Pan-Islam and Turanism of Altaic peoples, 87–92 Eddy Dufourmont for Islam and Pan-Asianism.

Road. Finally Satō brings light to the diffuse impact of Buddhist stories on ancient Shinto tales that exposes an example of the cultural mobility that took place in pre-modern times along the Silk Road. Küçükyalçın, Katayama, Röhrborn, and Ölmez chisel out the detailed bibliographic history of Japanese studies on the Silk Roads region as the scholarly foundation of this global narrative that forms the legacy in the post-war period and highlights the recent revival of interest.

The volume follows a roughly chronological pattern, starting with Ian Nish's paper which provides an overview of the Japanese interest in the Great Game that began with the Anglo-Russian rivalry in the Central Asian plains during the Afghan Wars and continued throughout the nineteenth century in the Eurasian geography of the Silk Road. Beginning with the memoirs of Aoki Shūzō, minister to Berlin (1880–5), deputy foreign minister (1887–92) and minister to Berlin a second time (1892–7) Nish takes up the important Japanese journeys in the region and their perspectives on the world of the Silk Road. Nish shows that the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War was a significant threshold that heightened Japanese involvement along the Silk Road beyond reconnaissance. Japan began to recruit agents among Japanese migrants in Siberia and the Russian Far East and Nish introduces the career of Ishimitsu Makiyo, an officer acting *sub rosa* in Manchuria and Siberia in the run-up to the Russo-Japanese war. Another aspect of intelligence gathering at this time is illustrated by the journey of Captain Tanaka Giichi (1864–1929), later to become a prime minister of Japan.

Sven Saaler discusses in depth the reconnaissance journeys of Major Fukushima Yasumasa (1852–1919) who, as an officer in the Imperial Japanese Army, undertook extensive travel in virtually all parts of Asia, and has come to be recognized as another significant Japanese explorer and intelligence-gatherer of the late nineteenth century. In this role, Fukushima Yasumasa would have been keen to gain some first-hand insights into the situation in Russia and Siberia and his activities have also been linked in a number of ways to the exploration of the Silk Road. Saaler's paper places Fukushima Yasumasa's travels, particularly his famed lone ride across Eurasia in 1891–1892 between Berlin and Tokyo, in the context of the second global age of discovery and exploration, in order to determine whether the mystique of the Silk Road was one of the motivations for undertaking his adventurous journeys throughout Eurasia. Saaler also examines the influence of his various expeditions on Fukushima's later career in the Imperial Japanese Army, as well as the image of Fukushima in Japanese society after his death in 1919. Saaler argues that the information Fukushima gathered on his expedition to the Ottoman empire especially 'Turkish Arabia," meaning the Arab provinces of Iraq, Syria, and

Palestine during his year-long journey covering the Near and Middle East, and Central Asia in 1895/1897 was part of a reconnaissance mission. Fukushima submitted a valuable report to the Japanese Army General Staff. The report of this expedition would be used during the Russo-Japanese War (1904/05), but also later, to counter British influence in the region, when Japan entered a collision course with the Anglo-American powers in the 1920s and began competing with Britain in Central and South Asia. During the Boxer Uprising in China in 1899/1900, Fukushima "gained fame as the commander of the Japanese contingent and staff officer of the allied troops in Peking." (*The New York Times*, 21 February 1919) Fukushima was selected for this position because of his contacts with British officers and, once again, for his knowledge of China and his command of the Chinese language.

Selçuk Esenbel builds on the Fukushima story from where Saaler leaves off and looks at the lone ride through Inner Asia using his travel accounts in a discussion of the empathetic discourse of Fukushima and Japan, identifying with the Inner Asian peoples and the Altai mountain range as the site of Japan's imperial destiny. Like other "intelligence-riders" from Japan, Fukushima stresses the importance of the Ili region between the Russian and Chinese frontiers in Inner Asia, along with the historic frontier in northern Russian Turkestan. Ili contains the Altai and Tien-hsia mountain ranges in the northern part of Xinjiang province between China and the Republic of Mongolia, the former Outer Mongolia. In the nineteenth century it was mostly Kazakh nomads and Uyghur Turkic peoples that inhabited the region. This was a politically volatile spot already in the nineteenth century-Lattimore's Pivot of Asia. The Russia expert of the Gaimushō who was sent to St. Petersburg to study Russian, Nishi Tokujirō (1870–1873), later Baron and Minister of Foreign Affairs, had visited the region immediately after it had been conquered by Russia during the Yakub Beg rebellion of 1871, when he travelled between 1870–1873 throughout the region including the Ili region. Komatsu notes that Nishi traveled extensively in Russian Turkistan for about four months in 1880 on his return to Japan after serving as the extraordinary chargé d'affaires in St. Petersburg. Nishi travelled to the Ili region in 1880 before Russia returned the Ili territory to China in 1881. From the Japanese historical perspective, Ili also had religious significance. It was the gateway to the "Western regions—Seiiki" (sometimes pronounced as Saiiki 西域) to the heart of Buddhism in Tibet and India from the Silk Road. And it could be considered a potential defense frontier against Russia. After Fukushima's visit during his 1893 journey, Ili came to be considered to be a major territory for Japanese strategic calculations about forming a frontier against Russian advance to the East. That its population was mostly non-Russian and non-Chinese Muslims of various Turkic tribes sealed this territory in the north as part of the territories wherein Islam-based intelligence and propaganda would take place. Already one of the conflict-prone regions of the late nineteenth century, the Ili region has continued to be politically volatile to this day.[35]

An important component of Fukushima's trip and that of the other Meiji visitors in the highlands of Inner Asia is that one can detect the roots of the identification of some Japanese with the nomad world of the steppe Turkic tribes, the Uyghur of Xinjiang, and the Mongols. Fukushima's narrative of his lone rider trip in 1892–93 was constructed later by a former Army officer in 1979, based on a collection of Fukushima's notes, newspaper accounts, and the recollections of his sons. His original report remained classified in the General Staff. The narrative is embellished with romantic images of Central Asia as an especially meaningful territory for Japan. Esenbel's article next looks at Fukushima's investigation of the Ottoman and Persian worlds in his visit to the Ottoman Empire during his third scouting trip between October 1895 and March 1897, a trip that took him to Iran, Central Asia, the Caucasus, and Ottoman Iraq and which became the subject of his travel account *Chūō Ajia yori Arabia e* (From Central Asia to Arabia).

The article also introduces the recently published multi-volume diary of General Utsunomiya, an immensely valuable primary source as it provides the "nuts and bolts" of evidence of the network of global intelligence that Utsunomiya—who became Vice-Chief of Staff and head of the Second Bureau of intelligence—built in Asia together with Fukushima. The article shows the foreshadowing of Japanese networks among Muslims of the Silk Road, particularly Russia Muslims and Indian Muslim Pan-Islamists which, in the words of Utsunomiya, would be of use one day to Imperial Japan in the event of a clash with *Christian* powers.

Komatsu Hisao's paper discusses the Japanese involvement in Central Asia with the second trip of Nishi Tokujirō (1847–1912) to the Ili region during 1880 while still under Russian occupation after suppressing the Yakub Bey revolt in 1871. Nishi's journey appears to have inspired Fukushima and the later "lone" riders from Japan on the Silk Road. Komatsu considers Nishi's assessment of Inner Asian peoples to be a realistic account. Komatsu analyzes Nishi's report and the work entitled *Chūō Ajia kiji* (The Description of Central Asia) based on his field survey and investigation of foreign publication and sources. Komatsu

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35 OSS. 890.1, Japanese Infiltration among Muslims in China (May 1944), 14, 63; Richard Deacon, *A History of Japanese Secret Service* (London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1988), 66–78. The region is the site for reports on Muslim/Uyghur disturbances today as well; Kim, Hodong, *Holy War in China: The Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia, 1864–1877* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004) for a comprehensive historical account of the volatile region.

concludes that the work should be considered as the first work of Central Asian studies in Japan that looked at Central Asia from a typically Asian and Japanese perspective. Komatsu's paper continues to discuss the life and career of the important personality from Central Asia, Abdurreshid Ibrahim (1857–1944), an ardent Pan-Islamist and one of the most aggressive political figures among Russian Muslims, who became the main interlocutor between the Japanese authorities and the Islamic world as a Central Asian Muslim intellectual and religious figure and as one who was originally from Russia. Already in 1908–1909 during his visit to Japan he had surfaced as the major interlocutor in Japan's Islam policy thinking, as reflected in General Utsunomiya's diary. Komatsu suggests that Ibrahim's pro-Japanese attitude and declarations during his stay in Japan from February to June 1909 succeeded in forming close personal relations with Japanese statesmen, intellectuals (especially right-wing nationalists), and army officers. The paper narrates Ibrahim's long career with Japanese Pan-Asianists after his return to Japan for the last time in 1933 and his cooperation with the government in Islam-oriented propaganda activities as the first imam of Tokyo Mosque that was opened in 1938 and as the Muslim head of the Dai Nippon Kaikyō Kyōkai (Great Japan Islamic Society) that came into existence in 1938 under the presidency of General Hayashi Senjurō (ex-War Minister and Prime Minister). In the words of Komatsu, the creation of the Great Japan Islamic Society highlights the great achievement of Islamic policy that aimed to awaken Asian peoples and create an anti-communist bloc in Asia.

Komatsu provides interesting new information on the last days of Ibrahim, when in May 1944 the Society ordered the holding of a celebration for the long life of this man. This scene of celebration was to be used for a propaganda film "Muslims in Tokyo" for the Muslim populations in the South Seas under Japanese occupation. According to the memories of the director of this film, Aoyama Kōji, shooting on the film caused old Ibrahim's exhaustion and finally his death in mid-summer. In those days a Marxist left-wing researcher Kozai Yoshishige (1901–1990) who worked in the research department of the Society, left in his diary critical comments on the creation of the sacred persona of Ibrahim by the Society. Following the funeral ceremony Kozai wrote an obituary notice on the demand of the General Staff, and in December he wrote a broadcast article regarding the intentions of the late Ibrahim.

Christopher Szpilman analyzes the Japanese intellectual discourse that formulated the Islam policy of the 1930s at the government level that originated after the First World War from the activities and works of the Pan-Asianist right wing and that developed a new and aggressive stance toward Japanese imperial interest in Asia and particularly toward the world of Islam. Szpilman takes up the views of the right-wing radicals after the Great War who agitated for a Japanese Asianist revolution, the Showa Restoration, under military leadership. Right-wing radicals infused Asianist agendas and particularly Japanese cooperation with the Islamic world into a global vision of an alternative geography whose revolutionary energy should be aligned to Japan's Asianist internationalism in a way that ought to challenge the hegemony of Western powers. Unlike the Meiji interest in the Silk Road that Fukushima and the others had, which by and large envisioned being in step with Western activities, the Asianists of the thirties were radical challengers to the existing status quo and Turkey, Iran and Islam itself became settings for the expectation of revolutionary changes. Colonel Hashimoto Kingorō who was the perennial coup plotter of the dark road to the end of democracy in Japan during the 1930s justified some of his military-led revolutionary agenda from observation of the secular modernist radical reforms of President Kemal Atatürk in the newly founded Republic of Turkey.

Szpilman's paper looks specifically at the thoughts of two military men, Colonel Hashimoto Kingorō (1890–1957) and Lieutenant Fukunaga Ken (1899–1991), and three civilian leaders of the radical pan-Asianist association, the Yūzonsha, namely Ōkawa Shūmei (1886–1957), Mitsukawa Kametarō (1888–1936) and Kanokogi Kazunobu (1884–1949). The views of these individuals are representative of Japan's radical right in general, and by examining them, a fair summary of the views of Japan's radical right on the Middle East is given.

Li Narangoa provides an account of the late Meiji Japanese idealization of the Mongol empire and identification with Mongols after the assessment of visitors like Nishi Tokujirō and Fukushima Yasumasa. She observes that during the late 19th to the early 20th centuries, the Mongol Empire in the 13 and 14th centuries that covered the Eurasian continent and revived the Silk Road, served as an aspiration for Japanese adventurers and intellectuals. It gave them confidence as an Asian race when Japan was being belittled by the Western Powers. They were proud that an Asian race, even if it were not the Japanese, had conquered half of the continental landmass. In the early 20th century, when Japan gained its confidence as a sovereign and modern state, the image of the Mongol empire still lingered on in the mind of many Japanese, especially when Japan began to expand its interest on the continent. In this context, the image of the Mongol empire served two purposes: first, as a model of a unified Mongol state under Japanese leadership and, second, as an example of a territory that had once been under the Mongol empire that should be ruled by Asians under Japan, implying that entire central Asia under the influence of the Soviets should be taken from Russian rule. Li Narangoa provides a detailed account of the Japanese attempt to set up a Mongol state. She also includes an interesting account of the cultural and educational institution-building undertaken by the Zenrinkyōkai society—the Japanese society for friendship with Mongols that was successful in Inner Mongolia. Narangoa concludes that though the policy to send Mongolian graduates of the new schools to the western regions and entering into Central Asia from Inner Mongolia via the North West and Outer Mongolia failed, still the idea of Central Asia along the Silk Road left romantic dreams to young Japanese of the time, especially to those who worked and studied in Inner Mongolia, as the school song of the Kōa Gijuku illustrated: "Brethren, look up the Urals, Altai and Pamir .. the conquest path of Chingis Khan, forward by horse, when will we drink the water of the Caspian Sea."

Merthan Dündar brings forth the cultural and literary side of the impact of the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 on the Turkish world. He notes that essentially the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War was a turning point in instigating the love that Turks have had for Japan as an admirable model for modernity and self-reliance. It is possible to find the traces of this sympathy in the works and memoirs of many intellectuals, statesmen, and opinion leaders regardless of political differences of left, right, center, including President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, General Kazım Karabekir, the religious leader Saidi Nursi, the Pan-Islamist intellectual and poet Mehmet Akif, and the leftist poet Nazım Hikmet. Dündar presents a fresh look at the Turkic peoples' literary imagination with regard to Japan and the Russo-Japanese War that strongly serves to bring a nuanced understanding to the established discourse about the admiration for Japan in the Turkish world. His translations of poetry from the Karachay-Malkar Turks and Azerbaijanis of the Caucasus, the Crimean Tatars and the Idil Ural Tatar literature of Central Asia include a rich collection of poems of soldiers from Central Asia who fought in the Russian imperial army at the "Japanese front" in Port Arthur. The poems include those of the Tatar intellectual and poet Gabdulla Tukay who was critical of Abdurresid Ibrahim's publicity in favor of Japan as the savior of Islam—topics discussed in detail in the Esenbel and Komatsu papers. Tukay, who was a Tatar nationalist, counters the propaganda of those Pan-Islamists like Ibrahim who spread the word that the Meiji Emperor was about to convert Japan. However, though an opponent of Ibrahim's pro-Japanese propaganda, Tukay too expresses admiration towards Japan as the land of science and education that should be a model for all. Dündar's research reveals that the debate in Russia and the Muslim world about Japan as a model for Islamic modernity, such as led by people like Ibrahim who looms large in this discourse, was not one sided, and that there was also a secular nationalist interpretation.

The papers of Brij Tankha, Erdal Küçükyalçın, Miyuki Aoki Girardelli exploring the religious and cultural turn in the late nineteenth century around the turn of the twentieth century reflect a Meiji era fin-de-siècle of questioning and searching for counter arguments to the established norms of Western modernity. The era is noted for the increasing desire of late Meiji Japanese cultural personalities to investigate again the outside world of foreign geographies and civilizations but this time as part of constructing Modern Japan through exploring Asia and rediscovering Japanese tradition.

Brij Tankha draws attention to the extensive Asian expeditions of Count Ōtani Kōzui (1876–1948) of the Nishi Honganji temple in the Jōdo shinshū (True Pure Land Teaching), the major sect of Tokugawa Buddhism, and his close friend and associate founder of modern architecture Itō Chūta. He examines their travels in India through their diaries and travel writing that reflect the search for a modern Japan that incorporates the cosmopolitan civilizations of Asia with the dominant Western orientation of the early decades of the Meiji Restoration that had witnessed a destructive attack on Japanese traditions of Buddhism and its classic artistic heritage. Tankha notes that Meiji travel writing in general, and accounts of exploration of Asia in particular, offer a source to show the varied ways in which Japan's heritage and the underlying principles of its culture and history and its relationship with the Asian region were being defined to reinforce the civilized and modern status of Japan. In this paper Tankha looks at Ōtani's intellectual project in the context of the restructuring of both Buddhism and his own sect, the Nishi Honganji, and his explorations of Asia together with the work of the architectural historian Itō Chūta (1867–1954), who played a crucial role in defining "tradition" in architecture and in attempting to create an Asian architecture for modern Japan. The interests and objectives of these two very different individuals led them both to explore Asia and brought them together to build a new Japan. He notes that the art historian and cultural bureaucrat Okakura Tenshin was also a key figure in laying out the intellectual contours of this project and that this new discourse in the latter half of the Meiji period at the turn of the twentieth century was shaped by a cross fertilization of European, Asian and Japanese ideas and that a simple flow from the "West" ignores these complex interactions that point to a far richer history.

Ōtani Kōzui turned to the exploration of areas of Inner Asia particularly those such as Kucha that had hitherto been unexplored by Western scholars, such as the Swedish geographer and explorer Sven Hedin (1865–1952) or Aurel Stein (1862–1943), the Hungarian-born explorer who worked for the British colonial government in India. In 1902 however, Kōzui decided to make an independent effort to explore the region, a decision that was met with much criticism in Europe. The European explorations were part of colonial policy and so a Japanese person launching an expedition was seen as a challenge to their intellectual hegemony. Tankha gives examples of the late Meiji Japanese excitement for travel that is truly global and not just restricted to the geography of the dominant Western world such as Uehara Yoshitarō, a close companion of Ōtani Kōzui, who has been called the Ibn Batuta of Japan, because he traveled extensively and wrote a vivid account of his travels although being little known today.

Erdal Küçükyalçın focuses on the person of Ōtani Kōzui and traces his later career. The ardent Asianist believed in an alternative modernity that would entail a peaceful construction of Asia, which, however, in his words, was left unheard by ears deafened by the war cries of his generation. Küçükyalçın deciphers in detail the genealogy and family ties of Kōzui that placed him in the midst of the power elite in pre-war Japan with family ties par alliance to Taishō emperor and Prince Konoe Fumimarō, the politically important scion of the Fujiwara clan of Kyoto who became Prime Minister in 1937–39 and again in 1940–1941 when he was the Prime Minister on the eve of Japan's entering the Second World War. His paper concentrates on Kōzui's life after the famed expeditions to Central and Inner Asia and his resignation from chief abbacy as a result of a financial crisis in the Nishi Honganji temple. The paper analyzes Ōtani's enactment of his Asianist ideals in the establishment of a secondary school for boys in the Nirakusō villa that Itō Chūta had constructed for him with an eclectic Asian architectural design. Küçükyalçın takes up the Asianist vision of Ōtani through the *Kōa keikaku* (The Rise of Asia Project) the 10-volume work that he published in 1939–1940. In this magnum opus of his writings on Asia, Ōtani discusses the geography, societies, and culture of the Asian continent with detailed proposals for its economic recovery outlining projects for economic development, particularly agricultural modernization, that he favored as well as mega-projects such as the Tokyo-Berlin railway though Eurasia to facilitate transcontinental communication.

Miyuki Aoki Girardelli concentrates on the analysis of Itō Chūta's (1867–1954), intellectual journey as the inventor of the term *kenchiku* 建築 for architecture in modern Japanese and the first Japanese architectural historian through his travels in the Ottoman Lands for eight and a half months during his world trip of 1902–05. Girardelli analyses Itō's struggle for constructing a critical notion of "Eastern architecture" in Japanese architectural discourse. His search for the origins of the *entasis* and *karakusa* (honey suckle motifs) observed in the columns of the 7th century Japanese Buddhist temple, Hōryūji, was a part of the Meiji Japan's efforts to establish a certain status for Japanese architecture in a Euro-centric architectural discourse. Itō stressed that *entasis*, the slight swellings at 1/3 of the column of Greek architecture, has gradually expanded to the East via India, the heartland of Buddhism, where the traces of Hellenistic influence on the heritage of Gandhara had already been tracked to some extent by British scholars such as James Fergusson and Sir Banister Fletcher. Itō's work was a personal challenge to the treatment of Japanese architecture as marginal in the world history of architecture which was typically represented by the British historian of architecture James Fergusson's comment in his "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" published in 1891 stating that Japan lacked permanent buildings, a sense of magnificence and a connection with the building race of mankind. Leaving Japan for China on 29th March in 1902, Itō Chūta traveled around the world via Burma, Malay, India, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Greece, Italy, Germany, France, Britain and the United States. Throughout his life, Chūta left 76 volumes of field notes now preserved at the Architectural Institute of Japan. The first 12 volumes of this collection are dedicated to his great trip around the globe between 1902–1905 and four of them in total register the accounts of his stay in the Ottoman Empire. Girardelli reveals for us also the advantage of the recently signed Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 that aided Chūta in his travels in Ottoman lands as there was no Japanese-Turkish treaty, as explained in the Esenbel paper. Most interesting is her discovery that Lt. General Fukushima Yasumasa whose career in intelligence has already been accounted for in the Nish, Saaler, Esenbel, and Komatsu papers introduced Itō Chūta to Yamada Torajirō, long resident in Istanbul, who helped arrange his travels in the Ottoman Empire. Yamada and Itō became good friends during the latter's experience in the Ottoman Empire. Girardelli has studied Itō Chūta's voluminous notes and documents related to his Ottoman travels, showing that Itō valued Byzantine architecture as it was between East and West. During his journeys, Itō searched after entasis columns and honeysuckle forms in historical architecture. Itō argued that these forms travelled to Japan through the Hellenistic symbiosis in Central Asia. We are to led to understand that Itō's travels instigated his critical interpretation of the current Western rigid categorization of the history of architecture which led to his perception that architectural forms had an interrelated fluid relationship of continuum rather than rigid branches of unrelated Western and Eastern architecture. The research shows that at Tokyo Imperial University Chūta started, for the first time in Japan, a course entitled "History of Eastern Architecture" *tōyō kenchikushi* 東洋建築史. Chūta included Egypt in this course, as a result of his travels throughout the Ottoman Empire. His new vision of world architecture and of the shifting boundaries between East and West had been largely shaped by that experience, and he continued his career as an architectural historian contributing to the first discourse on Islamic architecture in Japan.

The articles of Katayama Akio and Klaus Röhrborn provide important contributions that introduce for the first time in English language scholarship the field of Japanese Turkology that developed out of the Japanese interest in the Silk Road throughout this period. Amongst the modern scholarly fields that emerged out of the Japanese interest, the field of Turkology stands out as Japanese scholarship on Turkology soon became one of the major contributions to the field. Japanese scholars also had the advantage of expertise in classical Chinese sources that strengthened their investigation of ancient historical and literary sources of Sinology on the Turkic peoples as well as the other peoples of Inner Asia.

Katayama's article outlines for the first time the major bibliographic sources of Japanese history since the *Nihonshoki*, The Chronicles of Japan, which was written in 720 AD that reveals the historic knowledge of the Japanese on the ancient Turks or the *Tujue* of the Tang dynasty who were the major nomad foe of the Chinese empire between the 6th and 8th centuries. The *Tujue* gave their name to the Turks of history whose first linguistic texts which were written in old Turkic script on the Orkhon steles in Mongolia that were erected in the early 8th century. The inscriptions were first discovered by Nikolay Yadrintsev in 1889 and were deciphered by the Danish philologist Vilhelm Thompsen in 1893. Katayama has carefully traced the references to the *Tujue* in the classic Chinese works which were part of the scholarly repertoire of upper class Japanese nobles and scholars ever since the Nara age in the 8th century when the Japanese imperial court accepted the Chinese civilization of the Tang dynasty and sent students to study Buddhism and the classics. He provides the major classic works and maps that had information on the *Tujue* as the nomad power in the Inner Asian frontier of China, discussing the sources that were available into the Edo period. His research indicates that this historic familiarity facilitated the strong interest of the Meiji Japanese in Turkic studies that had recently emerged in Europe, resulting in the quick incorporation of Turkology as modern scholarship in Japan. Like the personal identification of some Japanese with the Mongolian empire and the Mongols as Li Narangoa has explained, Katayama's narrative explains the strong interest of early Meiji scholars of such as the founder of, *tōyō-shi* oriental history, Shiratori Kurakichi who developed an ardent interest in Turkic and Mongolian languages and the nomads of North Asia, which he thought explained the early history of the Japanese as a North Asian people. The nomads of North Asia, the Turkic peoples of the Silk Road who spoke Altaic languages hence constituted a global geography of identification in North Asia for some Japanese who concluded that there were historic links between the Japanese and the nomad world of North Asia. His paper also shows the direct role of Ōtani Kōzui's personal interest in the *Tujue* who inhabited the Inner Asian and Central Asian routes of Buddhism. The expeditions that collected precious manuscripts and ethnological material on the Turkic peoples as well as the major interest in Buddhism accelerated Japanese interest in the ancient Turks as well as the modern Turks. Katayama's in depth unearthing of the Japanese historic knowledge on the *Tujue* explains why modern Japanese Turkology developed noticeably quickly with such eminent scholars as Mori Masao, who was also from a family of Nishi Honganji tradition of the Ōtani expeditions, and who became a globally important Japanese expert in the international academy of Turkology.

Klaus Röhrburn's paper extends Katayama's discussion by providing a comprehensive survey of modern Japanese scholarship on Turkology, or Turkish philology in Japan, that focuses on deciphering the Uyghur texts from Inner Asia, particularly from the Buddhist period of the middle ages and the early modern period. In the words of Professor Röhrburn, Japanese Turkology from the beginning developed in a "Buddhological" direction because of Japanese interest in the *Tujue* peoples and the Uyghur as border nations of China. Unlike the field of Turkish philology that emerged in Europe during the nineteenth century as the study of Altaic languages in order to develop comparative Indo-Germanic linguistics, Japanese interest in philological grammar issues evolved much later. The rich collection that the Ōtani Kōzui expedition brought back included Uyghur Turkic language Buddhist texts from Inner Asia which gave the first impetus to the beginning of Turkology. For the Jōdoshinshū (True Pure Land sect) of the Honganji community, the Uyghur Turkic texts of Buddhism that were translated from Sanskrit carried great importance for understanding the history of Japanese Buddhism in the global context of East Asia. Tachibana Zuichō was an important member of the expeditions and can be considered the first scholar of Turkic languages with his publication of Uyghur Buddhist texts in the journal of Nirakusō villa that had been established by Ōtani. The paper reviews the significant publications of Japanese scholars from Ryūkoku University of Nishi-Honganji temple and Central Asian and Inner Asian studies in Kyoto and Tokyo Universities that became the major centers for the study of Turkish philology.

According to Röhrburn, Japanese scholarship is distinguished from the tradition of European studies of Turkish philology for giving special importance to the correlation of Uyghur Buddhist texts with the Chinese Buddhist templates. This was not that significant in European scholarship, which had primarily focused on the study of the Turkic texts alone. Japanese scholars have also formed close collaborations with German Turkologists in the field such as Annemarie von Gabain and Klaus Röhrburn as well as Turkish scholars. Haneda Akira, Mori Masao, Yamada Nobuo were the major names of the first generation in the post-war period. The young generation is represented by the works of Oda Jūten and Kudara Kōgi, among others. It should be also noted that even though Turkology had already developed in Japan from the late Meiji period, the scholarship took place in Buddhist Studies or Central Asian Studies centers for a long time with no official program in Turkology in any university. Finally, in the early 1980s, the first Department of Turkish Studies was founded in Tokyo Foreign Studies University. Klaus Röhrborn's essay is a significant contribution to the English language academy on Central Asian and Inner Asian studies, especially for the study of Uyghur texts and early Turkish philology and linguistics as it provides for the first time a comprehensive appraisal and bibliography of the strong Japanese scholarship in this field that has been developing for almost a century.

Mehmet Ölmez, a former student of Professor Röhrborn, has completed this important study that introduces to the English reading academy the review and comprehensive list of Japanese scholarship by extending the review of Japanese studies of Turkology from the date Klaus Röhrborn left off in 1988 to 2009, bringing the discussion of Japanese scholarship up to date. He has followed Röhrborn's method in preparing an appendix that provides the recent important works by Japanese scholars on the study of Uyghur texts and other Turkic linguistic materials. His work is published as an appendix to Röhrborn's essay.

Banu Kaygusuz focuses on the transnational processes of cultural and technological interactions between the Middle East and East Asia in the long nineteenth century through the photographic careers that connected the Ottoman Empire with Dainippon, the empire of Japan. The paper traces the life story of Felice Beato (1834–1907)—or Felix Beato as he was known in Japan—who is credited for having produced the first series of photographs about the early Meiji period that represent a popular aesthetic representation of traditional Japan. Kaygusuz has discovered Beato's links with the Ottoman world. Born as a Venetian in Corfu who became a British subject, he moved to Japan as the assistant of James Robertson, (1813–1888), his brother-in-law, to pursue a professional career as a photographer. Beato's life and works vividly represents inter-regional cultural interactions between the Ottoman Empire, India, China, and Japan—the sites of his photography—as a fluid dynamic process. Beato's interesting career began first as a documentary photographer of the Crimean War and he continued to record the major regional conflicts of the British Empire in Asia moving to the 1857 Indian Mutiny, the Second Opium War in 1860 in China, and finally to Japan where he developed the genre of commercial photography in creating nostalgic images of Japan for Western audiences. In Felix Beato's life and photography, Kaygusuz recognizes the importance of "transmigrant" experiences which showed the fluid boundaries between the "East and the West" that shaped modern history.

In a similar way to Pierre Loti (1850–1923) who also combined the Ottoman and Meiji worlds in his personal life in a way that was expressed in the romantic orientalism of his writings, Beato also combined both sites of the "Orient" in his professional life and photographic imagination that portrayed the Ottoman and Japanese worlds in photographic images that circulated around the globe nostalgic images of the "Near East" and the "Far East." His studio in Yokohama produced the Views of Japan photograph albums, which became very popular particularly among the Westerners in Japan. The paper argues that Beato's photography as an observer, a flaneur, carried the ideological visual baggage as a cultural interpreter of inter-Asian regional circulation of knowledge and experience.

Oğuz Baykara discusses the Silk Road as the imagination of the exotic, pungent, timeless literature of others in the short story of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke titled Toshishun that was a creative adaptation of an ancient tale from India and China by Du Zichun (杜子春) that had arrived in Japan. Toshishun is a well-known tale of Chinese tradition about the illusion of reality and the failure to achieve immortality. Baykara compares the original Chinese tale from the Tang dynasty that Akutagawa used as an inspiration to create a tale that is based in the Silk Road setting of the Tang Period of China (618–907), which the Japanese public was familiar with as the age when Buddhism and the Chinese civilization arrived in the Japanese islands. As Akutagawa began his story:

> One spring evening, at dusk, a young man stood gazing idly at the sky outside the west gate of the city of Luoyang the capital of Tang. His name was Toshishun Although he was born into a wealthy family, he had squandered all his fortune and now he was in trouble without any money and a place to stay ...[36]

Akutagawa narrates the test of young man Toshishun who fails to keep silent when devils start beating the two horses who are his parents in disguise until blood comes out of their body, and when he cries out "Mother, I love you!" the magic is broken. He comes back to real life, which means he did not keep his promise to the sage Tekkanshi and can never become a sage. He can only continue life as a mortal man.

Baykara starts his analysis with the theoretical frame of Even-Zohar that culture and literature are also items of import like silk, spice and perfumes. In the polysystem theory he suggests, a set of hypotheses for handling the cultural

36 See Oğuz Baykara's article in this book. All translations from the Japanese original to English are by Baykara.

and literary imports and "the makings of culture repertoire." Even-Zohar states that a culture repertoire is not biologically given but "made," "learned" and "adopted" by members of the group. Baykara adapts the concept of cultural repertoire to Akutagawa's story about Toshishun by a contrastive analysis with the older, Chinese version.

Masako Satō picks up a similar theme of a cultural journey when Buddhism arrived in Japan from the Silk Road region and in time became part of the construction of syncretic religious culture that transformed the myth in the Japanese ancient written history, the *Kojiki* (*Records of Ancient Matters*: 712) and the *Nihonshoki* (*Chronicles of Japan*: 720), of the protagonist Ame-waka-hiko "Heavenly Young Prince," and the offering of a girl to a snake deity into the medieval tale of the Star Festival (Tanabata) motif from China. The study is based on a copy of the medieval picture scroll in the Edo period and the text of "The Tale of Prince Ame-waka-hiko," illustrated by the famous painter Tosa Hirochika (1439–1487) with calligraphy by Emperor Gohanazono (1419–1470, reg. 1428–1467), which is in the Museum of East Asian Art, Berlin.

Constructing the paper around Claude Lévi-Strauss's concept of the structure of myth and "*mytheme*," Satō's paper looks at how these elements changed with a view toward how people felt after the ancient state system of the 8th century lost its power, and what influenced the cultural transformation as a result of Chinese civilization from the continent. The story is constructed from a range of elements and motifs, seen in various ancient myths and narrative tales; for example, the offering to a giant snake is seen as an element in the myths in the oldest written source in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* or in the *Fudoki* (provincial gazetteers). The myth of the Heavenly Young Prince is based on "The Eight-Forked Serpent," itself a well-known legend. A similar variation of this story has a woman who marries a snake who turns out to be a god (in human form). This story not only appears in the ancient chronicles but also in the ancient Greek myth of "Cupid and Psyche" which leads to the loss of a partner because of the breaking of a promise. While using the same protagonist Heavenly Young Prince, the *Kojiki* story transformed into the medieval tale ends by putting the whole plot in the frame of the star festival. The festival is called Tanabata, and traces its origins to an ancient Chinese ritual celebration called Kikkōden, with the legend that the Cowherd Star (Altair) and Weaver Star (Vega), separated by the Milky Way, are allowed to meet just once a year on the seventh day of the seventh month. Satō interprets the story as a mirror of a cultural phenomenon. The story is reflected in the socio-cultural structure: religious syncretism or fusion as cultural phenomenon, a progressive integration of the socio-cultural shift under the huge influence of China and a universal religious world.

The papers in Japan on the Silk Road shed light on the wide range of Japanese encounters and perspectives in Eurasia that venture to expand the narrative of the modern history of Japan. Many thanks are in order for the preparation of this volume. Paul Norbury who attended the initial workshop Japan on the Silk Road back in 2012 deserves a much appreciated thanks for his enthusiastic encouragement of this publication. Foremost are due to the scholarly contributions of the authors whose work has made it possible to prepare this first study of Japan on the Silk Road. As the editor, I would like to thank Kaan Büyüksaraç, himself a Ph.D. candidate in the history of connections between Inner Asian and Chinese Buddhism, whose hard work and efficient performance has made the preparation possible. Ms Bahar Şahin Fırat, who translated the precious article of Prof. Klaus Röhrborn from German into English so that it could be included into the volume in time, also deserves thanks. All credit goes to the authors who have made this volume possible with their original contributions based on rigorous scholarship that have resulted in a rich understanding of this fascinating enigmatic history. As the editor, I am especially grateful to the anonymous reviewers whose advice has been very help helpful in expanding the frame of the volume. Special Thanks are in order for the kind and patient support of the Brill staff in the publication. On behalf of the authors, I would like to thank Patricia Radder for going through each step of preparing this volume for publication in the Brill Japanese Studies Series. We also owe special gratitude to the experienced hand of the copy editor Anthony Green for his invaluable editorial work that greatly improved the manuscript. Finally, we would like to thank the Brill's Japanese Studies Library editors Joshua Mostow, Kate Wildman Nakai, Caroline Rose whose crucial role in the final stage of the manuscript has made it possible to turn the manuscript into a publishable book. Needless to say, any mistakes that remain are my responsibility alone as the editor of the volume.

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CHAPTER 1

Japan and the Great Game

Ian Nish

My introduction to the Silk Road came a long time ago. I was then a recent graduate who had the good fortune to visit Sarnath in India, the site where Buddha preached his first sermon. Hearing of this, a radio producer asked if I would give a radio talk on the subject of a Chinese monk and philosopher called Hsuan-Chuang (Xuan-Zang, 596–664) who had visited India and Central Asia where he had studied in the great centers of Buddhist learning including Sarnath. His writings and diaries gave an invaluable description of India at the time and culminated in his translating Buddhist classics into Chinese. I write of this with some shame: I should of course have declined the invitation since I knew little of the subject. Instead, I said Yes, partly for financial reasons and also from the thrill of being heard on radio 60 years ago. My 20-minute paper was rich in imagination and thin on facts.

But at least I remember now that individuals were passing along the various Silk routes for religious purposes, cultural exchanges, not to mention military adventures. There was a channel for sharing music, instruments, art and literature. Through appreciation of high culture and translation of literature, there was a fertile intellectual exchange. I learnt too that it was not only the east-west dimension of the Silk Road that was important but also the north-south one which stretched from the dusty plains of Central Asia to the Indian Ocean.

The Japanese are an inquisitive people. Even during the Tokugawa period they were curious about the outside world from which they had been artificially removed. When the Tokugawa shackles were removed, they moved fast to find out about other countries since they were rather fearful of them. The most spectacular of the commissions of enquiry, which they sent to the United States, and most of the countries of Europe, was that led by Prince Iwakura Tomomi (1871–3). I mention it for two reasons. One is that the deputy leader sent Fukuchi Genichirō, a 30 year-old Meiji government official, to spend time in the Middle East on his way home. He visited Jerusalem and Constantinople, studying the Ottoman Empire and its institutions. Japan, which at the time was already calling herself an Empire, was naturally intrigued by how other imperial institutions worked. This tour of the region need not surprise us: the main mission had gone as far east as St Petersburg and it would have been puzzling if they had totally ignored the Ottoman Empire. The party led by Kido Kōin

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and the main delegation also passed later by way of the recently opened Suez Canal and showed interest in that part of the Middle East.[1]

The second reason is to question the ideas of Datsu-A Nyū-Ō. I am not disputing that the Meiji intellectuals and the bulk of Meiji politicians veered strongly to the west; but Meiji Japan was an expansive society with many different trends of thought. By the 1880s, thinking was by no means polarized on the west. Many had no conception of ignoring Asia (Datsu-A). The Foreign Ministry mission of Yamada Masaharu of 1880 to the mid-east with military and commercial representatives and its subsequent report as described by Professor Esenbel are a testimony to this.

The Great Game

The Great Game of the 19th century, which is my topic was a name given by Rudyard Kipling to the struggle between the Great Powers for possession of, or influence over, territories in Central Asia. This was particularly the case between Britain, predominantly a naval power, and Russia, predominantly a land power. Initially it was activated by adventurous horsemen who were not under the control of their home governments. But there came first the telegraph, which meant that the metropolitan government had to accept responsibility for what was taking place at the frontier. Then came the railways in 1870s, which offered the prospect of moving large armies and aggravating the struggle for territory. But the possibility of building continental railways played into the hands of Russia, which had ambitions for expansion in Siberia and did not have insuperable geographical or geological barriers to overcome in planning her routes.

Britain by mid-century had acquired as part of the crown the Indian Empire That empire had difficult strategic borders, especially to the north-west in Afghanistan. The terrain was mountainous for foot armies and also for railway building and the size of her armies was relatively small. Any attempt she made to exercise influence in Kabul was resented. The existence of Russia as a hostile rival to the north of the Afghan frontier further compounded this problem. Having fought the first Afghan war in 1839–42, she was engaged yet again in the second Afghan war in 1878–80—sinister dates, I imagine, for Turkish historians. It was a response to Russia sending a mission to Kabul, which was designed to gain supremacy there. Britain withdrew her armies, leaving as Amir someone who was neutral and who managed to sustain that neutrality until

1 I. Nish, *The Iwakura Mission in America and Europe* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 1998), 188–9.

1901. It was a sad example of the politics of the Great Game—the clash of two European powers in a Central Asian environment. The relevance of the Great Game to the Silk Road is not obvious. But the fact is that the routes which went to make up the Silk Road fell between the upper and lower millstones. That is, between the southward expansion of the Russians from their Central Asian base and the determination of the northward-looking British to hold intact the frontiers of Afghanistan.

This Anglo-Russian rivalry was fully understood by the Japanese, whether the diplomats in Europe or the Tokyo: government. One has only to look at the memoirs of the brightest of Japan's diplomats, Aoki Shūzō, minister to Berlin (1880–5), deputy foreign minister (1887–92) and minister to Berlin (1892–7), to realize that he was absorbed by the rivalries between the European powers. In his case, he was observing the operation of the Dreikaiserbund and other Great Power machinations.

These became a pressing issue when the Russians announced their plans for building a railway across Siberia in the 1880s. This worried not just Japan's diplomats and army officers but also the general public. Hence the incident of May 1891 when an off-duty policeman, Tsuda Sanzō, attacked the Crown Prince of Russia on Japanese soil at Otsu and injured him. The reason was that Nicholas was on a visit to the east to lay the foundation stone of the railway at the far eastern end—what ultimately became the Ussuri line from Vladivostok to Khabarovsk. This scared Aoki who judged it sufficiently serious to resign from office. He also devotes a substantial part of his memoirs to this topic which was for him very important.[2]

Anglo-Russian hostility in Central Asia assumed practical importance for the Tokyo: government in March 1884 when Russian forces took the strategic town of Merv and threatened to advance on northern Afghanistan. Britain took the view that, if Russia encroached there, Britain would strive to prevent it. Clashes continued and another encounter between Russian and Afghan troops took place at Penjdeh in March 1885. Britain's position in Central Asia was weak compared to that of Russia with her new rail link to Merv from their Caspian line. Fearing Russia's ultimate intentions, Britain adopted a containment policy by using her naval power on what she considered Russia's maritime route to Vladivostok. On 10 May the Royal Navy staged a temporary occupation of Port Hamilton, a group of islands in the sea between Japan and Korea. Its ownership was disputed between China, the suzerain power, and Korea and Japan who protested especially robustly. Britain paid for the privilege by paying the Korean government without acknowledging ownership and in the face of

2 Sakane Yoshihisa (ed.), *Aoki Shūzō jiden* (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1970), chs 17–19.

protests made clear that the occupation was temporary. This was diplomatically convenient but it was also domestically expedient because the successive commanders of Britain's China Squadron—Admiral Willis and Admiral Dowell—did not favor its long-term retention as a permanent naval station; and the Admiralty supported them. The occupation ended in 1887 when the British government obtained a pledge that Russia would not advance into Korea.[3]

A small incident that was nevertheless typical of the Great Game. Why did Britain occupy the islets? The London government was worried about the possibilities of defending British India against the Russians. Britain could only retaliate against Russia's encroachment in Central Asia by using her naval power elsewhere in the globe. The justifications given in the British archives are "the Afghan frontier difficulty" and—the old argument of the Age of Imperialism—the claim that a Russian ship had been lurking in that area and that, if Britain did not occupy the port, Russia would do so. The idea of safeguarding Britain's position in central Asia by occupying a port off Korea is bizarre; but it was merely a feature of Great Power rivalries, which affected Japan any time after the Crimean War. Ultimately the idea was to use a threat to Russian naval power in the north Pacific as a means of applying pressure on Russia in Central Asia.

Fukushima Expeditions

More directly related to the Silk Road are two Japanese initiatives. In 1879 a young ambitious army officer, Katsura Tarō, later to become prime minister, went secretly to China and assigned ten junior officers to travel round the vast territory to make military surveys. This resulted in a report to the General Staff in 1880. Remember that Japan did not regard her mammoth neighbor as a non-entity but as a country that had foreign military advisers and the capacity to modernize like Japan. Although it had been weakened by the Taiping rebellion, it could in the future threaten her. The outcome was that he was instructed by the General Staff to arrange for the training of army cadets in the Chinese language and send them to all parts of China, including the Muslim border regions. Information-gathering abroad was to become an important tradition in Japanese army circles.[4]

3 *British Documents on Foreign Affairs* (hereafter cited as BDOFA) Part I, Series E: Asia, edited by I. Nish, (Maryland: University Publications of America, 1989), vol. 1.

4 Tokutomi Iichirō, *Kōshaku Katsura Tarō-den*, 2 vols, (Tōkyō: Kō Katsura Kōshaku Kinen Jigyōkai 1917), vol. 1, 386–94.

I learnt from Professor Komatsu's paper that Nishi Tokujirō (1847–1912) spent time in Russian Turkestan in 1880, presumably when he was an aspiring diplomat. It was at the height of the Great Game and Nishi who had gone to Russia first in 1870 to study the Russian language must have had interesting observations to make. I encountered him later as minister to St Petersburg (1886–97) and when he served briefly as foreign minister. I have always had an interest in him because so many Japanese think we must be related because we share a common surname.

It was in this context that Major Fukushima Yasumasa, one of the military attaches in the Berlin legation, undertook an adventurous journey on horseback across Siberia in 1892–3. He was an unusual officer, having turned his back on Military College (Shikan Gakko) and Staff College (Rikugun Daigaku) in order to concentrate on intelligence work. So we find him in Shanghai, north China and Inner Mongolia (1879), Korea (1882) and British India, Burma and Afghanistan (1886). His prime intention during his last journey was to pick up knowledge about what he thought to be the most developed intelligence network at the time—that of British India.

Fukushima proposed to the General Staff that, on completion of his term in Berlin, he should return to his home country through Siberia. Permission was given and he set off on 2 November by way of Poland, Russia and over the Urals. His path took him over the Silk Road, perhaps unconsciously. From Omsk, he diverted to Semipalatinsk and Urumqi and, entering Outer Mongolia, he passed Uliastay on the way to Lake Baikal. At Irkutsk he reports that the railway was "kensetsuchū." In fact it did not reach there until 1898 when the builders had to decide what to do with passage round Lake Baikal. His journey continued in winter and he fell seriously from his horse. But Fukushima reached Blagovestchensk on the Amur River when he left Russian territory, turning due south to Qiqihar where his progress was interrupted by illness for 18 days. He eventually reached Vladivostok via Jilin (Kirin) and Hunchun on 12 June after an audacious and determined trans-continental journey. He returned to Japan via Gensan and Pusan.[5]

His reception in Japan was over-whelming. He landed in Nagasaki, then reached Kobe on 24 June and made a stately progress through Osaka, Kyoto and Nagoya. But his arrival in Yokohama attracted even larger crowds and more effusive speeches. A hero's welcome awaited him at Shimbashi on 29 June and he was summoned to an immediate audience with the Meiji Emperor. To bring

5 Shimanuki Shigeyoshi (ed.), *FukushimaYasumasa to tanki Shiberiya ōdan* (Tōkyō: Hara Shobō, 1979), vol. 1–2.

home the hardships he had suffered, he appeared in the palace in the tattered dust-covered uniform, which he had worn for his spectacular travels.

The lavish reception was not without its critics from the expatriate community. One correspondent in the *Japan Weekly Mail* wrote:

> No one doubts that the intrepid rider deserves a warm reception but that the whole nation should turn itself into a reception committee ... impresses most foreigners as being extremely childish.

The people's excitement led to massive sales of memorabilia: every picture shop in the country was displaying Fukushima's picture and factories were turning out thousands of handkerchiefs and *furoshiki* with his image.[6]

What were the underlying motives for Fukushima's excursion? Bearing in mind that he was an obsessive over gathering intelligence, it must have been linked to the Russian railway. He could not spy on the railway as such because his journey preceded the building; but he was clearly inspecting the land, the routes and the potential for the future, particularly building problems around Lake Baikal. Of course Fukushima's report was not made public; but the population and the newspapers were well aware of it despite its intelligence basis. His travels were reported in all the Japanese newspapers in great detail as though publicity was an important consideration for a domestic readership and a warning for a foreign audience.

Spectacular as Colonel Fukushima's performance was, it was not as unique as we have seen. Moreover his later excursions may have been more important: journeys to Turkey and India (1895), and Central Asia, India and Southeast Asia (1896). He played a significant part in suppressing the Boxers; and, having become an enthusiast for the Anglo-Japanese alliance of January 1902, he was chosen as one of the military delegates to the Winchester House Conference of 1902, which worked out the military implications of it six months later. There he met Colonel Utsunomiya Tarō (1861–1922), the military attaché, who was later to work together with him. On his way home he went once again to British India where he was received by Viceroy Curzon and the commander-in-chief, Lord Kitchener. He fell ill and had a protracted stay. Later during the Russo-Japanese war he performed distinguished service as vice-chief of staff. Despite this, the British ambassador in his 1907 report wrote:

6 Will Pattilo, 23 June 1893 in *Japan Weekly Mail*, 1 July 1893. *Meiji Shimbun hennenshi*, vol. V, Supplement, pp. 53–55. Also the detailed coverage in 707–19.

> As Vice-chief of the General Staff, he is undoubtedly an able man, but as he is very obstructive in regard to the giving of any information, he is unpopular among foreign Military Attaches. He is also said to entertain very anti-foreign sentiments.[7]

Fukushima was described by Sir Ian Hamilton as "a linguist of great fluency in several tongues, who knows his way about London, Berlin and St Petersburg;" and he had also acquired "a fairly useful knowledge of the fighting qualities of our various classes of Indian native troops." He received a high British decoration, being made a Knight Commander of the Bath.[8]

Fukushima's Followers

Around this period there emerged in Japan a second generation of interested observers, what might be called "China watchers." Naturally some that followed Fukushima were encouraged by his example since he had justly become a national hero. But they were civilians, mainly of a rightwing persuasion. The atmosphere had changed. After her defeat at the hands of Japan in 1894, China came to be portrayed as weak, corrupt and deceitful and Japan's attitude became less respectful. But she still needed to be studied. The other focus of enquiry was on Russia and the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which was proceeding quite rapidly in sections. The Ussuri section from Vladivostok to Khabarovsk was accomplished first and was a natural object of Japanese interest.[9] But it did not become threatening until the complete network was operating and the link with the Chinese Eastern Railway was in place around 1903. From the Boxer uprising of 1900 and what Professor Wada Haruki calls "the Russo-Chinese war of 1900–1," Japanese agents were actively studying the progress of Russia's railway in Manchuria and Siberia.

In the preparation for the possibility of war with Russia, there were widespread activities by Japanese in north China and along the railway routes. One diplomat reports on "the numerous itinerant Japanese wandering round China

7 BDOFA, vol. 9, p. 69. J.W.M. Chapman in Ian T.M. Gow and Yoichi Hirama, John Chapman (eds), *History of Anglo-Japanese Relations: The Military-Naval Dimension* (London: Macmillan, 2001).

8 Ian Hamilton, *A Staff Officer's Scrap-book*, London: Edward Arnold, 1905, pp. 34–9. Reprinted in the Global Oriental collection on the Russo-Japanese War (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2004).

9 Inouye Yuichi, *Higashi Ajia tetsudō kokusai kankeishi* (Tōkyō: Keio UP, 1989).

in a variety of disguises." Civilians like Tōyama Mitsuru, Uchida Ryōhei and their Kokuryūkai associates were more concerned with Korea, Manchuria and Mongolia, though Uchida had spent time in Xinjiang. They were making contact with the revolutionary movements in China. Miyazaki Torazō (Tōten) who had been exploring possibilities for Japan in south China and southeast Asia and was among the closest friends of Sun Yat-sen from 1897 until his death in 1922 came to the fore. He had first been arrested by the British authorities in Singapore in 1900 for carrying large quantities of money and arms and for seeking an interview with Kang Yu-wei who was living there in seclusion. While these individuals were deliberately disruptive and engaged in secret espionage, they were also increasingly publicizing pan-Asian doctrines.[10]

Japan began to recruit agents among Japanese migrants in Siberia and the Russian Far East. One such was Ishimitsu Makiyo, an officer acting *sub rosa* in Manchuria and Siberia in the run-up to the Russo-Japanese war. Small businessman, laundryman and owner of a photographer's shop, he made himself popular with the Chinese, who were as anti-Russian as himself, but he claims to have been popular also with the Russian soldiers and settlers, many of whom were lukewarm towards the war being waged in the south. According to his own account, which is certainly romanticized, it was part of his duty to keep close to Japanese involved in brothels, mainly in Harbin, as a source of intelligence.[11]

Another aspect of intelligence gathering at this time is illustrated by the journey of Captain Tanaka Giichi (1864–1929) later to be prime minister. After he completed four years as military attaché in St Petersburg in April 1902, he was able to return by train across Siberia. The Trans-Siberian Railroad took him to the junction station of Karymskoe, where he joined the Chinese Eastern Railway as far as Harbin. He completed his journey by the Sungari River. Although the Russians were claiming that the railway was operational even if it had been badly damaged by the Boxers, Tanaka showed that the network had serious shortcomings, especially over the crossing of Lake Baikal. Tanaka joined the general staff and was responsible for drawing up the plan of operations against Russia.

10 Wada Haruki in *Higashi Ajia Kingen daitsushi*, vol. 2, (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2010), 10–13. Sakurai Ryōju, 'Kokuryūkai to Isshinkai' in *Iwanami tsūshi*, p. 364ff. M.B. Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1954).

11 Ishimitsu Mahito, *Kōya no hana: Ishimitsu Mahito no shuki* (Tōkyō: Ryūseikaku, 1958) in I. Nish, 'A Spy in Manchuria' in *Collected Writings of Ian Nish*, Part II, (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2001), 133–138.

Now that war with Russia was imminent, it has to be said that there was much information-gathering in China, Korea and the Russian railway areas. Moreover there was much clandestine activity in Europe among groups disaffected towards Russia, which often went as far as offering funds and arms to collaborators. There is less evidence of similar endeavors in Russian Central Asia though Japanese diplomats had the duty of securing support for their country's cause.[12]

Intelligence Gathering Among Foreigners

This sort of clandestine intelligence activity on the part of the Japanese was not unknown among foreigners. It was the pinnacle of the cavalry age that was gradually being overtaken by the railway age and in the case of the British it was accepted as an essential part of a British consul or military attaché's duty to go on horseback to uncharted parts of the borderlands to which he was assigned.

One such British mission along the Silk Road occurred in 1874–5. A British Indian mission of 200 members entered Yunnan from Upper Burma with the idea of establishing a trade route between Burma and China. Simultaneously an expedition began from the legation in Beijing led by Augustus Margary in order to join up with the other group. Unfortunately Margary was attacked and seriously injured. A replacement team was sent under TG Governor, which received friendly treatment all the way along the route. Strictly this was aimed at trade to the south of the 'silk road' but that was the commercial thinking of Britain at the time.[13]

Dr. G.E. Morrison, an adventurer who was later to become an eminent correspondent of *The Times*, travelled from Shanghai to Rangoon in 1892. Overcoming the penalties for journeying in borderlands without authorization he wore Chinese clothing. His exploits were published as *An Australian in China: Being the narrative of a quiet journey across China to Burma* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1895). Another later example is the journey of Lieutenant L.R. Hill of the military attaché's office in the British Embassy, Tokyo, to the north of Korea late in 1913. He is alleged to have traveled at his own expense for sport but he reported in some detail on the degree of Japan's success as colonizers after the annexation of that country three years earlier.[14]

12 H. Bando, *Pōrandojin to Nichi-Ro sensō*, (Tōkyō: Aoki shoten, 1997).

13 BDOFA, vol. 27, Introduction.

14 Report of Lieut. LR Hill, November 1913 in BDOFA, vol. 10, doc. 85.

And of course the Russians had been as active as the British in seeking information about Asia since mid-century. From the start of 20th century there were about 40,000 people of Russian stock living along the path of the Chinese Eastern railway, particularly in such cities as Harbin.

After the Russo-Japanese War

Let us, for convenience, assume that the Great Game came to an end in 1907. The Russo-Japanese war had ended with lots of tension in the region. Diplomacy was called in to plaster over the remaining tensions: there emerged the Anglo-Russian treaties "relating to Persia, Afghanistan and Thibet" (31 Aug. 1907) and the Russo-Japanese agreements (1907 and 1910) which defined borders between their spheres in Northeast China. They were flawed treaties and left many unsolved problems but they prevented the outbreak of war between these Powers. Central Asia still played a part in underlying these treaties because of Japan's link with Britain through the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

This affected outside attitudes towards Japan. Japan had become a continental power (some Japanese would say an imperialist power). Korea was annexed in 1910 and Japan's position in south Manchuria established according to the Portsmouth treaty. The Great Powers came increasingly to regard Japan with suspicion. But nationalist groups throughout Asia admired Japan's war effort and her defeat of a major European military power. This was true of British India (with its large Muslim population) and the colonial peoples of Southeast Asia and in Bengal in particular the nationalists who were opposed to the division of their province sought Japan's sympathy and support. I have not found evidence of the views of those from Russian Central Asia.

It also affected opinion within Japan. Nationalist groups like Genyōsha and Kokuryūkai, which had previously indulged in operations of a clandestine nature to secure the annexation of Korea and take a firm line in south Manchuria, now became more confident and became increasingly pan-Asianist in their rhetoric. They became active in promoting Asian causes, setting up the Chūgoku Kakumei Dōmeikai Tōkyō (August 1905). As part of its nationalism the Kokuryūkai saw Japan as the leader of a new Asia and was prepared to support Asian peoples and nations, linking with sympathetic revolutionary groups in other countries which necessarily meant being suspect to their governments, many of which were of course colonial.

As an illustration one may quote two Indians, Taraknath Das (1884–1958) and Rash Behari Bose (1886–1945). Forces in Japan welcomed Taraknath on a visit in 1907. They later befriended Bose after he was involved in anti-British activities in India in 1912. He came under the protection of Tōyama Mitsuru and his group which seemed to have some degree of license from the Japanese authorities and was granted asylum in 1915 in spite of considerable British pressure against it. He lived on in Japan until his death in 1945. The right-wing groups had taken on the mantle of Pan-Asianism.[15]

Pan-Asian thinking may have been influenced by Okakura Kakuzō (1862–1913) who, in his books, was conducting a cultural offensive, advocating a sort of civilizing mission for Japan in Asia and professing the unity of Asian cultures and peoples. Assessing Japan's place in the world, he advocated a return to Asian values. To prevent Japan feeling any superiority to the peoples of Asia after her victory over Russia, he proclaimed that every Asian race has a common mode of thought and an inheritance, which is distinct from that of Europe and America.[16]

The Chinese Hsinhai Revolutions of 1911/13 clearly offered these nationalist elements in Japan the opportunity to cash in on their earlier contacts with Sun Yat-sen and others in south China. It was a turning point. The Japanese government was cautious and broadly kept in line with international opinion. But it was unsure and ambiguous about its motives. New forces including Japanese business tended to regard the Chinese Revolutions as an important opportunity. Younger army officers were excited by the limitless possibilities and had the far-reaching hope that Japan might benefit from China's liberation from the west. But there were also some cool heads like Yamagata Aritomo at the top, who tried to control over-heated opinion. Japan benefited from proximity to the action. There were on the spot military attaches at Beijing or army officers who attached themselves to Chinese warlords. These were the Shina-tsu who have been chronicled in detail by Professor Seki Ryōichi. Suffice it to say that they were proficient Chinese linguists, became true China specialists and were prepared to travel. Morrison thought especially highly of one attaché, Col. Aoki Nobuzumi who served in the Beijing legation on four occasions. After his death in post, he was succeeded by Banzai Rihachirō and Doihara Kenji. These were men who enjoyed some influence with the Chinese leaders over several decades.[17]

15 Georges Ohsawa, *The Two Great Indians in Japan: Sri Rash Behari Bose and Subhas Chandra Bose*, (Calcutta: Kusa Publications, 1954).

16 Okakura Kakuzō, *The Ideals of the East*, New York: EP Dutton, 1904; *The Book of Tea*, (New York: Fox, Duffield, 1906); Ian Nish, 'Meiji Japan's Ascent towards World Power' in *International Studies* (LSE) IS/11/559 (2011): 1–28.

17 Ian Nish, "Japan's tug of war after the Russo-Japanese War" in Guy Podoler, *War and Militarism in Modern Japan: Issues of History and Identity*, (Folkestone: Brill Global Oriental, 2009): 9–21; Seki Ryoichi, *Nihon rikugun to Chūgoku*, (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1999).

Japan was not an active participant in the Great Game. From time to time it interacted with her history in unexpected ways such as the Port Hamilton affair. It also arose in the negotiation of the revised Anglo-Japanese Treaty of August 1905, when Britain guaranteed assistance to Japan against Russia but asked in return—though she did not get it—the assistance of 150,000 troops to be sent to the frontiers of Afghanistan. Britain had a global view, which perceived an inter connectedness between the affairs of Central Asia and East Asia. Japan did not at this stage. Japan rightly saw herself as distant from Central Asia and had her hands full closer to home when she became a continental power. Despite this, individual Japanese did identify with the peoples along the Silk Road but, unless they had an army connection, they seem to have carried little weight with government.

It would be pleasant to conclude that the Great Game was a thing of the past, a phenomenon that belonged to the 19th century and that ended before the outbreak of war in 1914. On the contrary, it continues today—not with the earlier participants but with the successor states. Britain is succeeded by the United States; tsarist Russia is succeeded by Putin's Russia. India and China are new, active rivals. The constant in the scenario is an unstable Afghanistan, the hub of the activity now as it was in the 19th century. Where there is a radical difference is that there is hardly any country that is not attracted by the resources of the Silk Road: oil and gas from Kazakhstan and elsewhere. I am less certain about the quantity of trade flowing (apart, that is, from the trade in drugs). There is also a healthy cultural exchange, which was shown in the concern of the Japanese over the destruction of the two 1500-year-old statues of the Buddha at Bamiyan, Afghanistan, in 2001.

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CHAPTER 2

Western and Central Asia in the Eyes of the Japanese Radical Right

Christopher W.A. Szpilman

Introduction

This paper examines the views of right wing radicals on the Middle East and Islam. Specifically, it looks at the thought of two military men, Colonel Hashimoto Kingorō (1890–1957) and Lieutenant Fukunaga Ken (1899–1991), and three civilian leaders of the radical pan-Asianist association, the Yūzonsha, namely, Ōkawa Shūmei (1886–1957), Mitsukawa Kametarō (1888–1936) and Kanokogi Kazunobu (1884–1949). I believe that the views of these individuals are representative of Japan's radical right in general, and that, by examining them, a fair summary of the views of Japan's radical right on the Middle East can be given.

These five men had much in common. They were all radicals in the sense that they advocated a program of sweeping political and economic reforms. They were also pan-Asianists in the sense that they wanted to liberate (or talked of liberating) Asia from the yoke of Western imperialism and unify it under Japan's leadership. They were all affected by the lessons of the Great War: Japan, they insisted, must reform urgently in order to keep up with the rapidly changing post-Great War world. All were hostile to the phenomenon known as "Taishō democracy": they were alarmed at the spread of liberal ideas throughout Japan; they hated party politics and parliamentarism; and they detested individualism and pacifism. They opposed the Versailles-Washington treaty system and were convinced that the League of Nations had been organized to prevent Japan from pursuing a policy of continental expansion. They poured scorn and opprobrium upon Japan's domestic advocates of accommodation with the United States and Britain within the framework of the treaty system.

These commonalities should not, however, obscure important differences that divided them. Hashimoto was a military man of action as was Fukunaga. Neither could be described as an intellectual. Ōkawa, Kanokogi and Mitsukawa, on the other hand, though they often claimed to be, and liked to be thought of as, men of action, were primarily scholarly and intellectual.

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Of the five only Hashimoto had direct, protracted, personal experience of the Middle East as military attaché in Turkey.[1] Kanokogi had resided for a number of years in the United States and Europe. His foreign experience was perhaps the most extensive of the five. But he had no direct knowledge of the Middle East (except for what he saw in transit). Ōkawa had no direct knowledge of Western Asia: he never traveled farther west than Singapore and the Dutch East Indies. The foreign travels of Mitsukawa and Fukunaga were even more modest. Fukunaga was stationed in a military base in the north of the Korean peninsula and Mitsukawa only made a number of fairly short trips to Korea and Manchuria.

I shall examine Hashimoto's views first but, as he has not received much scholarly attention, a short outline of his life will be in order.

Hashimoto Kingorō

Hashimoto was born in Okayama prefecture in 1890, into the family of a minor ship-owner. When he was seven, his family moved to Moji (now Kita-Kyushu City) in Fukuoka prefecture. After attending a military junior college in Kumamoto, Hashimoto studied at the Military Academy in Tokyo from which he graduated in 1911. Six years later, in 1917, Lieutenant Hashimoto managed to get into the Army College (Rikugun daigakkō), an elite school for military high-fliers that trained future staff officers. He graduated in November 1920 with the rank of captain and in July 1921 was posted to the Russian Section (*han*) of the Army General Staff. He had been selected for this post on account of his language skills: he had learned Russian as a cadet. He became an intelligence officer, specializing in issues concerning Russia. So it was to gather information on the Soviet Union that in 1922 Hashimoto was posted to Manchuria, where he remained for five years, first as an officer in the so-called Harbin Kikan (Harbin Agency) of the Kwantung Army and after 1923 the Manzhouli Agency.[2] In 1927 Hashimoto, by now a major, was appointed military attaché

1 Tatamiya Eitarō, *Hashimoto Kingorō Ichidai* (Tōkyō: Fuyō shobō, 1982), 30.

2 That was when Hashimoto first met Ōkawa Shūmei. See Ōkawa Shūmei kenshōkai (ed.) *Ōkawa Shūmei nikki: Meiji 36-nen—Shōwa 24-nen* (Tōkyō: Iwasaki gakujutsu shuppansha, 1986), 125, entry for 10 August 1922. Ōkawa recorded fondly how on that occasion he, together with Hashimoto and some other army officers, "strolled for a bit in the park and then went in to check out a Japanese brothel. After we left that place, we went to a Russian brothel managed by a Chinese few houses down the road. There we sat down and had tea...".

at the Japanese embassy in Turkey.[3] But, although his new posting was in the Middle East, his assignment remained much the same: he was to continue to gather intelligence on Russia.

Hashimoto remained in Turkey for almost three years, watching Russia. And he continued to watch Russia, after he returned to Japan via Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Germany, France, Italy, and the Soviet Union in August 1930. By then, after so many years of concentrating on the Soviet Union, he had gained a reputation as a leading expert in the army on Russia: shortly after his return he was appointed to the position of Chief of the Russian Section of the Army General Staff and promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. It seemed as though a brilliant future was in store for him, but from this point on Hashimoto's career went awry.

That was largely due to his dabbling in politics. During the many years of Russia-watching, Hashimoto had developed a penchant for radical politics and political activism. He was also determined to achieve something great, perhaps to change Japan's destiny. When he returned, the situation in Japan was ripe for an officer's political activism and for great deeds. Just at that moment, a large proportion of Japan's military establishment and the civilian right wing were up in arms against the party cabinet led by Hamaguchi Osachi over the signing of the London Naval Reductions Treaty. Politicians in the Diet, so the right wing opponents of the treaty insisted, had jeopardized the security of Japan; they had violated the prerogative of imperial command.

To promote his radical anti-party ideas and, ostensibly, to protect Japan's security from pernicious civilian interference, Hashimoto and another military firebrand, Chō Isamu (1895–1945), set up a secret society within the army in October 1930. This was the celebrated Sakurakai (Cherry Blossom Society). By 1931, the Sakurakai had attracted over 100 middle ranking officers and become a hotbed of military intrigues. While seeking out allies among his brother officers, Hashimoto also reached out to the civilian radical right, including Ōkawa and Mitsukawa.[4] Together with his military associates, Hashimoto started to

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3 The diplomat Ashida Hitoshi recorded in his diary: "Major Hashimoto, military attaché, arrived here this morning," Fukunaga Fumio, Shimokōbe Motoharu (eds) *Ashida Hitoshi nikki*, vol. 3 (Tōkyō: Kashiwa shobō, 2012), 27 November 1927, 98.

4 Ben-Ami Shillony, *Revolt in Japan: The Young Officers and the February 26, 1936 Incident* (Princeton University Press, 1973), 26. On 21 November 1931, at the Kōraku, Akasaka, a meeting was held concerning the formation of a proletarian party. There were seven participants: Colonel Hashimoto and civilian radicals, Mitsukawa, Shimanaka Yūzō, Yamamoto Kamejirō, Matsunobu Shigeji, Sasai Kazuakira, and Shimonaka Yasaburō. Hasegawa Yūichi, Christopher W.A. Szpilman and Fuke Takahiro (eds), *Mitsukawa Kametarō nikki: Taishō 8-nen—Shōwa 11-nen* (Tōkyō: Ronsōsha, 2011), 165.

plan military coups intended to wrest power from the politicians who, in his view, were undermining Japan's security. Ōkawa, by now a close friend, and some other right wing activists were also involved. But all these preparations were in vain. Greatness eluded Hashimoto on this occasion, for, in the end, the coups, known now as the March and the October incidents, failed to take place.

The first coup was aborted because the top military brass involved got cold feet at the last moment; the second because of the conspirators' serious indiscretions. In the aftermath of the second coup Hashimoto was arrested. Instead of harsh punishment, however, he received only a proverbial slap on the wrist: twenty days under house arrest and a posting to a field position. It may seem bizarre but, at this stage, at least, his leading role in military conspiracies had no effect on his career: he was promoted to full colonel in 1934.

It was only after the failed military coup of February 1936, in which he was not directly involved but which he supported wholeheartedly, that the senior commanders' patience ran out: in August 1936, Hashimoto was finally placed on the reserve list. A cynic might say that, having achieved their goal of ousting party politicians from power, the military establishment, now determined to restore military discipline, had no further use for loose cannons like Hashimoto, but there may have been other reasons for his dismissal: his frequent infractions of military discipline, for one.

Though removal from active duty was no doubt a great shock to a professional soldier, it gave Hashimoto the freedom to throw himself headlong into politics without any need for secrecy. He wasted no time. In October 1936 Hashimoto founded a Dai Nihon Seinentō (Greater Japan Youth Party). The party, like so many right wing groups founded in the 1930s, consisted of just a handful of acolytes and commanded little, if any, influence. Clearly, without his army uniform, Hashimoto was incapable of making his mark and thus was destined to fade into obscurity. But, against all expectations, he would get another shot at achieving greatness or at least notoriety.

The Marco Polo Bridge Incident of 7 July 1937 marked the beginning of a full-scale war with China. In the midst of escalating hostilities, there was a sudden shortage of experienced officers and Hashimoto was recalled to active duty. Dispatched to the front, he found an opportunity to make a splash. And make a splash he did, with a vengeance. It was Hashimoto who is said to have ordered the notorious attacks on the gunboat USS *Panay* and on the British gunboat HMS *Ladybird*, incidents which seriously aggravated the already strained Japan's relations with the United States and Britain.

Even the army authorities, not exactly renowned for their diplomatic sensitivity, found his actions an embarrassment, and, by 1939, Hashimoto found himself back on the retired list, this time for good. Nothing daunted, he went back to leading the party he had founded. When Prime Minister Prince Konoe Fumimaro, inspired by totalitarian examples in Europe, launched his Imperial Rule Assistance Association, Hashimoto saw a role for himself and promptly offered the prince his unqualified support. His hopes were not disappointed. In the 1942 general election he succeeded in getting elected to the Diet on the Association's ticket.

Yet greatness eluded Hashimoto on this occasion too. Clearly, in wartime Japan, there was not much room for a retired colonel turned parliamentarian to influence history. By all accounts, his record in the Diet was unremarkable. But he did not fade into complete obscurity, for, after Japan's defeat in 1945, the former colonel attracted attention once again, though on this one occasion he did not seek it. He was arrested as an A-class war criminal on account of his participation in right wing organizations, his actions in China, as well as his role in the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. By placing him on the same level as Tōjō Hideki, Araki Sadao, Matsuoka Yōsuke and Hirota Kōki, the Americans gave Hashimoto more importance than he deserved and unintentionally assured him of what he had failed to achieve on his own merit—a place in history.

Whether Hashimoto was important enough to be tried as an A-class war criminal seems doubtful. But the judges at the Far Eastern War Crimes Tribunal clearly thought he was: they sentenced him to life in prison. Hashimoto, however, was not destined to die in jail. In 1955, three years after the US occupation ended, he, like many other war criminals, was released on parole. Though he had not abandoned his dreams of making history, prematurely aged by the rough life he had led as an army officer and the ten years in prison, he lacked the strength to realize them. He dabbled in right wing politics but failed to make a political comeback. He did not get elected to the Diet in 1956, mainly because the right wing group he put together lacked influence. But it is difficult to see that he would have achieved anything, even if he had managed to get elected. For in the midst of the election campaign he was diagnosed with terminal lung cancer. He died in 1957.[5] Marquis Tokugawa Yoshichika, a fellow-radical, who had sponsored military coups in the 1930s and the Japan Socialist Party after 1945, took charge of funeral arrangements.

5 For the chronology and biographical data, see Tatamiya, *Hashimoto*, 396–400.

Hashimoto's Views of Kemal Atatürk

On account of his stay in Turkey, Hashimoto is said to have been strongly influenced by the personality and his modernizing reforms of Kemal Pasha (Atatürk). It was this influence, combined with his nearly three years' study of the Turkish state and society, which led, it is further alleged, to his involvement in military conspiracies, coups d'état and terrorist incidents that buffeted Japan in the 1930s. Nakamura Kikuo typified this view, when he wrote: "[Hashimoto] was an ordinary officer. But he was appointed military attaché in Turkey. There he got to know Kemal Pasha and returned to Japan a changed man."[6]

Matsutani Hironao echoes this opinion: "During his stay in Turkey Hashimoto witnessed [at first hand] the politics of Kemal Pasha and was attracted greatly to the policies of reformist dictatorship. So, upon his return to Japan, he strove to reform domestic politics."[7] In similar fashion, a Western historian also insists that Hashimoto's Turkish experience led him to "organize the Sakurakai."[8]

In short, these accounts imply that, had he not been posted to Turkey, Hashimoto would have remained completely respectable, would not have meddled in politics, and would have ended his career as a general and not, as he actually did, as a colonel (a clear indication of failure for a graduate of the elite Army College). The sojourn in Turkey, the above-mentioned historians would want us to believe, had magically transformed Hashimoto, until then a level-headed officer, into a raving radical, who spent the rest of his active life in and out of uniform plotting coups and setting up extreme right organizations.

But historians, who make such claims, have not produced a shred of evidence to support them. That is perhaps because none exists. As far as one can tell, Hashimoto himself left no statement that would lend support to a dramatic change in his views, while he was in Turkey. In fact, even a cursory perusal of Hashimoto's biography or of his writings suggests the opposite, namely, that Hashimoto's stay in Turkey had little effect either on Hashimoto's thought or on his actions. As his biographer recognizes, Hashimoto was shaped by other factors.[9]

6 Nakamura Kikuo, *Tennōseifuashizumuron* (Tōkyō: Hara shobō, 1967), 68.

7 Matsutani Hironao, *Istanbūru o aishita hitobito: episōdo de tsuzuru gekidō no Toruko* (Tōkyō: Chūō kōron shinsha, 1998), 156.

8 Shillony, 26.

9 See Tatamiya, *Hashimoto*, 14.

It is worth recalling that Hashimoto, like many of his brother-officers, had been hostile to parliamentary democracy and liberalism, favored direct action and desired the emergence of a strong dictatorial military government in Japan before he went to Turkey. So, I would like to argue that, far from turning Hashimoto into a serial coup plotter, the stay in Turkey did little to affect his views, except perhaps reinforcing them to some degree.

It is also clear that his stay in Turkey did nothing to change Hashimoto's personality. For, as I have noted above, Hashimoto had been a loose cannon before he went to Turkey and he remained a loose cannon after he returned.[10] And rather than his Turkish experiences, it was his explosive, hysterical character (and his political views as noted above) that made him rush headlong into various conspiratorial schemes. Certainly, when Hashimoto was founding his Sakurakai, he did not have to look to Turkish models for inspiration. Sources of inspiration were available close by. The Issekikai (One Evening Society), for example, had been founded by politically involved army officers in May 1929 and the only reason why Hashimoto had not joined was because he was away in Turkey.

Based on such considerations I would like to argue that it was not Hashimoto who had changed—he had always been willing to engage in violence and would have done so in the 1920s, had he been given an opportunity. What had changed during Hashimoto's stay in Turkey, was, as I mentioned briefly above, the political climate in Japan. Let us not forget that the military scheme to occupy Manchuria, which was put into effect in September 1931, had its antecedents, notably, the 1928 assassination of the Chang Tso-lin, which some officers hoped, would provide a pretext for the annexation of Manchuria. That such plans were not put into effect did not mean that there had been no intention to do so. Let us also not forget that some military men had been proclaiming their readiness to commit terrorist acts years before Hashimoto left Japan. Nothing suggests that Hashimoto disagreed with advocates of such violence. But, when Hashimoto left for Turkey in 1927, conspiracies were still frowned upon, largely because the government was still strong enough to keep them in check.

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10 True to his nature, he was a loose cannon in Turkey too. He quarreled with the ambassador. See *Ashida nikki*, 29 April 1928, 150. As a result, the ambassador started drinking hard, "ushering in a somber atmosphere at the Embassy." 3 May 1928, 152. Hashimoto was apparently prone to fits of hysteria and was frequently reprimanded for infringements of military discipline. Tatamiya, *Hashimoto*, 14, for his infractions as a cadet. He could be very violent, too. For example, during the Tokyo Trial, Hashimoto, for no apparent reason, dealt Shiratori Toshio a sudden blow in the face that knocked the latter's glasses off. Tatamiya, *Hashimoto*, 335.

By the time Hashimoto returned from Turkey in 1930, a qualitative change had taken place, making it possible for army officers to engage in political activism without fear of disciplinary action. This shift was occasioned by the right wing and conservative campaign against the 1930 London Naval Reductions Conference that culminated in an assassination attempt on Prime Minister Hamaguchi's life in November of that year. No military men were punished for their blatant meddling in politics and, from that point on, such meddling became acceptable. Young radical officers now openly associated with civilian rightists. It was in this new climate that Hashimoto, just returned from Turkey, felt encouraged to act.

Certainly, Hashimoto himself attributed only a minor importance to Turkey as a model for his political activities. Take for example the following passage:

> "After graduating from the Army College, I was posted to the Russian section (*han*) of the Army General Staff where I gave my undivided attention to the study of the Russian revolution. But in 1927 I was unexpectedly ordered to assume the duties of army attaché at the embassy in Turkey. It was in the capital Ankara that I met the dictator Kemal, with whom I often had the occasion to eat, drink, and chat.[11] In 1930 I returned to Japan after three years in Europe (*tai-Ō sannen*). In Europe, I had the opportunity to observe not only the policies of Kemal Pasha but also the policies of my original subject of study, Russia's Stalin, as well as Italy's Mussolini, Germany's Hitler and Persia's Reza Khan. Their respective goals were by no means clear; their origins and backgrounds were different, but, putting that aside, I felt strongly that all these [men in their respective] countries strove with great vigor toward [the imposition of] state control (*kokka tōsei*) through uniting their whole nations (*kyokoku itchi*)."[12]
> In this passage, Hashimoto emphasized dictatorial policies and state control. He demonstrated his great admiration for dictators and strongmen. However, it is significant that he did not single out Turkey or Kemal Pasha for special attention. Far from dominating his narrative, Turkey was only one of a number of countries mentioned, and Kemal Pasha only one of a number of dictators named.

11 When Hashimoto says "often," he most likely exaggerates. It should be noted that for most of his stay the Japanese Embassy was located in Istanbul and Japanese diplomats only occasionally visited the capital, Ankara. That greatly limited their access to Turkish policymakers and reduced their effectiveness, a fact deplored by Ashida Hitoshi. See *Ashida nikki*, 18 February 1927, 51.

12 Quoted in Matsutani, *Istanbūru*, 157.

Clearly, Hashimoto was not bothered by the great differences that divided the strongmen he listed. He put Kemal Atatürk in the same category as Hitler Stalin and the rather mediocre Reza Pahlavi. (Hitler was not yet in power during Hashimoto's stay in Turkey, so it is possible that Hashimoto had paid less attention to Hitler during his stay in "Europe" than he subsequently claimed but that is beside the point). The only characteristic that links these diverse figures is that they were all (and in Hitler's case, would be) dictators and all opposed Western-style liberalism. Their absolute power and their defiance of the Western powers of Britain and the United States and the Versailles-Washington treaty system, it seems, were the only things thing that impressed Hashimoto. I should add that, although he had resided for nearly three years in Turkey, Hashimoto did not bother to introduce any details of the Turkish situation into his account. But then, perhaps it is not all that surprising. After all, Hashimoto's duties as military attaché in Turkey consisted mainly of Russia-watching and analyzing Soviet activities.[13] That was what he had specialized in as an intelligence officer in Manchuria and that is what he continued to do in Turkey. Given these duties, he would have had little time to study Turkey, even if he had wanted to. But, as it turned out, he did not show much inclination to learn about the country of his residence. By all accounts, he dedicated more time and energy to watching Leon Trotsky in exile in Turkey at that time than to studying the political situation in that country.

Hashimoto's Pan-Asianism

Hashimoto was a pan-Asianist. So it is striking that in the passage quoted above he placed Turkey in Europe. Was it a careless error? Or was it a conscious effort to place Turkey outside his pan-Asian mission? It is possible to speculate that he placed Turkey in Europe and not in Asia, because during his stay in Turkey he had become aware of the irreconcilable differences that divided West Asia from East Asia, which, pan-Asianists, unfamiliar with the region, overlooked. However, whatever the reason, it strongly suggests that Hashimoto's Pan-Asianism was narrower in its scope than that of civilian radicals like Ōkawa or Mitsukawa Kametarō. For, in contrast to Hashimoto, both these radicals regarded Turkey as part of Asia.

13 It is relevant to note that one of the first people Hashimoto was introduced to after his arrival in Istanbul was "M. Kouznetsoff," the Soviet military attaché. *Ashida nikki* 25 December 1927, 102.

Placing Turkey in Europe could of course have been just a careless error on Hashimoto's part. But surely that is unlikely. More likely, this lapse arose because he was so busy concentrating on the Soviet Union that he did not give much thought to the question of where Turkey belonged. And this continuous preoccupation with the Soviet Union also goes a long way toward explaining why Hashimoto's Turkish experience left no significant impression on his views on Asia. Indeed, from his pan-Asian utterances alone it would be difficult to infer the fact that he had ever set foot in the Middle East. His views conformed to the reformist, radical type of Pan-Asianism that is associated with people who have never been to the Middle East. This seems to suggest strongly that Hashimoto's Pan-Asianism, like all his views, had been formed before he left for Turkey and was not affected by his experience in that country in any significant way.

Let us take a closer look.

Asian culture, he wrote, "has a strong religious coloring and also fuses seamlessly with Nature. Human character cannot fathom Nature; human strength cannot resist it. Nature is eternal in time and limitless in space. People pray to Nature with devotion; they worship it. Nature attains divine character when people worship it as the sun god. Likewise, people worship the divine that fuses together the infinite and the finite, the eternal and the momentary, the actual and the phenomenal.... In politics the Persians and the Saracens fuse religion and politics, that is, the monarch is the leader of religious worship as well as political ruler. This fusion of religion and politics is common to all countries of Asia, even if one allows for some small local differences."[14]

As Hashimoto saw it, politics in Asia was simple. It could be reduced to two issues: "agriculture and defense against external enemies." Likewise, in Asia, a monarch's role was also simple: he had to "listen to and obey the will of heaven or Nature." It was this passivity in the face of nature that led to the fusion of religion and politics that was, according to Hashimoto, a salient characteristic of Asia. That was also why "in Asia a monarch who knows the will of nature and becomes at one with it," is called a "sage" (holy man, *seijin*) or a "son of heaven" (*tenshi*).[15] Hashimoto repeated the usual pan-Asian clichés typical of Japan's right wing in general. Many a book published in the 1930s contained such pearls of wisdom.

In the passages that followed, like so many other pan-Asianists, Hashimoto went on to contrast the spirituality of Asian culture with the materialism of European civilization. Like many others, he asserted that Asia was "synthetic"

14 Hashimoto, *Daini no kaiheki* (Tōkyō: Dai Nihon Seinentō honbu, 1939), 58.

15 Ibid., 60.

and "inductive," but Europe was "analytical" and "deductive." Asia was "introspective" and "idealistic" in contrast to Europe, which was "extrovert" and "realistic." Religious Asia was preoccupied with moral training, but scientific Europe was engaged in expanding and deepening its knowledge.[16]

In short, Hashimoto came up here with a set of hackneyed familiar pan-Asianist clichés, which he might have produced without leaving Japan at all.

Hashimoto's Views of Turkey

But it would be wrong to give the impression that in his pan-Asian disquisitions Hashimoto never referred to Turkey. As a matter of fact, he did make quite frequent references to that country. These references however do not contradict but, rather, reinforce the point I have made above, namely, that his views were preconceived rather than based on the experience of his stay in Turkey.

That is apparent for example when he described Kemal Atatürk as a conservative warrior against the evils of liberal Western values that had brought in their tow corruption and decadence.

"To begin with," Hashimoto wrote, "Constantinople was the center of the Near East (*kintō*), as well as the center of Islam." But Constantinople had been "corrupted in a shocking way" by the influx "tens of thousands" of Europeans who came to Turkey to "manipulate Muslim countries." These Europeans, "with their gaudy flamboyant clothes, their dance parties, their sumptuous banquets and balls, in effect had come to control Turkey. So Kemal, as soon as he had assumed power after the revolution, moved the capital to Ankara, which is situated on a vast plateau in the middle of Asia Minor. In doing so, he restored the spirit of the nation (…) This was a truly great project and we were all greatly impressed by it."[17]

Hashimoto painted here the picture of Kemal as a dyed-in-the-wool conservative and traditionalist who had ruthlessly moved the capital to Turkey's unpolluted hinterland away from the Bosphorus that was irreparably corrupted

16 Ibid., 62. This is Hashimoto's version of the distinction between *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft* as outlined by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. (1855–1935) or Emile Durkheim's (1858–1917) distinction between organic and mechanical societies. On this point, see also Sven Saaler and Christopher W.A. Szpilman, "Introduction," in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History* (Lanham, PA: Rowman& Littlefield 2011), 37 (hereafter *Pan-Asianism*).

17 Togawa Sadao, *Hashimoto Kingorō* (Tōkyō: Takunansha, 1941), 16–17.

by Western influences. As Hashimoto would have it, Kemal had in this way restored the national spirit by returning to the roots of Turkish tradition.

But on occasion Hashimoto, clearly not bothered by the contradiction, discarded this conservative interpretation in favor of a radical reformist one. In such cases, he described Kemal as an embodiment of modernity who had swept aside the shackles of moribund tradition that had until then prevented Turkey from reforming and attaining her natural greatness. In short, he now saw in Kemal the same iconoclastic genius that he admired in Stalin: both had ruthlessness and pitiless determination and for both the end justified the means. For both, he believed, the end was a powerful modern state.

Hashimoto gave an outline of Kemal's ruthless reforms: he had "rejected religion, tampered with the most important aspect of human existence, namely, the relationship between man and woman by banning polygamy and enforcing monogamy; he changed the dress, and even changed the writing script."[18] The Turkish case, like the Russian case, offered a valuable lesson to Japan.

"It is said in Japan that because each nation has its long tradition and customs, reforms cannot be undertaken hastily, but such a view is proved wrong by the Russian or Turkish experience. Those who are attached to old rags, say things like that because they want to hang on to their beloved old rags, but I declare without the slightest hesitation that a decisive action [to introduce reforms] will be accepted by everybody."[19]

It is not clear however, since he never bothered to explain it, just how Hashimoto reconciled this radical position with his insistence on the spirituality of Asia and his characterization of Kemal Pasha as a traditionalist protector of Asian values.

The only plausible explanation (other than plain stupidity) is that when he came up with the above-quoted outline of Pan-Asianism, Hashimoto was addressing a simple and unsophisticated audience composed of young farmers and he did not really mean what he was saying. But when he talked of radical reforms, he was revealing his own thoughts. In short, we have a typical case of making a distinction between *tatemae* (speaking for public consumption) and *honne* (speaking honestly to those to whom you could speak honestly).

It is worth noting that in the statement above Hashimoto put Russia before Turkey. That is no coincidence, for Russia was where his real interest lay. It was the country he had been studying throughout his career and it is easy to see why. The Soviet Union was Japan's neighbor; Turkey a distant country.

18 Ibid., *Hashimoto,* 18.

19 Ibid., *Hashimoto,* 18.

Admittedly, eccentric Hashimoto held extreme views even by the standards of Japan's right wing. Indeed, his dismissal of tradition as "old rags" that could be jettisoned by a decisive political figure which I have just quoted was so radical that it bordered on lèse majesté. Such contempt for tradition was characteristic of Stalin, Hitler and Kemal and was a quality which Hashimoto admired greatly. But in the Japan of the 1930 there were few radicals who dared express such admiration openly. Neither Ōkawa nor Mitsukawa ever went that far. Even iconoclastic Kita kept his peace in the 1930s. So Hashimoto was one of the few who did not beat about the bush. This is indeed what set him apart from most other right-wing radicals.

Fukunaga Ken, Turkey and Kemal Pasha

Lieutenant (as he then was) Fukunaga Ken's views were more characteristic of mainstream right wing radicals.

Fukunaga, born in Shiga prefecture in 1899 and the son of a school teacher, was a member of the 34th class of the Military Academy. He ended his military career as a colonel-lieutenant, a notch lower than Hashimoto. But he went up as high as he could have expected to go under ordinary circumstances. For, in contrast to Hashimoto, he was not a member of the army high-fliers educated at the Army College who monopolized positions as staff officers. It is impossible to speculate whether Fukunaga was not allowed to join the military elite because he lacked ability and intelligence or on account of his radical associations. The latter, I suspect, may have been decisive. For, in the early 1920s Fukunaga, at that time an impressionable Army Academy cadet, came under the influence of the Yūzonsha's Mitsukawa, Ōkawa and Kita Ikki. Although Fukunaga was a minor figure, it is worth taking a look at his views, as they represent the views of an average radical, junior non-career army officer in the 1920s and offer an insight into what this post-WWI generation of officers (usually not given much attention by historians) dreamed about, what aspirations they had and what were their resentments and objections.

Fukunaga's views on Western Asia can be gleaned from a letter he wrote to Mitsukawa. In it, he confessed that when he had heard of Kemal Pasha's dazzling achievements he found himself "clenching my fists and gritting my teeth" with frustration at Japan's diplomacy of cooperation with the great powers. Kemal Atatürk had stood up to the Great Powers and defied the "*Diktats*" of the Paris Conference. But Japan, he complained, behaved like the Great Powers' lapdog. "At a time when India, Afghanistan, Arabia, Egypt all are about to rise to declare war against white Europe, it should be our Yamato people's proud mission to help them and chastise the white man for the sake of righteousness." He found it "very depressing to realize that it is [Soviet] Russia that is carrying out this mission, and not Japan."[20]

As the above passage indicates, Fukunaga was an advocate of Pan-Asianism. That was to be expected from a member of the Yūzonsha. The Yūzonsha's sympathies for the Bolsheviks, whom they considered a Japanese ally against the West, are well known, so it is not surprising that Fukunaga was convinced that Lenin's Russia supported Pan-Asianism throughout Asia. Likewise, Fukunaga's frustration at the fact that Japan did practically nothing to support Pan-Asianism or help independence movements in India and other Western colonies was typical of the Yūzonsha. All of its members were united in their opposition to the Japanese Foreign Ministry's policy of cooperation with the Western powers.

What is perhaps more surprising is that Fukunaga regarded Kemal Atatürk as an Islamic fundamentalist. In a letter to Mitsukawa he wrote: "I admire and envy the [achievements] of victorious Kemal Pasha, who is advancing like wild fire at the head of 250 million Moslems, burning with desire to establish an Islamic empire. It brings to mind the [achievements of] the prophet Mohammed."[21]

Although most observers, including even Hashimoto in his lucid moments, would agree that Kemal Atatürk's reforms were secular in character, Fukunaga took the view that Kemal was re-establishing a Caliphate that would challenge the hated ascendancy of the white race. Desperate to find an ally for Japan in her struggle against the dreaded West, Fukunaga persuaded himself that Kemal's goals were identical with those of Japan's radicals who wanted to fuse state and religion into one indivisible whole, and who regarded Western-style democracy, individualism and party politics as the most serious threat to the greatness of the Japanese state and the realization of its mission. One can see why Fukunaga admired Kemal, whose main concern was the formation of a strong centralized modern state to replace the ramshackle and rickety Ottoman Empire, even if he mistakenly chose to believe that Kemal's motivation was religious. A powerful centralized modern state was his ideal for Japan too; he was only unhappy that it was not centralized and powerful enough due to the mistaken policies of elected politicians.

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20 Letter of Fukunaga to Mitsukawa, dated 26 September 1923, Hasegawa Yūichi, Christopher W.A. Szpilman and Imazu Toshiaki (eds.), *Mitsukawa Kametarō shokanshū* (Tōkyō: Ronsōsha, 2012), 232.

21 Ibid.

Fukunaga's positive assessment of the Bolsheviks' role in the Middle East reveals the influence of Yūzonsha leaders. In the early 1920s at least Ōkawa, Mitsukawa and Kanokogi also took a highly rosy view of Lenin's regime and their views affected the impressionable young officer.

Still, Fukunaga's view of the Middle East and his assessment of the situation were based on generalities and idealization. They had little to do with the real situation in West Asia. This kind of naïveté is perhaps not surprising in a simple junior officer. It comes as a shock when it is encountered in someone who is believed to be better informed and whose intellectual powers were widely held to be formidable.

Ōkawa Shūmei, Turkey and Bolshevism

For, among Yūzonsha leaders, Ōkawa Shūmei cut an outstanding figure both on account of his education, his knowledge of foreign languages, and his wide scope of interests that extended to West Asia. Ōkawa is also the best known of the men I discuss here and he is the only one for whom Western Asia and Islam represented central themes.[22]

Ōkawa addressed the question of the Middle East and Western Asia at length for the first time in his now classic pan-Asianist study, *Fukkō Ajia no shomondai* (Various Questions concerning Reviving Asia) published in 1922.[23] The book, a collection of articles on current affairs published over a number of years in various journals, gave an account of recent developments in the region with some historical context thrown in, but Ōkawa's focus was primarily on current affairs and international relations. He largely ignored the question of culture, providing some historical background that he considered essential for understanding the issues involved.

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22 On Ōkawa see, for example, C.W.A. Szpilman, "The Dream of One Asia: Ōkawa Shūmei and Japanese Pan-Asianism," in Harald Fuess, *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Postwar Legacy*, Munich: Iudicium, 1998, 49–66. Below, for lack of space, I limit myself to discussing Ōkawa's views as expressed in his *Fukkō Ajia.* On Ōkawa and Islam, see Usuki Akira, *Ōkawa Shūmei: Isuramu to tennō no hazama de* (Tōkyō: Seidosha, 2010). Ōkawa did not know Arabic or any other languages of the Middle East. But his eclectic learning is apparent from the sources he used. In addition to general surveys, he drew upon the following: Martin Hartmann, *Der Islam: Geschichte, Glaube, Recht: ein Handbuch*, 1909; Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936); Valentine Chirol (1852–1929), *The Middle Eastern question or some political problems of Indian defence*, 1903; Aloys Sprenger (1813–1893), *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad: nach bisher grössten theils unbenutzten Quellen*, 1869.

23 Ōkawa Shūmei, *Fukkō Ajia no shomondai* (1922, reprinted Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1993).

As was the case with Fukunaga, one is struck by Ōkawa's positive assessment of the Bolsheviks, whom he saw as Japan's allies in its struggle against the West. As regards ousting "Europe's capitalist states from Asia," he wrote, "the Bolsheviks' and Asia's aspirations completely coincide. In their struggle against the Western powers, there would be nothing strange about the two forming an alliance."[24] At the same time, Ōkawa believed that communism itself posed no danger to Asia, because, being a product of the specifically Western conditions, it was incompatible with Asian values. The Bolsheviks' "ideology has no spiritual grounds whatsoever which would enable them to impose it on Asia."[25] That was, he believed, because "such a system is clearly incompatible with Asian spirit."[26]

He thought he had detected a sign of change in Bolshevik policies. "The Bolsheviks have given up their insistence on their professed socialism and begun attempts to form alliances in Central Asia based mainly on political considerations." He regarded this development as "clearly advantageous to an Asian revival."[27] Indeed, he was convinced, like Fukunaga, that the Bolsheviks were now actively promoting an Asian revival. As evidence of this development, he noted the recent conclusion of treaties between Lenin's government and Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. These developments as well as the Bolsheviks' winning over of Russia's Muslim minorities, he believed, had "brought fresh prospects to the future of an Islamic alliance." The Bolsheviks, Ōkawa supposed, would now assist in the formation of a Muslim alliance. He was confident, he declared, that "in the near future this Islamic movement will play an important role in world politics" by spearheading an Asian revival. From this perspective, he concluded that he could "not help being amazed at the profound and admirable stimulus that the Bolsheviks are providing to the world."[28]

In Ōkawa's interpretation, the Bolsheviks emerged as a force working actively and consciously for Asian liberation. The level of sophistication of Ōkawa's analysis may have been higher than Fukunaga's, but the conclusion remained essentially just as naïve.

Ōkawa's 1922 views on the Bolsheviks were anticipated and influenced by Mitsukawa Kametarō's 1921 *Ubawaretaru Ajia* (Stolen Asia), in which the

24 Ibid., 164.

25 Ibid., 164.

26 Ibid., 164.

27 Ibid., 175. On Soviet Russia as an ally of Pan-Asianism, see, for example, Sven Saaler, "Germany, Sun Yat-sen and Pan-Asianism," in *Pan-Asianism*, 244.

28 Ōkawa, *Fukkō Ajia*, 179.

latter too showed a soft spot for the Bolsheviks, even if he befriended a number of Central Asians in exile in Japan, such as Mehmet Kurbangali (Kurban Ali, 1889–1972) and Abdurresid Ibrahim (1853–1944). In his works, Mitsukawa stressed the role of the Young Turks as challengers to the West and emphasized cooperation between the Young Turks and the Bolsheviks. "The New Young Turks, who arose in the wilds of Anatolia under the formidable leadership of the revolutionary Ember (Enver) Pasha," Mitsukawa wrote, "have been cooperating with the Workers-Peasants Russia to drive out European capitalism,"[29] but it is fair to say that essentially, in the 1920s his views and Ōkawa's were identical.

Kanokogi Kazunobu

About the same time, another Yūzonsha member, Professor Kanokogi Kazunobu (1884–1949) also took up the subject of Turkey. He too, like Ōkawa and Mitsukawa, discerned similarities between the Soviets and the Young Turks. In his discussion on what is true democracy as opposed to fake and corrupt democracy, he argued that the latter was exemplified by the United States, Britain and France, while the former, i.e., genuine democracy, could only be found in Russia and Turkey.[30] In contrast to British, American and French democracies, which, stuck in, were inevitably on the decline, Kanokogi believed that Turkey's Ankara government, like Lenin's Bolsheviks, was bucking the trend.

The new government of Turkey, Kanokogi stressed, was no sectional movement for the benefit of Turkey's capitalists or Turkey's aristocracy. The Ankara government represented the will of all Turkey. That is why, he noted, it was able to repulse a huge Greek army supported by Britain and France who had assumed that [the Turks] were no match for the Greeks. The new Turkey was organized in truly democratic fashion, by which he meant that it was organized with the same spirit as ancient Athens under Pericles. Kanokogi provided the details. The Turkish people formed a Chamber of People's Representatives in Ankara, which was empowered to appoint cabinets. In other words, the House was not just a legislature but also an executive body. Moreover, the government,

29 Mitsukawa, *Ubawaretaru Ajia* (1921, reprint Tōkyō: Shoshi shinsui, 2007), 22.

30 Kanokogi Kazunobu "Girisha no kokka to gendai no seijiteki keikō," in Tōkyō-shi (ed.), *Tōkyō-shi shakai kyōiku sōsho, vol. 3* (*Nihon teikoku no kenjitsumi*), (Tōkyō: Tōkyō-shi, 1923), 46. On Kanokogi's Pan-Asianism, see C.W.A. Szpilman, "Kanokogi Kazunobu: Pioneer of Platonic Fascism and Imperial Pan-Asianism," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 68:2 (2013): 233–280.

the cabinet, and the military commanders were all directly responsible to the Chamber, which could appoint and dismiss them at will. Kanokogi was particularly impressed that the Chamber possessed powers to "enforce political measures without delay." Such dictatorial powers vested in the Chamber, Kanokogi noted, allowed Turkey to overcome the present national adversity, triumph over its enemies, and revise the harsh conditions of the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres.[31] In short, Kanokogi concluded, Turkey, which many had dismissed as the most antiquated country in the world, had come to represent the most modern tendencies.[32]

Kanokogi idealized the new Turkish government, claiming that it was the only genuine form of democracy in the world, except that which obtains in the Soviet Union. What appealed to Kanokogi was a dictatorial fusion of legislation and executive that had been in force both in Turkey and in Soviet Russia. Clearly Kanokogi was no advocate of the separation of powers. He was also impressed by the fact that the Ankara government had stood up to the Western allies. As the above passage shows, he too, like his Yūzonsha comrades, Ōkawa and Mitsukawa, was enamored of the Bolsheviks. But the above reference to Turkey was an exception, for on the whole Kanokogi paid almost no attention to the Middle East or Turkey. But that was not the case with Ōkawa and Mitsukawa.

Ōkawa's pro-Bolshevik sympathies did not prevent him from noting other developments in the Middle East. Ōkawa detected various signs of an Asian revival. One came in the shape of renewed attempts for Moslem countries to form an Islamic alliance. The other sign of this revival he saw in the recent formation of the "religious, political and cultural" pan-Turanian movement, which aimed to unite all Turanian peoples under the rule of one state. "Proponents of Pan-Turanianism, Ōkawa stated, "insisted passionately that Turkish, not Arabic should be the liturgical language of Islam; that all loan words in Turkish—mainly from Arabic—should be eliminated; and that pure Turkish should be revived." This movement, Ōkawa claimed, was driven essentially by the same concerns as Japanese nativism, which had paved the way for the Meiji restoration. The difference was that, after they had clashed head-on with orthodox Islam, the pan-Turanians were forced gradually to modify their views so as to

31 The lecture took place on 11 February 1923, some months before the Treaty of Lausanne was signed. Technically speaking, until the treaty was signed Japan, like Great Britain and France, was at war with Turkey. The peace conference had that led to the signing of the treaty began in November 1922, so Kanokogi was justified in assuming that the Western allies would compromise.

32 Kanokogi, "Girisha", 47–48.

make it possible for them to cooperate with Pan-Islamism. While noting that the pan-Turanian movement was "naïve" and "unrealistic," he recognized its great importance for the growth of nationalism and political awareness in various countries in Central and Western Asia. This nascent national awareness and the "relentless aggression by Christian countries" had turned the unrealistic dream of an Islamic alliance into a concept that gripped the hearts and minds of intellectuals, so at present, Ōkawa rejoiced, the formation of "an alliance on the basis of Pan-Turanianism and Pan-Islamism was no longer an idle dream."[33]

Conclusion

Such remarks notwithstanding, it should be clear that in the 1920s and even well into the 1930s, for Ōkawa the Bolsheviks and their revolutionary agitation were of much greater significance than the Middle East and Western Asia. This also is true of Hashimoto, Fukunaga, Kanokogi and Mitsukawa. To a man they proclaimed their admiration for the good work Lenin's communists were doing. The Middle East and Western Asia appears much less important. In general, references to West and Central Asia are relatively few in their works compared to the attention they lavished on China, Siberia, India or the West. To my knowledge, none of the men seems to have made any direct references to the Silk Road. Their views of Western Asia remained vague: they made no effort to develop them in any systematic way or indeed draw any lessons the area might have offered Japan. That is partly because the area offered no obvious lessons, but also because the realities of geopolitics were always more important to Japan's radicals than the romance of the Silk Road. It scarcely needs repeating that, to most Japanese at the time, including our radicals, the Middle East and Central Asia were very remote. The areas were thus never among those they considered of vital importance, even if on occasion they felt compelled rhetorically to proclaim their importance.

Yet, for all this remoteness and vagueness, there is no denying that Central and Western Asia, together with the world of Islam, figured in radical discourse

33 Ōkawa, *Fukkō Ajia*, 177. Ōkawa's comments on Pan-Turanism may have been influenced by the existence of a Han-Tsuran Dômei (Pan-Turanian League). Little is known about the league except that in 1922 it published together with the Dai-Ajiakyōkai (Greater Asia Association) a pamphlet entitled *Dai-Ajia* (Greater Asia). The pamphlet contained essays by a number of Japanese (eg., Tsukuda Shinobu) and foreign pan-Asianists (e.g., Kurban Ali). Kanokogi Kazunobu contributed an article to the pamphlet.

often enough to require explanation. Roughly speaking, there are two reasons for their frequent, if vague, references to Western Asia and Islam. The first reason is geopolitical. Changes in Western Asia, which our radicals watched from afar, promised to upset, if not to destroy completely, the hated status quo, which the victorious Anglo-Saxon powers had secured by means of the Versailles Treaty after Germany's defeat in the Great War. Turkish defiance of the Western *Diktat* at the Paris Peace Conference and the ejection of the French and the British forces from Turkey seemed to offer valuable lessons for Japan. Turkey's successful defiance, they believed, had exposed the fallacy of a foreign policy of cooperation with the Anglo-American powers.

It is also important to stress that, though all these individuals hated democracy, party politics and liberalism, though they advocated dictatorial policies and called for military expansion, their views on Western Asia were not uniform. They ranged in sophistication from the heights of erudition of Ōkawa, who boasted a doctorate from the Law Faculty of Tokyo Imperial University, Columbia and Jena-educated Professor Kanokogi with two doctorates to boot, and Mitsukawa, who, though without a degree, studied the current situation in Western Asia in detail, down to the simplistic crudities of military officers who on the whole generalized on the basis of little or no knowledge. Still, accustomed to the monolithic nature of the Japanese state, they all tended to regard countries in the Middle East as monolithic units; they showed little awareness of the ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity of the region.

When analyzed closely, their views on Western Asia contained internal contradictions. It would be tedious to list them all, so I will give just one example. It concerns Ōkawa who seemed to want to have it both ways as when he extolled the heroic exploits of the devout Moslem Ibn-Saud of Arabia almost in the same breath as expatiating on the virtues of secularly-oriented Kemal Atatürk and his progressive reforms.[34] They differed on various issues concerning Western Asia, but the differences that divided them were of little consequence because they were about matters that were relatively unimportant to them. Ultimately, it did not really matter what each individual member thought about Western Asia as their views on this subject did not define them as radicals.

In the final analysis, for the men in question, the Middle East and Central Asia were less objects of intrinsic fascination than pawns in Japan's world politics. The radicals' chief complaint in the 1920s was that Japan's Foreign Ministry cooperated with the Anglo-Saxon powers to protect the status quo, instead of cooperating with the Bolsheviks, the Turks, Persians and other new

34 Ibid.

powers in the Middle East to destroy that status quo. At best, the countries in the region were seen as Japan's potential allies, in conjunction with Bolshevik Russia, in her approaching struggle with the West. At the very least, they represented a distraction for the West that reduced Western pressure upon Japan and East Asia. That in effect was the extent of the right wing radicals' interest in the region.

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CHAPTER 3

Fukushima Yasumasa's Travels in Central Asia and Siberia: Silk Road Romanticism, Military Reconnaissance, or Modern Exploration?

Sven Saaler

Introduction

Following two centuries of limited contacts with the outside world, when the Japanese re-activated relations with the Western powers in the middle of the nineteenth century, they encountered an expanding world. A renewed wave of exploration, discovery and conquest (following the classic "Age of Discovery" from the fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries[1]) was widening the horizons of knowledge and eliminating the remaining "blank spots" on the world map. The scientific travels of scholars such as Alexander von Humboldt (to Latin America in 1799–1804 and Asia in 1811 and 1818) and Charles Darwin (1831–36); David Livingstone's exploration of Central Africa from the 1840s to the 1860s; Sven Hedin's expeditions to Central Asia, Tibet and the Himalayas from the 1890s to the 1930s; the construction of the Trans-Siberian railway from around 1890; and the expeditions to the North Pole (1909?) and South Pole (1911) were high points in this process. The "rediscovery" of the Silk Road—and the creation of the term itself—should also be seen in this context. It was the German geographer Ferdinand Freiherr von Richthofen (1833–1905) who, in 1877, following a number of explorative trips to China, coined the term "Seidenstraße" (Silk Road/s) in his five-volume opus *China* (published between 1877 and 1912, and his evocative expression was soon translated into English, Chinese and other languages.[2]

1 I will use this established term in this paper, although the notion of an "age of discovery" has strong Eurocentric connotations. Most of the territories "discovered," of course, had long been known to the local population; in most cases they were not uninhabited, and usually they were not merely discovered, but, as a consequence of Western intrusion, economically exploited, conquered and colonized.

2 Daniel Waugh, "Richthofen's 'Silk Roads': Toward the Archaeology of a Concept." *The Silk Road*, 5:1, (2007): 1–10.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004274310_005

The activities of this new wave of explorers and adventurers resulted in the global mapping of the world and the establishment of long-distance contacts between civilizations that had previously only had sporadic encounters. The Silk Road itself had been a precursor of such long-distance connections, and it was no coincidence that the idea of the "Silk Road" achieved wide currency as a result of the long-distance explorations of the nineteenth century.

Driven by the desire to become a great power, equal to Britain, Russia, Germany and France, Japan played an active part in this second "Age of Discovery." In 1912, for example, a Japanese expedition under Shirase Nobu (1861–1946), a lieutenant in the Japanese Imperial Army, came close to the South Pole, only months after Roald Amundsen (1872–1928) had become the first person to reach this inaccessible destination.[3] In the 1900s Count Ōtani Kōzui (1876–1948), a Buddhist priest and member of the British Royal Geographical Society, financed three expeditions to Central Asia, exploring the legacies of the Silk Road and contributing not only to the growing body of academic research on this region, but also to Japanese reconnaissance activities along the borders of Russia, Japan's main geostrategic rival at that time.[4] The "Ōtani collection," which was assembled during these expeditions, is still considered important in Central Asian studies. Fukushima Yasumasa (1852–1919), an officer from the Japanese Imperial Army, undertook extensive travel in virtually all parts of Asia, and has come to be recognized as another significant Japanese explorer and intelligence-gatherer of the late nineteenth century. His activities have also been linked in a number of ways to the exploration of the Silk Road.

This paper seeks to place Fukushima Yasumasa's travels in the context of the second age of discovery and exploration, and to establish whether the mystique of the Silk Road was one of the motivations for undertaking his adventurous journeys throughout Eurasia. I will also examine the influence of his various expeditions on Fukushima's later career in the Imperial Japanese Army, as well as the image of Fukushima in Japanese society after his death in 1919.

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3 *The New York Times* ran a two-page special report on this expedition: Shirase (Nobu), "Japanese Story of Polar Trip." *The New York Times*, 25 March 1912.

4 See Galambos, Imre and Kitsudō Kōichi. "Japanese exploration of Central Asia: The Ōtani expeditions and their British connections." *Bulletin of SOAS*, 75, 1 (2012): 113–134, as well as Küçükyalçın in chapter 8 in this volume.

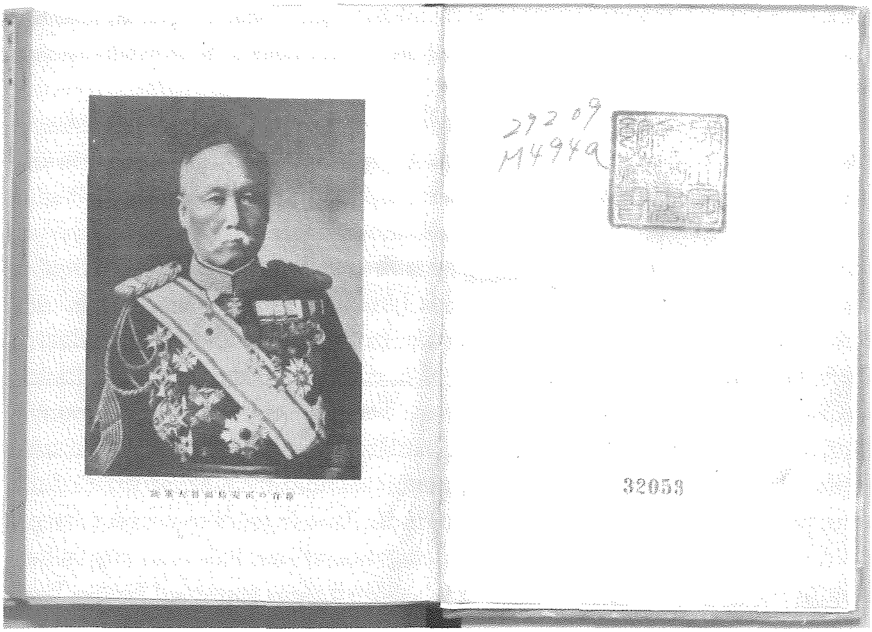

FIGURE 3.1 *Lieutenant Colonel Fukushima Yasumasa (ca. 1895).*

Fukushima Yasumasa's Ride through Siberia, 1892/93

Fukushima Yasumasa was an outstanding example of a nineteenth-century explorer. An officer in the Japanese Imperial Army, Fukushima is best known for his crossing of the Eurasian continent, from Berlin to Vladivostok, alone and on horseback in a 17-month journey in 1892/93—an adventure which was widely celebrated in Japan and brought him personal fame. Fukushima was not the first Japanese traveler to make the overland journey from Europe to Japan. At the end of his term as Japan's envoy to Russia in 1878, Enomoto Takeaki (1836–1908) had also chosen to return to Japan via a land route, using trains, ships (on the Volga and Amur Rivers) and coaches as his chief means of transportation.[5] Nor was Fukushima the last Japanese to choose the more arduous land route to East Asia. Five years after Fukushima's expedition, Uchida Ryōhei (1873–1937), the founder of the pan-Asianist society Kokuryūkai (the Amur River Society,

5 See Enomoto's Diary, Suwabe Yōko and Nakamura Yoshikazu (transl./ed.), *Gendaigoyaku Enomoto Takeaki Shiberia nikki* (A modern Japanese translation of Enomoto Takeaki's Siberian Diary) (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 2010).

a.k.a. the Black Dragon Society, established in 1901), made a journey, mostly on horseback, and in the reverse direction, across Siberia from Vladivostok to St. Petersburg.[6]

Fukushima Yasumasa was a major in the Imperial Army when he began his journey in 1891. He had entered the Army as an English translator in 1874 and was sent abroad for the first time in 1876 to further his study of English in the United States.[7] In 1879, after also undertaking to study Chinese, he was sent on his first undercover reconnaissance mission by the General Staff of the Japanese Imperial Army, to North China and Inner Mongolia.[8] In 1882, Fukushima was appointed military attaché to the Japanese legation in Beijing. Here, he developed a close relationship, Enomoto, now the Japanese Minister to China, whose stories of crossing Siberia became a source of inspiration for him, and in 1886 he embarked on his first large-scale reconnaissance mission to Burma and India, where he spent almost six months.[9] An account of this tour, published in 1887 under the title "India Travelogue,"[10] gave him a reputation as an explorer and a capable intelligence officer. Subsequently, he was sent to Europe for the first time in 1887, where he was stationed for five years as military attaché to the Japanese legation in Berlin.[11] During his term there, he travelled through many European countries including a trip to the Balkans in 1889/90.[12]

By 1891, as his time in Berlin drew to an end, Fukushima had become well-established as one of the Imperial Army's most prominent intelligence officers and, at the same time, a popular explorer with the ability to undertake lengthy journeys through unknown regions, not least as a result of his language skills—by the end of 1891 Fukushima could communicate in Japanese, English, Chinese, German and Russian. It is hardly surprising that he planned another major reconnaissance tour before his term came to an end. In early 1891, he submitted a petition to the General Staff of the Imperial Army, asking

6 Sven Saaler, "The Kokuryūkai, 1901–1920." Saaler, Sven and Christopher W.A. Szpilman (eds), *Pan-Asianism. A Documentary History, Volume 1: 1850–1920* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011): 121–132; Sven Saaler, "The Kokuryūkai (Black Dragon Society) and the rise of Nationalism, Pan-Asianism and Militarism in Japan, 1901–1925." *International Journal of Asian Studies* 11/2, (2014): 125–160.

7 *The New York Times*, 21 February 1919.

8 See Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, vol. 1, 70, for his exact route.

9 See Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, vol. 1, 104–111 for details.

10 *Indo Kikô*, accessible in full text online in Google Books: http://books.google.co.jp/books?id=UAEuAAAAYAAJ.

11 See Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, vol. 1, ch. 7.

12 See Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, vol. 1, 163, for a map of his route.

permission to return to Japan not by ship, as was usual, but to make the journey on horseback through Siberia—essentially traversing almost the entire Eurasian continent.[13]

Allegedly, Fukushima was motivated, at least in part, to return to Japan by this unprecedented means as the result of a bet. "Someone supposedly offered him a wager that it was impossible for a man to ride on horseback from Berlin to Vladivostok."[14] However, his request can also be seen in pragmatic terms. In the light of his background as an explorer and intelligence officer, and given the international situation—in 1891 Russia had announced plans to build the Trans-Siberian Railway, and tensions between Russia and Japan were sure to grow—travelling on horseback would be a useful way of gathering as much information as possible on Russia, a potential future enemy of Japan, and thus contributing to Japanese defense policies. As a skilled intelligence officer, Fukushima Yasumasa would have been keen to gain some first-hand insights into the situation in Russia and Siberia.

Fukushima began his preparations by submitting a petition to the General Staff, dated 1 January 1891. In this document Fukushima explained why he considered such a mission important: "Aah, the situation in the world is changing—conflicts are being carried into the East, threatening to arrive at the doors of our Empire.[15] The distance between Europe and Asia, East and West, is relatively large, but railways, steamships and electricity are constantly narrowing the gap. If friendship is destroyed one day, a few days later enemy warships will appear and come close enough to bombard our territory."[16] Fukushima was clearly proposing his journey as an intelligence-gathering exercise and not as a scientific mission or as part of an attempt to rediscover the Silk Road. His venture was also seen by others in this light. The Kokuryūkai's unofficial history of the pan-Asian movement in Japan, "The History and Biographies of Pioneer East Asian adventurers" (*Tōa senkaku shishi kiden*) discusses Fukushima's journey, and that of Kokuryūkai founder and head Uchida Ryōhei, in the same context of military reconnaissance.[17] The necessity for such intelligence work was

13 Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, vol. 1, 180.

14 James Boyd, "'This stalwart fellow of five lands and two seas': The Life of Fukushima Yasumasa." *War & Society*, 30/3 (2011): 177–88.

15 Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, vol. 1, 180–82.

16 Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, vol. 1, 181.

17 Apart from the reference to Fukushima's journey in this publication, there is no evidence of close relations between Fukushima and the Kokuryūkai. It seems that Fukushima was not a member of this pan-Asianist and nationalist organization.

seen in the increasing strength of Russia in East Asia, particularly since the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway in the early 1890s.[18]

Six months after Fukushima had sent his request to Tokyo, a reply was received from Chief of General Staff, Prince Arisugawa Taruhito (1835–1895). The reply, written by Vice-chief of General Staff Kawakami Sōroku (1848–99), who was in charge of the General Staff's daily affairs, approved of Fukushima's suggested journey, but ordered a changed route. While Fukushima had intended starting his trip in Egypt, proceeding through Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, and then moving north through Turkestan and Xinjiang into Eastern Siberia, the General Staff instructed Fukushima to enter Russian territory at the Russo-German border and move on into Siberia by a more-or-less direct route.[19] While his original route would have taken him through many regions associated with the Silk Road, the revised route reflected the priority placed by the General Staff on reconnaissance in Russian territories.

It has never been a simple task to separate military reconnaissance and scientifically motivated exploration, particularly during the era of imperialism. While, as a military officer, Fukushima's primary motive for his trek was intelligence-gathering, he also understood his projected journey in terms of the wave

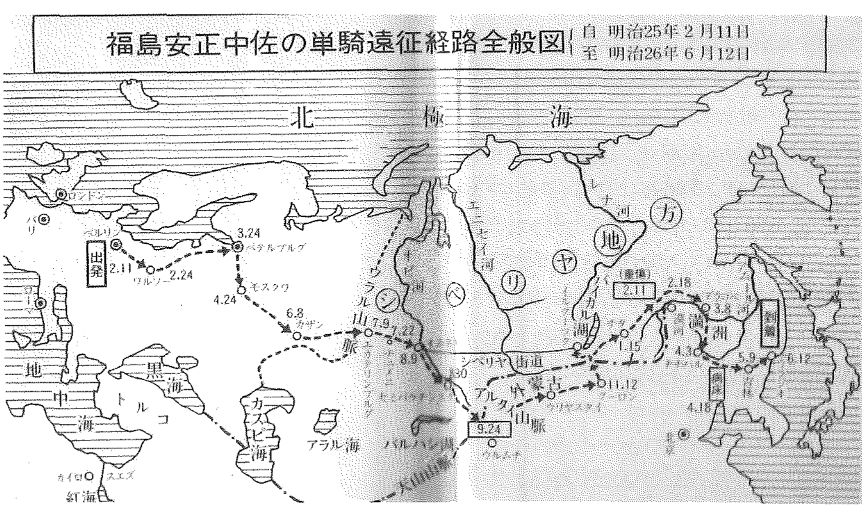

FIGURE 3.2 *Map of Fukushima's trip on horseback through Siberia, 1892/93.*

18 Kokuryūkai (ed.). *Tōa senkaku shishi kiden* (The history and biographies of pioneer East Asian adventurers) 3 vols. (Tōkyō: Hara Shobō, 1966), vol. 1, 549–50; see ibid., 575–85 for details of Uchida's trip.

19 Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, vol. 1, 183–84.

of international exploration that was unfolding at the time. Shortly before he departed, he met with the young Swede Sven Hedin (1865–1952), already widely known as an explorer. Only two years after Fukushima left Berlin, Hedin would undertake the first of his three epic expeditions through the mountains and deserts of Central Asia, exploring Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang) and Tibet. The meeting suggests that Fukushima considered himself one of a select group of adventurers, intent on breaking new ground by exploring these remote regions in a systematic way.

Fukushima left Berlin on 11 February 1892, the national holiday to celebrate the founding of the Japanese Empire, and travelled through the Baltic States to St. Petersburg and on to Moscow, then through the vast expanses of Siberia. Turning south to cross the Altai range—the territory of the Kirghiz people—he travelled through Eastern Siberia, Outer Mongolia and Manchuria to finally reach Vladivostok in June 1893.[20] Just as Hedin would be feted in Europe, Fukushima's trip was widely celebrated following his arrival in Japan. As Professor Harayama Akira of Momoyama Daigakuin has shown, not only were Fukushima's accounts of his journey published in newspapers and journals and in book form, but his exploits were frequently depicted in woodblock prints, lithographs and pictorial magazines. Fukushima's recollections and travelogues have been made accessible to a contemporary audience in the form of reprints as well as in online editions.[21]

One of Fukushima's biographers, Shimanuki Shigeyoshi, claims that there was also widespread coverage of Fukushima's preparations and the journey itself in the international press.[22] However, a survey of relevant newspapers from Germany and Austria as well as major international newspapers such as *The Times* of London and *The New York Times* failed to confirm any strong interest in Fukushima's expedition. A search of *The New York Times* database elicited only a single hit—an obituary of Fukushima in 1919, which failed to mention his Siberian journey at all.[23]

Even the English-language press in Japan commented only briefly on Fukushima's departure from Berlin in March 1892, as in the following report in the *Japan Weekly Mail*:

20 Ōta, Azan (ed.), *Fukushima shōgun iseki* (The Posthumous Writings of General Fukushima) (Tōkyō: Tōa Kyōkai, 1941), 134.

21 See the Digital Library of the Japanese National Diet Library for Fukushima's account of his travels, "Tanki ensei-roku": http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/767228.

22 Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, vol. 1, 188–89; cf. Fukushima Yasumasa, *Tanki enseiroku* (Memories of an Expedition on horseback) (Tōkyō: Kanekawa Shoten, 1894) and Ōta, *Fukushima*.

23 *The New York Times*, 21 February 1919.

> The Japanese Military Attaché at Berlin, Major Fukushima Yasumasa, started from that city at nine o'clock yesterday morning on his ride to Japan through European Russia, Siberia, and the Korean Peninsula. He calculates that it will take him two years to accomplish the feat. He intends to ride but one horse, an English cob, throughout the journey. The total distance is about 6,000 miles. Major Fukushima speaks no less than seven languages, and is already a traveler of some distinction.[24]

The newspaper cited the *London and China Express* of 12 February as the source of its information. A similar but even shorter notice was published in *The Times* (London) on 12 February 1892.[25] The same day, the leading German daily *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (NAZ) also noted Fukushima's forthcoming trip in a very short article, and the *Vossische Zeitung* (VZ) in Berlin gave the story three lines. Both newspapers had given Fukushima one notice before his departure, on 6 February 1892, when the NAZ had reported his award of the Order of the Red Eagle, third class, by Kaiser Wilhelm II.[26]

Apart from these brief notices, Fukushima's departure went virtually unnoticed in the European press.[27] However, on 25 December 1891, an Austrian newspaper, the *Tages-Post* in Linz, reported the plans of an American named Gisbert Waescher to set off on a horse trek not only through Siberia, but around the world, starting on 1 February 1892 in Chicago. The paper also noted that Waescher had decided to undertake this trip as the result of a bet. Although the story seemed unlikely, there might have been a connection with Fukushima's plans—the mention of the wager and the February starting date sound too similar to be mere coincidence. In the event, however, Waescher did not travel very far—the "Rider from Chicago," to quote the title of a memoir published much later in Germany, would make it no farther than San Francisco.[28]

Thus, international interest in Fukushima's journey seems to have been limited. Although his one-man expedition was celebrated in the Japanese

24 *Japan Weekly Mail*, 26 March 1892, 432.

25 *The Times* (London), 12 February 1892, 5.

26 *NAZ*, 6 February 1892, 1; *VZ*, 6 February 1892, 1.

27 Newspapers and journals surveyed for mentions of Major Fukushima Yasumasa in late 1891 and early 1892: *The New York Times* (the only mention of him is the obituary in 1919), *The Times* (London, a very short notice [five lines] on 12 February 1892), *Frankfurter Zeitung* (Frankfurt), *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin), *Tages-Post* (Linz), *Die Presse* (Vienna), *Das Vaterland* (Vienna), *Kikerikii* (a satirical weekly, Vienna), *Kladderadatsch* (a satirical weekly, Berlin), *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post*.

28 Giesbert Waescher, *Der Reiter von Chicago. Ein Ritt durch den wilden Westen von Chicago nach San Franzisko* (Minden: Köhler, 1924).

media—arguably in the context of what Sandra Wilson has called the "Discourse of National Greatness"—it attracted only minimal attention in the world press.[29]

To be sure, Fukushima's journey was not a secret one. Significantly, he did not travel in disguise, but crossed Russia wearing the uniform of a Japanese military officer, suggesting that the Russian authorities had been informed in advance. During his trip Fukushima was warmly welcomed in many places, frequently being received by high-ranking officials as well as ordinary villagers,[30] and, at times, escorted through dangerous territory. After the German Emperor had set a precedent of sorts by giving him an audience in Berlin on 12 January 1892 to wish him good luck for his journey,[31] the Russian Czar received Fukushima when he reached St. Petersburg on 30 March 1892.[32] These displays of courtesy towards a Japanese military officer travelling through Russian territory can be explained by the supposition that, in 1891, Russia did not yet consider Japan a serious rival and did not anticipate that Fukushima would gather information which could endanger its security.

Fukushima Yasumasa and the Silk Road

The question remains to be asked whether Fukushima Yasumasa's 1892/93 journey through Siberia had any connection with the history of the Silk Road and the modern legacy of the notion of a transnational route connecting Europe and Asia. The linking of Fukushima to Silk Road narratives seems to be a post-World War II phenomenon. Fukushima's journey through Siberia, particularly because it was undertaken on horseback, and his 1895/96 trip to the Near and Middle East and Central Asia, evokes images associated with pre-modern long-distance travel on routes connecting remote regions. However, no explicit connection between the Silk Road paradigm and Fukushima's activities was established in pre-war Japanese writings on the military adventurer or indeed by the later general himself.

One of the main reasons for Fukushima's being associated with the modern idea of the Silk Road is that post-war publishers have included his writings in multi-volume publications dealing with the subject—examples are Yumani

29 Sandra Wilson, "The discourse of national greatness in Japan, 1890–1919." *Japanese Studies*, XXV, (2005): 35–51.

30 Ōta, *Fukushima*, 166.

31 Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, vol. 1, 195.

32 Ibid., 229.

Shobō's 23-volume *Meiji Shiruku rōdo tanken kikō-bun shūsei* (Collection of Meiji-era Explorers' Travelogues of the Silk Road, 1988) and Yūshōdō's *Shiruku rōdo kikō* (Travelogues of the Silk Road[33]). However, the editors of these and other series fail to explicitly explain why they included Fukushima's texts. Indeed, the editor of the Yūshōdō collection, Kaneko Tamio, emphasizes that the main objective of Fukushima's horse trek through Siberia was military reconnaissance.[34]

In the case of Fukushima's later journey through the Middle East and Central Asia, the connection with the Silk Road seems more evident, given the regions visited. In 1895/96, he travelled from Japan through Southeast Asia and India by ship before visiting parts of the Ottoman Empire, Persia, the Caucasus region, Central Asia and India again (including present-day Pakistan).[35] Interestingly, while his movements in the Ottoman Empire were restricted, Japan's rival Russia once again granted him permission to travel through Russian territory in Central Asia.[36] In the Ottoman Empire, Fukushima only could make a brief trip through Mesopotamia ("Turkish-Arabia"),[37] where he visited Baghdad and the holy city of Kerbela, whereas in Russia he had free passage through the Caucasus as well as in Russian Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Among other sites, he visited the cities of Bukhara, Samarkand, Kokand and Tashkent, before returning to Persia (see fig. 3.3). Again, Fukushima published a travelogue,[38] but also produced several articles in journals including the academic publication *Chigaku Zasshi* (Journal of Geography[39]). He also submitted an intelligence report to the General Staff, which "would prove of great use to the Japanese Army in the coming years."[40]

Although this second journey brought Fukushima to regions associated with the Silk Road, it was also primarily a military reconnaissance mission. During this period, its deteriorating relationship with Russia meant that Japan was becoming increasingly interested in South Asian and Central Asian affairs.

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33 Kaneko Tamio (transl./ed.), *Shiruku rōdo kikō* (Travelogues of the Silk Road), vol. 1. (Tōkyō: Yūshōdō, 1990).

34 Ibid., 532–33.

35 For details, see Ōta Azan (ed.), *Chūō Ajia yori Arabia e. Fukushima Shōgun iseki, zoku* (From Central Asia to Arabia: Further Posthumous Writings of General Fukushima) (Tōkyō: Tōa Kyōkai, 1943).

36 Ōta, *Chūō Ajia*, 80.

37 Ōta, *Chūō Ajia*, 213–15.

38 Ōta, *Chūō Ajia*.

39 Fukushima Yasumasa, "Ajia ryokō-dan" (Stories of Travels in Asia). *Chigaku Zasshi*, 10/109, (1898): 1–7; Fukushima Yasumasa, "Ajia ryokō-dan, shōzen" (Stories of Travels in Asia, contd.). *Chigaku Zasshi*, 10/111 (1898): 117–129.

40 Boyd, "The Life of Fukushima Yasumasa", 181.

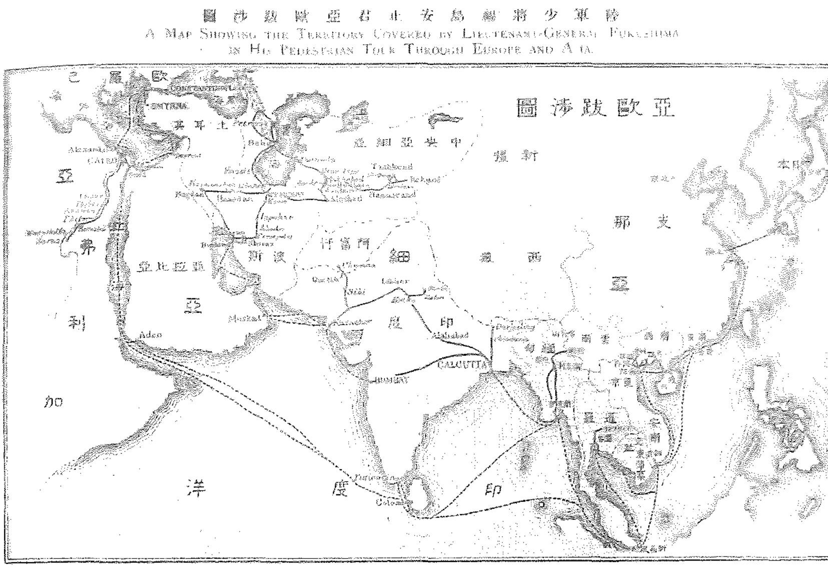

FIGURE 3.3 *Map of Fukushima's travels in the Middle East and India in 1895/96 (Fukushima 1898a).*

The information Fukushima gathered on this expedition would be used during the Russo-Japanese War (1904/05), but also later, to counter British influence in the region, when Japan entered a collision course with the Anglo-Saxon powers in the 1920s.

Fukushima's Image in Later Years

Today, Fukushima is mostly known in Japan for his epic horse trek through Siberia in 1892/93. However, his later career tends to be overlooked. In contrast, in the West, notwithstanding the dubious claims for extensive media coverage of his Siberian adventure, he was chiefly remembered for his military commands in China. Fukushima commanded troops in the field only on very few occasions. The first time was during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894/95, where he was posted because of his knowledge of China and the Chinese language.[41] Fukushima's wartime exploits were widely reported in the Japanese press, and he also frequently appeared on woodblock prints and lithographs depicting the progress of the war in vivid pictorial terms (see fig. 3.4).

41 *The New York Times*, 21 February 1919.

FIGURE 3.4 *Fukushima Yasumasa depicted on a woodblock print fighting in the Sino-Japanese War.*

During the Boxer War in China in 1899–1901, Fukushima "gained international fame as the commander of the Japanese contingent and staff officer of the allied troops in Peking."[42] Fukushima was selected for this position because of his contacts with British officers and, once again, for his knowledge of China and his command of the Chinese language. It was his role during the international affair of the Boxer War which would be remembered in the West, as his obituary in *The New York Times* showed—a piece which made no mention of his explorations including his ride through Siberia. The raising of Japan's military prestige in the eyes of Western observers during the Boxer War boosted Fukushima's career. In 1905, he was promoted to vice-chief of the General Staff, elevated to the rank of baron in 1906, and in 1912 appointed governor (*totoku*) of the Kwantung Leased Territory in Southern Manchuria, a vital Japanese foothold in the region.

While in the post-war period Japanese publishing houses made Fukushima a part of the history of Japan's exploration of the Silk Road, in pre-war Japan he was seen in a rather different light. He was celebrated as a national hero during his journey through Siberia, and already during his lifetime he was also portrayed as a role model for the Japanese people. Notwithstanding his prolonged absences from his family—which could also be interpreted as a neglect of family obligations—Fukushima was praised in a 1904 morals textbook for elementary schools as a "valiant warrior" (*takeki mono no fu*) and as the head

42 *The New York Times*, 21 February 1919.

of a model family (*katei no mohan*).[43] He is described as a father who "constantly paid attention to family education" (*katei no kyōiku*). "As the head of the family, he considered the spiritual education (*seishin kyōiku*) of the family his foremost duty. (…) He neither drank alcohol nor smoked and showed how a model family should look."[44] According to the textbook, his prolonged absences were a consequence of his being a "pillar of the state," a deficit for which he compensated by hiring a tutor for his daughter. The weekly lectures given by the tutor, Takashima Heisaburō (1865–1946), were also attended by Fukushima when he was at home—here interpreted as an example of respect towards teachers.[45] In this textbook, Fukushima appears next to Ninomiya Kinjirō (1787–1875), probably the most celebrated representative of traditional values such as loyalty and respect for one's elders in pre-war Japan. Indeed, he surpasses him—while Fukushima is given thirteen pages, only seven pages are devoted to Ninomiya.

Part of Fukushima's legacy is a collection of speeches and articles published shortly after his death under the title *Kokuminsei no hakki* ("Demonstrating National Character").[46] Throughout the book, he frequently recalls his journey through Siberia. Also included in this volume is a previously unpublished description of one of his journeys to Mongolia. Although this work lacks any references to the Silk Road, Fukushima displays a strong sense of sympathy for the peoples of the many regions he had visited during his career. Fukushima frequently evokes pan-Asian ideas of solidarity with Japan's Asian neighbors—the countries which had become so well known to him during his extensive travels. Throughout the book, he cites the pan-Asian slogan "Same Culture, Same Race" (*dōbun dōshu*)[47] and emphasizes the need to come to an understanding with the Chinese and Koreans. In an essay written in 1917,[48] he also emphasizes that in a future war, Japan would need to ally with other "colored nations" to fight the Western powers belonging to the "white race."[49] However, like most Japanese Pan-Asianists, Fukushima leaves no doubt as to Japan's leadership in Asia: although Japan needs to ally with the "colored races", it is

43 Kyōiku Shiryō Kenkyūkai (ed.), *Kōtō shōgakkō gaishūshi-sho. Dai-3-hen, maki-ichi, 1* (Morals Textbook for Higher Elementary School, part 3, vol. 1) (Tōkyō: Gakkai Shishinsha, 1904).

44 Kyōiku Shiryō Kenkyūkai, Ibid., 8.

45 Ibid., 8–10.

46 Fukushima Yasumasa, *Kokuminsei no hakki* (Demonstrating National Character). (Tōkyō: Tōa-dō, 1920).

47 Fukushima, *Kokuminsei*, 183; see also Ōta, *Fukushima*, 213, 275.

48 Reproduced in Ōta, *Chūō Ajia*, 339–41.

49 Ibid., 342.


校外修身書

第三編 巻一

敬ふよーになるのでござい
ます。
かるるありさまであります
るから、家人等が、高島先生を
敬ひまするとは、たいそー
なもので、先生の言は、一とし
て用ひられぬことはないよ
ーで、児女等が、その講話に感
じて、その行を改めたことも、
亦少くないとまうします
ここに少將の次男は、丁年未
満なるにもかかはらず、たい

一〇

FIGURE 3.5 *Fukushima Yasumasa depicted as a good father and student of the family tutor in the 1904 school morals textbook* Kōtō Shōgakkō gaishūshi-sho. Dai-3-hen, maki-ichi, 1 (*Morals Textbook for Higher Elementary School, part 3, vol. 1*).

the mission of Japan, which Fukushima describes as a "unique" and "superior" nation, to lead Asia and to protect (*hozen*) China from the Western threat.[50]

Using the high-flown language of the time, Fukushima ascribes Japan's status as a unique and a morally superior nation to the fact that Japan was never conquered and can boast an "unbroken line of Emperors" (*bansei ikkei*) stretching back to the age of the gods.[51] He warns of the dangers of "materialist civilization" (*busshitsu bunmei*), which threatens to introduce subversive notions of individualism, naturalism and hedonism to Japan.[52] However, discussing Japan's relationship to Asia, he also criticizes the narrow-mindedness of his compatriots. "A very disturbing shortcoming of the Japanese," Fukushima complains, "is their tendency to think on a small scale ... They are in need of a virile spirit (*gōken*[53]) and, at the same time, they lack a sense of brotherly cooperation and collaborative unity."[54] He emphasizes that only fifty years earlier, prior to the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and the end of feudalism in Japan, the loyalty of the Japanese was largely directed to their respective feudal domains. "People from one domain considered those from other domains as enemies," he asserts,[55] illustrating the point with a fictional exchange: "If somebody was asked 'What country are you from?' he would say 'I am from the Odawara domain' or 'I am from the Utsunomiya domain'."[56] In Fukushima's opinion, overcoming this "insular spirit" (*shimaguni konjō*) was essential before Japan could draw closer to its Asian neighbors.[57]

Despite Fukushima's use of pan-Asian rhetoric, he did not reject plans to create a Japanese colonial empire on the Asian continent. On the contrary, one of the chapters in his 1920 book is entitled "[We] must actively expand overseas." In this chapter, drawing on his own experience as the governor of the Kwantung Leased Territory in Southern Manchuria, Fukushima describes the Japanese people as highly suited for the task of colonization[58] "The future of Mongolia and Manchuria is bright," Fukushima asserts, arguing for further Japanese "development" in these territories, but adding that "anywhere is suitable" (*doko de mo yoi*) for the nation to pursue expansion.[59] In earlier writings,

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50 Ibid., 343.
51 Ibid., 343.
52 Ibid., 345.
53 *Gōken* also could be translated as "manliness."
54 Fukushima, *Kokuminsei*, 189–90.
55 Ibid., 192.
56 Ibid., 193.
57 Ibid., 194.
58 Ibid., 184–86.
59 Ibid., 187.

Fukushima had also advocated the annexation of territory on the Asian continent. During the Russo-Japanese War, he had claimed that, following a victorious campaign, Japan must annex the Russian Maritime Province (*Enkaishū*), as well as the island of Sakhalin.[60] In essays written in the 1910s, he continued to strongly advocate "territorial expansion overseas.[61]

On the whole, Fukushima's actions and writings exemplify the ambiguous character of Pan-Asianism: on the one hand, his extensive travels throughout Asia made him sympathetic to a pan-Asian rapprochement with China and other Asian nations. However, convinced of Japan's ability—and divine mission—to colonize its "underdeveloped" neighbors, Fukushima did not oppose Japanese colonial activities on the Asian continent. Rather, as governor of the Kwantung Leased Territory in Manchuria, he encouraged and advanced these activities at the highest level.

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60 Ōta, *Fukushima*, 269.

61 Ōta, *Chūō Ajia*, 347.

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The Washington Post
Vossische Zeitung (Berlin)

CHAPTER 4

Fukushima Yasumasa and Utsunomiya Tarō on the Edge of the Silk Road: Pan-Asian Visions and the Network of Military Intelligence from the Ottoman and Qajar Realms into Central Asia

Selçuk Esenbel

During the Meiji period, Japanese diplomats were locked in the frustrating debate about "extraterritoriality" in the Japanese and Turkish negotiations for the prospect of signing a treaty of trade and diplomacy—a debate that lingered on for many decades during the nineteenth century, and was not to be resolved until 1924 when, after the demise of the Ottoman Empire at the end of WWI, the recently established Republic of Turkey abolished the capitulatory treaty system of extraterritoriality and other privileges that were customarily accorded to the Western powers. The discussion of a desirable treaty between Japan and the Ottoman Empire had begun initially in 1880–1881 when the first Japanese Mission to the Middle East of seven members including Captain Furukawa Nobuyoshi of the recently established General Staff of the Imperial Army and a number of Japanese businessmen who hoped to sell tea and sundry items in the Middle East markets. Headed by special envoy Yoshida Masaharu the Mission to the Muslim polities visited the courts of Qajar Iran and Ottoman Turkey that consisted of a long stay of three months during the fall of 1880 in Teheran, the capital of the Persian kingdom, and after an investigation journey through the Caucasus arrived in the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, to stay for three weeks in March 1881 before departure to go back home to Japan. The head of the seven member Japanese Mission, minister Yoshida had even caused a protocol crisis by insisting on the "Western" credentials of Meiji Japan to teach a "lesson" to this oriental polity! On September 27, 1880, before the Japanese Mission could make an entrance into the great hall of the Iranian Palace to have an audience with the Qajar ruler, Shah Nasir al-Din (1831–1896), known to his subjects as the "Pivot of the Universe", the Persian chief of Protocol had politely instructed the Mission about etiquette by gently whispering that they need to take off their shoes according to Persian custom. But, Yoshida, dressed in formal European attire and top hat, stubbornly insisted in the name of "civilization" that he would not take off his shoes -even though the custom would

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surely be familiar to any Japanese person. The Persian chief of protocol astutely solved the problem by allowing Yoshida to keep his shoes on only as a "special favor" in his case. Throughout this embarrassing incident, Yoshida was the epitome of the Meiji establishment's Europeanization claim which was typical of the Gaimusho attitude toward non-European and Muslim societies. His "cultural war" with Persian tradition hints at the major treaty problem that Meiji Japan faced with the Ottoman and Qajar polities because of their respective incompatibility with the claim of the Japanese empire to gain European status in international law.[1] The treaty question hit a deadlock that continued between the Meiji Japanese authorities who, especially after the 1894 Treaty of Ottomans and the Commerce and Navigation with Great Britain that abolished extraterritoriality with the Western powers, and due to Japan's victory over China in the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, gained European power status in China and wanted it reiterated in Istanbul. Treaty revision had continued to be a major crisis in domestic politics since the 1868 Meiji Restoration. The Japanese government and particularly the Gaimushō intended to achieve a treaty revision that would effectively abolish the "unequal treaty" system which the Tokugawa Shogunate had been compelled to accept back in 1858, under the pressure of the strong public opinion that was severely critical of the unequal treaty status of Japan as a compromise on its sovereignty.[2]

1 Abbas Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831–1896* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), xiii–xvii for summary of the life of Nasir al-Din Shah and his reforms in Iran. Yoshida Masaharu, *Kaikyō tanken Perusha no tabi* (The expedition to the Islamic World the Journey to Persia) (Tōkyō: Hakubunkan, 1894), 141 for the shoe crisis; *Sugita Hideaki, Nihonjin no chūtō hakken gyakuen kinhō no naka no hikakubunkashi* (The Japanese discovery of the Middle East reciprocal comparative cultural history) Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1995), 135–144 for brief summary of the Yoshida visit; For the English version, Sugita Hideaki, "The First Contact between Japanese and Iranians as Seen through Travel Diaries" in Renee Worringer, *The Islamic Middle East and Japan Perceptions, Aspirations, and the Birth of Intra-Asian Modernity* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2007), 11–32; Nakaoka Saneki, "The Yoshida Masaharu Mission to Persia and the Ottoman Empire During the Period 1880–1881" Jōchi Daigaku Gaikokugō Gakubu Kiyō, No. 24, (1989): 203–235; Turan Kayaoglu, *Legal Imperialism: Sovereignty and Extraterritoriality in Japan, the Ottoman Empire and China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), abolishing Japanese extraterritoriality and admittance to civilized sovereignty, 8, 66–103, comprehensive Ottoman legal reforms and abolishing extraterritoriality between dates 1856–1923, 104–148; Selçuk Esenbel, "A Fin de Siècle Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: The Life of YamadaTorajirō and his Toruko Gakan," *Bulletin of SOAS*, Vol. LIX, Part 2, 1996: 237–52, for discussion of extraterritoriality between Meiji Japan and Ottoman Turkey.

2 Yoshida Masaharu, *Kaikyō Tanken Perusha no Tabi* (The expedition to the Islamic World: the Journey to Persia) (Tōkyō: Hakubunkan, 1894).

There was a difference of opinion within the inner circles of the Meiji Japanese power elite about whether Japan's imperial foreign policy should follow the terms of accepting the Western treaty system and international practice that had already put Meiji Japan firmly in the camp of Great Britain and the other Western powers or strike out on its own by forging relations with potentially collaborative ethno-religious communities in Eurasia against the Western Powers. Russia was a major foe in this alternative international vision—especially in military circles, and especially among the General Staff—for which a buffer zone would be forged by signing treaties with non-Christian polities such as Ottoman Turkey and Qajar Iran on equal terms. Such radical steps would also push Japan into a head start position vis-à-vis the major imperial powers of Britain or France and, in the long run, this was in the global interests of the Japanese Empire in Asia. Imperial Army's military strategic thinking and intelligence increasingly envisioned an alternative realm of international relations which was sprinkled with Pan-Asianist military intelligence perspectives that aimed to form collaborative networks along the greater Silk Road encompassing the Eurasian geography from the Ottoman realm and Qajar Iran to Central Asia among Muslims globally and Turkic elements such as the Tatars in Central Asia as potential friends against the Russian Empire. Such Army General Staff policies also entailed befriending the Indian anti-colonial and anti-imperialist nationalists against the British Empire, and supporting revolutionaries in China and Korea for which the Pan-Asianist Kokuryūkai society members acted as interlocutors and frequently as agents on the ground.

The writings of Lt. General Fukushima Yasumasa and General Utsunomiya Tarō reflect the multi-faceted Pan-Asian visions of Military intelligence toward using Muslims and Central Asian peoples as an collaborative network in Japanese strategy in Asia. The expedition diaries of Colonel Fukushima Yasumasa, later General and Vice-Chief of Staff (1852–1919), provide his vision of Central Asian Altai peoples as a kindred folk to Japan and his interpretation of Ottoman Turkey and Qajar Iran as buffer zones to Russia.

The recently published diary of General Utsunomiya Tarō (1861–1922), who had been the military attaché in London during the Russo-Japanese War, and later had become the Chief of the Second Bureau of the General Staff in charge of information and intelligence reveal his crucial role in funding Muslim activists such as Ibrahim (1852/57–1944) the well-known figure of Pan-Islamist collaboration with Japan through reserve officer colonel Ōhara Takeyoshi Bukei (1865–1933) of the Tōadōbunkai that established the Ajia Gikai (Asia Renewal) society when Ibrahim visited Japan in 1909. Like others of its kind, the Ajia Gikai was an international public relations organization that was intended to be the platform for a pro-Japanese transnational network among Muslims across the Ottoman territories to Russian Muslim Central Asia under the Romanov Empire with the Tatars as a significant population in this strategy.[3]

The activities of Fukushima and Utsunomiya reveal the Japan-related network for public relations, operations, intelligence gathering in the global Muslim world that stretches between the Ottoman and Qajar realms of the Western Eurasia and cuts across the indigenous Turkic, Mongolian, Chinese Muslim communities in Central Asia and North Asia along the silk road. This network includes such figures as the Japanese residents of Istanbul, the merchant Yamada Torajirō, the retired naval officer Nakamura Kenjirō, and Japanese officers placed in Istanbul and Port Said who collectively provided intelligence from Istanbul beginning with the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War to the Japanese authorities in Vienna and Tokyo.[4] Both military men come to be seen as having been central in the formation of a transnational pro-Japanese network among Muslim and Turkish actors from the East Mediterranean and the Middle East in the context of the Ottoman realm, stretching into the Inner Asian Turkic and Mongolian populations in North Asia neighboring Manchuria, a stronghold of Japanese interest.

Meiji Japan was soon to achieve a breakthrough with the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation in 1894 that heralded the end of the unequal treaties and extraterritoriality regime in Japan, which sealed the friendly relations between Japan and Great Britain that was to lead to the 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance as a measure against Russia. In polities such as the Ottoman Empire with extraterritorial relations to Britain and other major Western Powers the Japanese Foreign Ministry argued that since Japan had achieved European status under international law, it was incumbent that the Ottoman Porte yield the special privileges that were in the existing terms of treaty relations with the major European powers. The signature of an "equal treaty" with

3 Selçuk Esenbel, "Japan's Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900–1945," *The American Historical Review* (October 2004): 1140–1170 for Ibrahim, *the Ajia Gikai*, and Japanese involvement with Muslims and Pan-Asianism.

4 Inaba Chiharu, "The Question of the Bosporus and Dardanelles during the Russo-Japanese War" in Selçuk Esenbel and Inaba Chiharu editors, *The Rising Sun and the Turkish Crescent: New Perspectives on Japanese-Turkish Relations*, (Istanbul: Bogazici University Press, 2003), 122–145 for discussion of minister Makino's intelligence network with Iijima Kametarō, the Consul General in Odessa, and the Naval intelligence officer disguised as Nippon Yūsen staff in Port Said.

a capitulatory power such as the Ottoman Empire would "compromise" Japan's much coveted European power status.[5]

On the other hand, the Ottoman authorities persisted in refusing Japanese requests with a similar argument that derived again from the status of the Empire in European international law in that such a step would compromise the Ottoman Turkish interest, for the Istanbul government had gained a modest step toward the possibility of treaty revision in the unforeseen future in the 1856 Treaty of Paris by being one of the Allies in the victory against Romanov Russia in the 1854 Crimean War. As a result of the victory against Russia, the Ottoman Empire was officially recognized to be a European Power. Although the treaty required that the Ottoman government would continue to keep the existing special treaty system of extraterritoriality and mandatory tariffs with the Great Powers until legal reforms would make it possible to abolish them in the unforeseen future, the Porte was no longer bound by the most favored nation clause to concede similar privileges in new treaties with foreign powers; this would serve as the foundation of the Ottoman government's inflexible diplomatic attitude toward repeated Japanese requests for extraterritoriality.[6]

Sympathizing with the Turkish stance that kept scuttling the prospects for a commercial and diplomatic treaty between Japan and the Ottoman side, members of the Japanese Imperial Army General Staff in particular came up with an alternative geopolitical argument that was based on a vision of Asian solidarity which necessarily challenged the stalemate in the Japanese and the Turkish treaty negotiations. The members of the General Staff looked at the Muslim peoples of Eurasia in a new light. Although all visitors to Muslim capitals had used the "Asia" card in their conversations with the locals in Iran and Ottoman Turkey, the General Staff's vision was much more comprehensive.

The hero of the Meiji Japanese public's imagination for his remarkable adventures crossing Eurasia along the vast highlands of the Silk Road in Central Asia, Colonel Fukushima Yasumasa, later General, Vice-Chief of Staff (1852–1919), was the earliest Army investigator of the Muslim areas of Russia who is thought to have initiated the Army view that the Sart (Uzbek), Kirgiz, Turkmeni, Tatar Muslim Turkic elements of the Russian/Chinese frontiers in Central Asia

5 Selçuk Esenbel, "A Fin de Siècle Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: The Life of Yamada Torajirō and his Toruko Gakan," *Bulletin of SOAS*, Vol. LIX, Part 2, 1996: 237–52 for discussion of extraterritoriality.

6 Selçuk Esenbel, "A Fin de Siècle Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: The Life of Yamada Torajirō and his Toruko Gakan," *Bulletin of SOAS*, Vol. LIX, Part 2, 1996: 237–52.

had the potential to be an important pro-Japanese population for supporting Japan that began the regional strategic perspective in the Army view of Islamic nationalities, *kaikyō minzoku*, in the vast Greater Central Asia. Fukushima who was the son of the samurai retainer of the Daimyo of the Matsumoto domain in Central Japan is described as an affable, witty officer with a quick mind. He rose quickly in military service after his tours in Europe and the dramatic accomplishment of his Eurasian journey on horseback for which he was given an imperial decoration. After serving as a military attaché in Beijing, in 1886, Fukushima's first expedition was to British India and Burma to study the conditions of the colonial rule. Appointed as military attaché in Berlin in 1887, Fukushima formed friendly relations with the German and the British military circles. His laudatory biography in the Kokuryūkai publication on the patriots who served the Pan-Asianist objective explains that the famous 1892–93 Siberian trek started off as a "wager" with his German officer friends in Berlin, although Sven Saaler in this volume questions this story. Recognized for his high intelligence, he was recruited into the General Staff in 1893 whereupon he was again sent on an investigative journey to Egypt, Ottoman Turkey, Persia, the Caucasus, Arabia, India, Burma, Siam, and Turkestan—the region that specially interested him. Fukushima is noted to have worked hard for the 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance and took command in the 1904–05 Russia Japanese War. After becoming the Vice-Chief of Staff in 1908, Fukushima became the commander of the Kwantung Army and is said to have applied himself fully to Manchuria and Mongolian affairs.[7]

After Captain Furukawa's pioneer duty in 1880–1881 as an intelligence officer in the Yoshida Mission to the "Muslim hemisphere" in Qajar Teheran and Ottoman Istanbul, this was the second important visit of a General Staff officer into the Muslim regions to be undertaken on a much larger scale. The General Staff supported Colonel Fukushima Yasumasa on his solo journey in 1893 from Berlin to Vladivostok on horseback across Eurasia that took one-and-a-half years, and traversed over 14,000 kilometers of the steppe, plains, and mountains from the Middle East to China—the region known as "Greater Muslim Central Asia," The purpose was to explore Central Asia and particularly the

7 Oe Shinobu, *Nihon no sanbō honbu, chūkō* (Tōkyō: Shinsho, 1994), 82–84, 93–96, 109–111 cited in Sakamoto Tsutomu, "The First Japanese Hadji Yamaoka Kōtarō and Abdürreşid İbrahim" in Selçuk Esenbel and Inaba Chiharu, *The Rising Sun and the Turkish Crescent* (Istanbul: Bogazici University Press, 2003), 105–121, see 109, 120 for Fukushima intelligence networks in Asia; Richard Deacon, *A History of Japanese Secret Service* (London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1988), 68–71; Kuzuu Yoshihisa, *Tōa senkaku shishi kiden* (The life stories of the pioneer patriots of East Asia) (Tōkyō: Kokuryūkai Shuppanbu, 1933–1936), volume 2, 540–541.

Russian plans for the Trans-Siberian Railway that was a permanent worry to the Russia watchers among the General Staff and the Pan-Asian organizations. The construction of the Railway had begun one year before in 1890 as part of the enthusiasm of the entrepreneurial Minister of Finance, Sergei Witte, who was convinced that Russia could become a great power only through economic development and dynamic industrialization by exploiting the rich resources of Siberia. Fukushima undertook his major epic crossing of the two continents to investigate the geography that surrounded the Trans-Siberian Railway, which became a primary concern for Japan and Britain with regard to the Russian expansionism into the Far East that instigated this larger interest in greater Central Asia and Inner Asia.

For Fukushima and other "intelligence-riders" from Japan the major territorial focus of their journey—again like the diplomat Nishi Tokujirō who traversed the region earlier—was the conditions in the woody azure green highlands and high pine forested mountains of the Ili region, the historic frontier in the northern Russian Turkestan border with China. Ili contains the Altai and Tien-hsia mountain ranges that today constitutes the northern part of Xinjiang province between China and the Republic of Mongolia, Outer Mongolia. In the nineteenth century it was mostly Kazakh nomads and Uyghur Turkic peoples that inhabited the region, as Komatsu Hisao discusses in this volume. Nishi Tokujirō had visited the politically volatile spot that had been returned to China in 1881 after Russia had conquered the area during the Yakub Bey rebellion of 1871. From the Japanese historical perspective, Ili had also had a religious meaning. It was the gateway to the "Western regions of Seiiki," to the heart of Buddhism in Tibet and India from the Silk Road, and now it was a potential defense frontier against Russia. After Fukushima's journey, Ili came to be considered a major territory for Japanese strategic calculations about forming a frontier against Russian advance to the East. That its population was mostly non-Russian and non-Chinese Muslims of various Turkic tribes sealed this territory in the North as part of the territories wherein Islam-based intelligence and propaganda would take place. Already one of the conflict-prone regions of the late nineteenth century, the Ili region has continued to be politically volatile to this day.[8]

8 Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Research and Analysis Report 890.1, "Japanese Infiltration among Muslims in China (May 1944)," 14, 63; Deacon, *Japanese Secret Service*, 66–78. The region is the site for reports on Muslim/Uyghur disturbances today as well.

Oh! You Altai! *Nanji Arutai Yo!*

On February 11, 1892, Fukushima Yasumasa set off from Berlin and travelled on horseback for the next 14 months through the shifting geography of Russia between the Siberian tundra, desert, the steppe, the high Altai ranges, and reached the Chinese frontier, whereupon he crossed into Manchuria and finally arrived in Vladivostok. Proceeding strait to Japan without delay, Fukushima arrived in Tokyo on August 12, 1893. Fukushima's image as the daring patriotic officer which was the popular topic of the press all along the journey was reinforced even more when he met the cheering crowd that had gathered to greet him dressed in his rough travelling attire as if he had come direct from the Eurasian plains and steppes. The press reports had heightened the whole journey in terms of Japan's vision of a destiny toward the East and the West of Asia from the cross-roads of Central Asia reinforcing the patriotic imaginary of the general public. When Fukushima crossed the Altai mountains on September 24, 1892, the account of the lone colonel riding across the snowy peaks of the Altai mountains on horseback and arriving at the Russian/Chinese frontier was the crescendo of this trip. It was illustrated as an imaginary painting, which became very popular that showed the romantic figure of the Colonel pensive in his saddle, slowly walking his horse along the white, snow-covered, narrow path of the Altai ranges.[9]

Most of Fukushima's reports remained classified information in the General Staff. However, the narrative of his journey was constructed later in 1979 by a former Army officer, based on a collection of Fukushima's notes, newspaper accounts, and the recollections of his sons. The narrative is embellished with romantic images of Central Asia as an especially meaningful territory for Japan. The Central Asian peoples as the "Altaic brothers of the Japanese" argument seeps through the text with references to the hardy nomad Kirgiz young man who, though technically under Russian authority, remained impervious to the language, but quickly learned enough Japanese words to guide Fukushima over the mountains to the great plains of Outer Mongolia. The text concludes with the observation that the Mongol people, once a great people under Great Gengiz, ruled a world empire but now unfortunately had declined

9 Shimanuki Shigeyoshi, *Fukushima Yasumasa to tanki Shiberia ōdan* (Fukushima Yasumasa and the expedition across Siberia) (Tōkyō: Hara Shobō, 1979), 2 volumes, volume 1, 317–318 for geo-space in the press, 465–466 for the horses of Fukushima that is narrated below.

into a corrupt society coveted by Russia and China.[10] The news of Fukushima having "crossed the Altai mountains" had created a great public enthusiasm in Japan. According to the same account, the Colonel had been overcome with "manly emotion" at that moment, and had composed the following poems for that occasion that reinforced the romantic image of the patriot in the service of the Japanese Emperor and were quite meaningful in portraying the combination of Asia/Altai/Central Asian approach toward the Muslim regions.

The poem says: "Nanji Arutai (Altai) yo, Nanji wa chigaku jō, sono na wa tenka takashi to iedomo, Nanji wa waga ashimoto ni ari, Ware nanji yori takaki koto, Masa ni sūshaku nari" that can be translated as "Oh! You Altai, though said to be the top of the world according to the science of geography, you are under my foot. Indeed, I am higher than you by many feet." The following poem is even more desirous of Japan's vision across the plains of Asia beyond Altai. "Waga bokoku no hi no moto wa, Kore yori go-sen kirometoru no, Ajia tairiku no achira no, Umi ni owasu ka" that translates as" Our motherland in the land of the Sun, Should it stop in the sea 5000 kilometers afar beyond the continent of Asia?"[11]

The press articles of the time embellished the line "Nanji Arutai yo! Oh! You Altai" into the grand geo-space beneath Fukushima's footsteps. One newspaper article expanded this vision as if Fukushima at that moment could see in the North the Obi and Yenisei rivers, which became myriads of streams that flow northward across the snowy plains of the Great Siberia. He would see that in the West lay the Kirgiz Great plains of Central Asia where the European countries in an insidious manner "float over the horizon from afar like mist." In the south upon the ranges of the Tien'hsia mountains, from the Pamir highlands, he could see the peak of the Himalaya ranges show its face in the midst of clouds. In the East, he would note that Outer Mongolia, crossing the Gobi desert, attached to the continent of China. The article concluded "thinking that in the midst of that Eastern Sea, there lies our homeland Japan, the emotions of Colonel Fukushima Yasumasa reached their peak, he felt like bringing back the thousands of things in front of his eyes to our ancestral country ..." For the public the Altai crossing was the roof of the Great Eurasian geo-space as if one could see in all directions from that spot. In reality, Fukushima crossed from a very narrow path, surrounded by mountains of about 3000 feet in height, which meant he could only see 20–30 feet ahead of himself. The immense

10 Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, volume 2, 310 for Kirgiz, 311 for Mongols.

11 Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, volume 2, 317 for poem.

journey had taken 14,000 kilometers. Fukushima had also acquired four horses along the way, among whom two had the symbolic names of Ural and Altai referring to the geo-cultural-linguistic family of languages to which Japanese was purported to belong. It is in this symbolization of the Altai, the "sacred ground" for Turkish nationalism that was historically the original homeland of the nomad Turks in the East, the Tujue tribes who fought the T'ang dynasty during the middle ages before their "millennia long migration to the West,"[12] that one can detect the roots of the discoursive entanglement of Japanese Pan-Asianism with Pan-Turkism even Pan -Turanism in later periods.

Fukushima was following in the footsteps of nineteenth century lone travelers who had already undertook the hardy journey to cross Central Asia, partly to investigate the Russian conquest of the region and expansion and partly as a flamboyant adventurers. The Eurasian journey through the mysterious unknown Khanates of Central Asia became famous with the Hungarian orientalist scholar of Turkology, Arminius Vambery (1832–1913), presumed to be a double-agent for the British and the Ottoman empires, who had crossed Central Asia in 1861 in the guise of a Sunnite Derwish on horseback. He was to be followed by the "ride to Khiva" of Colonel Frederick Gustavus Burnaby (1842–1885) who ventured in 1875–1876 on the eve of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877 that became a major global clash, which invited international attention as it signaled Russia's revival after the Crimean War.[13]

The Turkish counterpart to romantic adventurers came from Istanbul. Right after Colonel Burnaby, the Ottoman lone rider Mehmed Emin, the son of a distinguished family from the Caucasus, followed in 1877 searching for *the noble Turk among the* Turkoman, an early example of the newly rising interest in Ottoman intellectual circles of their Central Asian Turkic origins. Mehmed Emin's vision was among the first instances of a kind of proto-nationalist interest in Turkish nationalism in an imperial milieu that customarily emphasized religious and dynastic identity. Young Mehmet Emin who was just 23 years old was encouraged to take this investigative journey into Central Asia partly to overcome the emotional shock due to the sudden death of his mother. He left Istanbul in the spring of 1877 just about when the war with Russia broke out and traveled all the way to Khotan trying to convince local traditional Khans and Emirs to unite against Russia but to no avail. However, the travel account that he wrote upon his return has Turkist romantic references that later would also be adopted by the Japanese Pan-Asian vision of Central Asia as the home of

12 Shimanuki, *Fukushima*, volume 2, 318 for geo-space in the press, 465–466 for the horses.
13 Deacon, *Japanese Secret Service*, 68–71.

the hardy stock of Altai nomads who were kindred peoples with the Japanese. Mehmed Emin narrates at length about how the Turkoman tribal men and women whom he met along the journey impressed him for they had kept their pure culture. The Turkomans of Central Asia represented the *unadulterated pure Turkish culture of the Turks*, unlike the Ottoman Turks of Istanbul who had become too soft. He admired Turcoman women who rode horse together with the men and acted free and equal to men whereas Muslim Turkish women at home had become severely subjugated under conservative Islamic traditions. This type of Pan-Turkists argument would later come to color the Pan-Islam propaganda of World War I, especially toward the end of the war. Pan-Turkist elements surface as the romantic nationalist vision of the Young Turk leader of the Ottoman Empire Enver Pasa who took his chances of marching toward Azerbaijan, abandoning his German allies in the course. After the defeat of the German-Ottoman alliance with the end of the Great War that dismantled the Ottoman empire, Enver, who initially escaped to Berlin and Moscow, ventured into the heartland of Central Asia in the desperate hope of mustering support among kindred kinsman and returning to save the empire! In Central Asia, Enver was to die in battle in 1922 near Tajikistan as the commander of the tribal military forces of the Emir of Bukhara in a last stand against the Bolsheviks.[14]

From Central Asia to Arabia

Fukushima visited the Ottoman Empire a number of times between 1889–1900 as part of his expeditions in Eurasia that would form the future contacts for the Japanese General Staff. His first visit to Istanbul was between October 1889 and February 1890, at the same time when Sultan Abdulhamid II sent the frigate Ertuğrul in March 1889 as the first Ottoman goodwill visit to Meiji Japan to forge links with the "rising star of the East". The Ertuğrul reached Japan in June 1890, after a long and arduous journey that took one year but, after the completion of its official visit and upon its return journey, the frigate ended up sinking in September 16, 1890, with the tragic loss of most of its crew including the commander, Osman Pasha: only 69 survived out of 609 members. Fukushima's visit back in 1889 led him to conclude that Istanbul was one of

14 Mehmed Emin, *Istanbul 'dan Asya-I Vustaya Seyahat Seyyah Mehmed Emin Efendi'nin Seyahatnamesi* (Journey From Istanbul to Central Asia the Travel Account of Mehmed Emin Efendi), prepared by A. Muhibbe Darga (İstanbul: Everest Yayınları, 2007), 10–12 for Turkomans who have kept their pure Turkic culture whereas the Ottoman Turks of Istanbul have gone too soft.

the most important strategic points from which to obtain military intelligence on Russia—a tradition that was followed up by the Japanese military in the future.[15]

After his famous journey on horseback in 1892–93, Fukushima visited Istanbul again and investigated the Ottoman Empire between October 1895 and March 1897, during his third scouting trip to Iran, Central Asia, the Caucasus, and Ottoman Iraq, which became the subject of his travel account *Chūō Ajia yori Arabia e* (From Central Asia to Arabia).[16] Finally, after his service in the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, when Fukushima was in command of the Japanese forces in Tianjin as well as the Foreign Legation, he returned to the Imperial Japanese Army Academy to study under the German General Jakob Meckel, now as a General Staff officer he again visited, Egypt, Ottoman Turkey, Persia, Arabia, India, Burma, Siam, and Turkestan. In 1902 he represented Emperor Meiji at the coronation of King Edward VII of Great Britain and participated in the secret diplomatic negotiations behind the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Fukushima's travel account in *Chūō Ajia yori Arabia e* narrates his investigative journey between 1895 and 1896 in the Muslim polities of Ottoman Turkey and Qajar Iran. In 1895, right after the Japanese victory over China, the General Staff under Prince Komatsu again sent Fukushima on this third expedition to survey the conditions in Asia with the additional purpose of canvassing opinion about the recent victory of Japan over China in the 1895 War. During much of this whirlwind tour that began from Egypt and Istanbul, Fukushima visited the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the Persian Gulf, India, Iran, Russian Caucasus and Central Asia, the Chinese border a number of times, and had audiences with the regional rulers. He had an audience with the new Shah of Qajar Iran, Mozaffaraldin (r.1896–1907) who took the throne after the assassination of Nasir al-Din Shah whom Yoshida had met in 1880 and the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II who was still in power. The Ottoman authorities duly recorded his visit to Istanbul. The audiences transpired in a manner similar to the previous official visit of the Yoshida Mission in cordial and

15 Selçuk Esenbel, "Japanese Interest in the Ottoman Empire," in Selçuk Esenbel, *Japan, Turkey, and the World of Islam: The Writings of Selçuk Esenbel* (Folkestone: Brill Global Oriental, 2011), 108–129 for the Ertuğrul disaster; Reference to Fukushima Yasumasa, "Barukan hantō junkai nikki" (Diary of the tour of Balkan peninsula) in Fukushima Yasumasa, *Chūō Ajia yori Arabia e: Fukushima Shogun iseki, zoku: denki Fukushima*, Ōta Azan ed. (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1997), Tokyo: Tōa Kyōkai, 1943 reprint Ōzorasha, 1997, in Sakamoto Tsutomu, "The First Japanese Hadji Yamaoka Kōtarō and Abdürreşid İbrahim," in Esenbel and Inaba, *The Rising Sun and the Turkish Crescent*, 120.

16 Fukushima Yasumasa, *Chūō Ajia yori Arabia e: Fukushima Shogun iseki, zoku: denki Fukushima*, Ōta Azan ed. (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1997), 2.

friendly expressions of Japanese-Turkish friendship. In Teheran, Fukushima was not asked this time to take off his shoes in the imperial audience although he noticed that the other officials had. In addition to conversation with local dignitaries, Fukushima consulted, as was customary for Japanese visitors, with the Italian, German, Ottoman, British and American diplomats in Teheran. In Central Asia he travelled under the attentive supervision of the Russian officers in the newly established Central Asian provinces of the Romanov rule, some of whom he knew from his tour in Europe as the military attaché in Berlin.

On this third major Eurasian expedition in 1895–96, that took him to Istanbul and the Arab Provinces, Fukushima again went through most of the countries of Asia in an uninterrupted series of visits between October 1895 and March 1897, travelling 13,531 kilometers in 18 months—exactly 538 days—that produced 32 reports on the conditions in Asia and a diary of 10 volumes which is said to have become the backbone of much of the views and policies of the Japanese General Staff for the next few decades. Later Tanaka Giichi (1864–1929), War Minister and Prime Minister during the twenties in Japan—a man who was held responsible for military intervention in China and who claimed to be the author of the 1929 "Tanaka Memorial" which, though the subject of controversy about its authenticity, was supposed to outline the Japanese plan for conquest of Manchuria, Mongolia, and China—acknowledged that "much of our continental plan was formulated by Fukushima and enlightened by his information."[17]

The Fukushima report, which is based really on only the sections that were de-classified to be published during the Second World War as a travel journal in order to "enhance the patriotism of the young Japanese," provides careful descriptions of the newly constructed Central Asian railway connections—again one more worry item for the Japanese General Staff in addition to the Trans-Siberian railway. Fukushima outlined the routes of travel in the Ottoman and Iranian hemispheres also providing information on the latest state of the military, administrative, educational reforms as well as political rumors. One that he picked up in Baghdad, noted that in the wake of the recent Ottoman conflict with the Armenians and the ensuing ethnic violence in the Eastern province of Van, the Sultan's empire faced the danger of a concerted European occupation.[18]

Fukushima's formal conversation with the Prime Minister of Iran with the title Sadrazam, Mirza Ali Asghar Khan reveals the official image of modern

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17 Fukushima, *Chūō Ajia*, 2.; For Tanaka Giichi, see, William Finch Morton, *Tanaka Giichi and Japan's China Policy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980).

18 Fukushima, *Chūō Ajia*, 64.

Japan that the Meiji authorities, in this case the General Staff, wanted to project to the Muslim leaders just like Yoshida had done back in 1880, although Fukushima's explanations, being those of a military officer, appear more straightforward in comparison to the embellished language of Yoshida on similar occasions. Fukushima's discussion about religion is quite informative in this regard because it reflects a staunch nationalist and secular response which was in line with the Army perspective. When the Prime Minister asked about the faith of the Japanese people, Fukushima avoided the issue by explaining that the Japanese people belong to no faith other than the nationalist ideology of loyalty to the Emperor in secular terms. Fukushima's response was that "We as a nation only know that we are under the Emperor and do not hold any other belief." He pointedly remarked that the Japanese government emphasizes the education of the people in inculcating a spirit of effort and zeal and does not teach anything related to religion. Fukushima suggests that his comment had caused chagrin in the Prime Minister as an implicit criticism of the state of affairs in Iran, which in recent years had also experienced religious conflict as in the Ottoman Empire. Fukushima commented that "to forget the interest of one's country because of religious conflict cannot be imagined by the Japanese. Our ethics is derived from the Imperial House in that 40 million subjects are one body with unshakable patriotic loyalty."[19]

While his account of the Ottoman and Qajar realms note the strengths and the weaknesses of the two regional empires and the extent of British and Russian presence in the region that is similar in tone to previous Japanese investigative reports, Fukushima's interest glosses over the extent of Russia's hold over Central Asia after the conquest process that had begun thirty years earlier. He noted that Russian power was firmly entrenched in Central Asia and that the completion of the Central Asian railway and its connection with the Trans-Siberian route will bolster the eastward expansion of Russia toward the East. He also noted that the Russians were harboring the "Tongan" Chinese Muslims who had escaped into the strategically important Ili region in the Sino-Russian frontier. The Tongan were against the Qing dynasty because of the recent and tough Chinese suppression of Muslim rebellion with a vicious massacre of the population.

In the opinion of the Pan-Asianist Kokuryūkai organization, during his investigative journeys, Fukushima was the able to investigate all the way to the Amur River region in North Asia, "the security frontier for the Japanese Empire." He is thought to have formed the first local contacts in Manchuria,

19 Fukushima, *Chūō Ajia*, 69.

Mongolia, Persia, Turkey, and Afghanistan that would later prove useful for the Japanese General Staff.[20]

The Pan-Asianist General Utsunomiya Tarō

In 1910 the same year as Foreign Minister Komura Jūtarō's last hopeless overture to Istanbul through the Japanese Gaimushō to sign at least a "provisional treaty," General Utsunomiya Tarō (1861–1922), who had been the military attaché in London during the Russo-Japanese War, and later had become the Chief of the Second Bureau of the General Staff in charge of information and intelligence, wrote an analysis of his Turkey-centered policy to the Sanbō Honbu, the General Staff in an opinion essay.[21] His argument was radically different than that of the Gaimushō and proposed an entire challenge to existing international system. Utsunomiya who will be noted for his support of Asianism in the future, explained that the friendship of "Toruko"—Turkey—offered a great advantage from a military perspective which would be based on the principle that "befriending states that are afar antagonize those that are near," using a reference to Sun-tzu's classical military concept. Utsunomiya's next argument would become a permanent fixture of future Japanese Asianist discourse; Utsunomiya points to the existence of 200 million Muslims in the world that would make the Japanese-Turkish treaty a great advantage to the Japanese

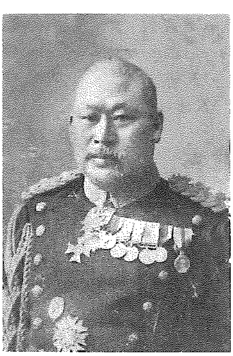

FIGURE 4.1
General Utsunomiya Taro (public domain online: http://forum.valka.cz/topic/view/145091/Ucunomija-Taro)

20 Fukushima, *Chūō Ajia* 112; Office of Strategic Services (OSS), R&A 890.2, "Japanese Attempts at Infiltration among Muslims in Russia and Her Borderlands" (August 1944), 14.

21 Mizuyo Oyama, Sebastian Dobson. "Utsunomiya Tarō (1861–1922)" in Hugh Cortazzi. *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*. Volume VIII (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 13–29 for biography.

Empire because of the Ottoman Caliph's position as the spiritual head of world Muslims. He countered the Gaimushō hesitation about the treaty, with the argument that Japan should abolish extraterritoriality in Turkey before all the other countries and in return would be rewarded with the opportunity for Japanese immigration and possible attractive concessions. Utsunomiya even argued in favor of a military alliance, which may have been the source of the rumors about a prospective Japanese-Turkish Alliance that had made the Russian authorities very nervous right after the Russo-Japanese War.[22]

The Utsunomiya vision was not immediately applicable to the situation at hand, but it showed that the Japanese political understanding of the Ottoman world and the Muslim world was shifting from the Gaimushō to the Japanese military around the Russo-Japanese War. Particularly the Japanese Army's Sanbō Honbu top officers began to see the same lands, not through the lenses of extraterritoriality, but as part of the geography for extending Japan's outreach into Asia as a counter to Russia. The Japanese military-turn toward the Turks and Muslims as a block for Japanese global interests which surfaces in Utsunomiya's analysis, was the beginning of a twentieth century policy of Japan's outreach through propaganda and networking among Muslims in Asia as part of geo-political strategy.

The recently published multi-volume diary of General Utsunomiya is immensely valuable as it provides the "nuts and bolts" of evidence that graphically reveals the intelligence funding and network of Muslim actors in the 1900s in Tokyo.[23] The Diary discloses the General's daily contacts with the Egyptian anti-British officer Ahmad Fadzli of Turkish origins, the everlasting Tatar activist and religious figure the Kadi Abdurresid Ibrahim from Kazan, the anti-British activist Mawlavi Muhammad Barakattullah—all known as Pan-Islamist activists. According to the diary, they were financed and networked through the Ajia Gikai organization of colonel Ōhara Takeyoshi (Harbin intelligence chief, reserve officer in 1907) under the instructions of Lt. General Fukushima

22 Hatano Masaru, "Erutoruru go jiken o meguru" (Concerning the Ertugrul Incident) in Ikei Masaru and Sakamoto Tsutomu, *Kindai nihon to toruko sekai* (Modern Japan and the Turkish world) (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1999), 62; Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, Gaikōshiryōkan 外交史料館、Meiji 43 (1910) 1month 15 day, (Concerning Japan-Turkey Treaty relations) "Nitto jōyaku kankei no ken" 日土条約関係ノ件. 2-1252。 B06151024100.JACAR. Japan Center for Asian Historical Records. For Utsunomiya's opinion on the need for a Japanese-Turkish Treaty.

23 Utsunomiya Tarō, *Nihon rikugun to Ajia seisaku—Rikugun taishō Utsunomiya Tarō nikki* (Japanese Army and Asia Policy: The Diary of the Army General Utsunomiya Tarō) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2007), 3 volumes, for the details of the General Staff and Islam policy.

Yasumasa. When Ibrahim departed from Japan on June 15, 1909 he travelled through China, Korea, the Dutch Indies and India, spreading the publicity about Japan's newly acquired credentials as the friend of Islam. Ibrahim arrived in Bombay at the end of September and waited for Yamaoka. In Bombay he teamed up with Yamaoka Kōtarō, a Kokuryūkai member who had served under Ōhara in Harbin and who is also known as the first Japanese Muslim Hadji pilgrim to the Holy Cities of Islam: Mecca and Medina.[24] On November 1, 1909, Yamaoka came to Bombay and converted to Islam under the instructions of Ibrahim who gave him the Islamic name of Umar/Omar the same as that of the second Khalifa.[25] Supported by the Tōadōbunkai for their networking journey to the Muslim world, Ibrahim accompanied Yamaoka, now famously renamed as Omar Yamaoka, and entered Jedda on December 10 on his formal pilgrimage to the Holy Cities, where they stayed in the guesthouse of Muhammad Murat who was a Tatar ulema and sheikh of the Nakshbendi Brotherhood that also helped Ibrahim foster a network for Japan in Asia. The duo had meetings with Arab notables and participated in the conference organized by Young Turks on Pan Islamist solidarity with many participants from Central Asia, Crimea, Iran, India, China, Algeria, and Tunisia. Yamaoka spent the time spreading propaganda about Japan by carrying the message of Japan as the Savior of Islam.[26] Yamaoka gave a speech in Russian about Pan Asianism, which Ibrahim translated into Arabic. Later, again using the Central Asian Tatar network, Ibrahim organized Yamaoka's lecture to Tatar students in Istanbul and advertised in newspapers the *Ajia Gikai* as Japan's Islamic organization.[27]

Meanwhile, on Saturday May 8, 1909, while Ibrahim was still in Japan, Ōhara Takeyoshi brought a memorandum from Ibrahim on establishing an Anti-Christian League, which Utsunomiya accepts whilst remaining noncommittal about meeting Ibrahim personally. Utsunomiya explained that he was an émigré from Russia, originally the religious head of Islam, who was at one point a member of the national assembly Duma, but who was presently persecuted and forced to exile due to his revolutionary ideas.[28] The diary reveals the inner workings of this Islam-oriented intelligence activity and Utsunomiya's views on the matter. In general, by 1913 April 14, Utsunomiya harbors a skeptical

24 Sakamoto Tsutomu, "The First Japanese Hadji Yamaoka Kōtarō and Abdürreşid İbrahim" in Esenbel and Inaba, *The Rising Sun*, for Ōhara and Yamaoka in Harbin, 107–108.

25 Sakamoto, "The First Japanese Hadji", in Esenbel and Inaba, *The Rising Sun*, 115, sources 121.

26 Sakamoto, "The First Japanese Hadji", in Inaba and Esenbel, *The Rising Sun*, 117–118.

27 Esenbel, "Global Claim", 2004: 1140–1170, for Ibrahim's life-long relations with Japan.

28 Utsunomiya, *Nikki*, Vol. 1, 235.

attitude about Ibrahim and the whole Ajia Gikai venture as the "eating source" of Ōhara which does little of anything and remains a nominal organization, doing inconsequential activities like trying to act as a broker for a Russian man's map![29] Later on Sunday, June 6, 1909, just before Ibrahim's departure from Japan on his famed journey to Istanbul, Utsunomiya gave Ōhara 300 Yen to support the Russian émigré Tatar Ibrahim from the Kazan region in Russia, expecting reports on his investigations. He notes the money is from Lt. General Fukushima that is administered as a special reserve fund by Infantry Officer Major Miura Tatsuji.[30] Again, one year later, on March 14, 1910, Ibrahim and the convert Omar Yamaoka are still in Arabia, and Utsunomiya summons Ōhara to question him about what is happening, as there has been no news of Ibrahim even though 300 Yen had been allocated to keep this contact. Utsunomiya, while confessing his distrust of Ibrahim, acknowledges the realpolitik motive behind all of this type of support for Muslim activists like him as a kind of clash of civilizations for global strategic aims, with the comment that,

> even though the personality of this Ibrahim is still not clear, it may be possible in the future to use him as a tool in the manipulation of Muslim peoples some day with the [Egyptian Captain Ahmad Fadzli] Fadzli and the like in the event of a clash with Christian countries ...[31]

This was not necessarily a prejudicial attitude toward Islam but appears more as the ingrained distrust of a military man toward politicians of shady character such as Ibrahim appeared to be. In contrast to Utsunomiya's basic distrust of Ibrahim and of *Ajia Gikai* as Ōhara's tool, he is quite cordial toward the political émigré—the young Egyptian Captain Ahmad Fadzli of Turkish origins—which might be because they shared the camaraderie among military officers. Utsunomiya, who seems to have grown fond of the young Egyptian, treated him as part of his family. Fadzli was in Japan for close to three years during which time, together with Muhammad Barakatullah the Indian Pan Islamist activist, he published the English language opposition weekly paper *Islamic Fraternity* which advocated Muslim enlightenment and propaganda against the British Empire.[32]

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29 Utsunomiya, *Nikki*, Vol. 2, 220.

30 Utsunomiya, *Nikki*, Vol. 1, 243.

31 Utsunomiya, *Nikki*, Vol. 1, 1910, March 14, 321.

32 Sugita Hideaki, *Nihonjin no chūtōhakken gyaku enkinho no naka no hikaku bunkashi* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai), 1995, 223–224, 302. Ahmad Fadzli was a former Egyptian Army Captain of Turkish origins who lived in Japan having married a Japanese

He helped him overcome the financial constraints of being an émigré by providing a job teaching French in the Army Academy as well as to his daughter at home. Utsunomiya was even involved in the family problems experienced by Fadzli during a marriage separation and remarriage with a Japanese wife, when he lost his young son to meningitis and was sincerely concerned when Fadzli himself was hospitalized for a lengthy period for illness.[33]

On a more political tone, Utsunomiya discussed at length with Fadzli the need for a Japanese-Turkish Treaty and the use of Muslim populations for the settlement of Micro-Asia (Western Anatolia that had a mixed population of Greeks and Muslim Turks).[34] On another occasion, Fadzli spoke of the need for establishing a Muslim School in Japan, a project that would be realized much later in 1927 by another Muslim émigré—the Bashkurd, Kurban Ali who headed the Tatar émigrés of Tokyo.[35] Fadzli was from the former Turkish aristocracy of Egypt and though Egyptian, like many of his social circle, he still considered Egypt as part of Ottoman patrimony. This explains these strong sentiments about the future of Turkey and relations with Japan, as Egypt was already under British domination after the 1882 occupation that established the rule of Lord Cromer of Egypt. In another vein, Japanese enthusiasts of the Muslim card frequented Utsunomiya's office for funds. On July 19, 1913 a Honjō Kentarō who advocated the use of Chinese Huei Muslims as a propaganda ground, came to show various books that he said he wanted to send to the Turkish Emperor and to Ibrahim.[36]

Utsunomiya also managed the overseas military attaché network in Constantinople. On January 21 1909, he decided that the military attaché in Constantinople should be allocated 400 Yen as an annual salary that would be

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lady. He returned for a while to Egypt then returned to Japan again where he lived for three years when together with Barakatullah he published the Islamic Fraternity weekly paper in English between October 1910 and July 1912). Fadzli translated into Arabic the English version of the popular patriotic military narrative of the Russo-Japanese war, *Nikudan/Human Bullets*, that was written by Sakurai Tadayoshi (1879–1965) and which had an introduction by Count Okuma Shigenobu. Fadzli wrote the preface of the Arabic version, which he published as *The Miracle of Japanese Progress* in Egypt.

33 Utsunomiya, *Nikki*, Vol. 1, 1909 December 11, p. 293 about his divorce, and the death of his son; Vol. 1, 1910 October 23, p.381 job as teacher; Vol. 1, 1911 April 20, p. 430, Vol. 2, 1912 March 25, p. 102, for enumeration to teach daughter French; Vol. 2, 1912 August 23, p. 141, visit to Red Cross Hospital; Vol. 2, 1914 April 29 Wednesday, p. 321, payment for French lessons in the Army Academy.

34 Utsunomiya, *Nikki*, Vol. 1, 1910 January 20, p.308.

35 Esenbel, "Global Claim", 1140–1170.

36 Utsunomiya, *Nikki*, Vol. 2, 1913 July 19, p. 248.

on par with the salary of similar attachés from Britain, France, Austria, Russia and the United States.[37]

In 1909 July 31, Utsunomiya also explains that he provided financial support to the military attaché in Istanbul. Lt. Major Morioka Morichika had come to Istanbul in 1907 and was followed later by Lt. Major Satō Kōjirō in 1909.[38] Morioka also accompanied General Nogi in his formal visit to the capital in 1911. Utsunomiya, reveals the network of intelligence in Istanbul that was now handled through the military attaché Morichika. On July 31, 1909 he accepts Morioka's request to provide the enumeration to "a certain" *nanigashi* Nakamura, (either Nakamura Kenjirō the retired naval officer who had been investing in the Nakamura Store in Istanbul since 1892 or, the young Nakamura Eiichi who joined the firm later) for various jobs.[39] Nakamura was the partner of the merchant Yamada Torajirō in the Nakamura Store of Pera, Istanbul. Back in 1904 during the Russo-Japanese War, both had helped the Gaimushō by providing information from July through October on the passage of the Russian Volunteer Black Sea Fleet from the Straits to Minister Makino Nobuaki in Vienna.[40]

Utsunomiya even used Muslim activists such as Fadzli for conducting his own "foreign policy" toward Ottoman Turkey that was independent of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. After the Young Turk Revolution of July 1908, Utsunomiya immediately sent Fadzli to Istanbul in the summer of 1909 to contact the members of the new government with a proposal for a Japanese-Turkish Treaty which would dispense with extraterritoriality. At the same time Utsunomiya used Fadzli to gather information on the rise of imperial Germany's interests in the Near East especially the ongoing construction of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway which began in 1903 as part of German-Ottoman collaboration. The Railway, which would connect Europe with the Persian Gulf, bypassing the British-controlled Suez Canal, was seen globally as part of Germany's major challenge to existing British imperial and commercial interests in the Near East and the route to India[41] Although nothing much came

37 Utsunomiya, *Nikki*, Vol. 1, p. 213.

38 Utsunomiya, *Nikki*, Vol. 1, p. 258.

39 Utsunomiya, *Nikki*, Vol. 1, 1909 July 31, p. 258.

40 Selçuk Esenbel, "A Fin de Siècle Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: Yamada Torajirō and the Nakamura Shoten 'Japon Magazasi' of Pera," in *The Crescent and the Sun Three Japanese in Istanbul: Yamada Torajirō, Itō Chūta, Ōtani Kōzui* (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute, 2010), 13–68, for documents and materials related to monitoring the Bosphorus from the Yamada Family Collection. Heretofore The Crescent.

41 Sean McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad Express: The Ottoman Empire and Germany's Bid for World Power*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), for the Baghdad Railway's role in German imperialism.

FIGURE 4.2 *Map of Bagdad Railway. Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan* 外交史料館、Meiji *43 (1910) 1month 15 day, (Concerning Japan-Turkey Treaty relations) Nitto jōyaku kankei no ken* 日土条約関係ノ件. *2-1252*。 *B06151024100. Japan Center for Asian Historical Records.*

out of this visit, Utsunomiya's opinion on the urgency of establishing treaty relations with Turkey that was submitted to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on January 15 1910, includes the Japanese translation of the map of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway dated January 1910 that was included in Fadzli's report to Utsunomiya on the gist of his negotiations.[42]

The Istanbul Intrigue 1904

As Fukushima predicted, Istanbul became the stage of twilight diplomacy and spying activity during the Russo-Japanese War especially in 1904 when the question of whether the Ottoman government would allow the Russian Volunteer

42 Map of Bagdad Railway. Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan. Gaikōshiryōkan 外交史料館、Meiji 43 (1910) 1month 15 day, (Concerning Japan-Turkey Treaty relations)" Nitto jōyaku kankei no ken" 日土条約関係ノ件. 2-1252. B06151024100. Japan Center for Asian Historical Records.

Black Sea Fleet to sail out from the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles Straits to join with the Baltic Fleet as part of the Imperial Russian Navy to engage in battle with the Japanese Navy in Tsushima. Japanese Foreign Ministry officials set up an information gathering network of intelligence through the Nakamura Shoten store of Yamada Torajirō and Nakamura Kenjirō which had been the sole Japanese firm that, since 1892, had been conducting trade between Japan and the Ottoman realm and neighboring countries within the Balkans and the East Mediterranean. From the summer of 1904 Meiji 27 on, both Japanese, who were residents of the Pera commercial district in downtown Istanbul that was the location for European legations and commercial firms, assisted Iijima Kametarō the Consul General in Odessa and Ambassador Makino Nobuaki in Vienna (later Foreign Minister) in charge of collecting intelligence on the Russian Black Sea Volunteer Fleet movements.[43] Yamada claims he monitored the Bosphorus every day with many men who watched the straits with binoculars from Galata tower and the shoreline. The Yamada Family Archives possesses the list of ships and their passage time and date which are recorded in his hand written memo and most important post-office invoices—70 in all—for telegrams and letters which were sent to Vienna. mostly from the Austrian Post-Office and sometimes the British Post-Office and the Ottoman Post-Office in Tarabya.[44] The letters were sent usually to Ambassador Makino Nobuaki, a Nishi, Matsumoto Tarō (possible alias of Iijima Kametarō the Consul General of Odessa) and a Sugimura in Japan. According to the Gaimushō records which refer to the friends of Iijima in Istanbul, Yamada reported on the passage of the Black Sea Volunteer Fleet battle ships first on July 4, next on September 27, and finally the ships of the main fleet which passed without armament and under a commercial flag from the Bosphorus between November 6–10, 1904. The Russian Fleet arrived safely in Suda Bay, Crete on November 14 and rearmed with materials transported overland through the Kingdom of Greece, which supported Russia. Istanbul had become the site of Japanese intelligence against Russia with Nakamura Shoten serving as a contact for this purpose. During the fall of 1904, and after completing his responsibility for reporting the passage of the Russian Fleet, Yamada left for Japan in early January 1905 in

43 Sinan Levent, *Senzenki, senchūki ni okeru nihon no yūrashia seisaku to-ranshugi kaikyōseisaku hansō hankyō undō no shiten kara* (Eurasian Policy of Imperial Japan Before and During World War II) (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 2014) Waseda University Monograph 107, 43–46. This recent publication confirms details of Japanese intelligence activity in Constantinople through the Gaimushō telegrams which show the instructions to Consul General Iijima of Odessa.

44 Esenbel, *The Crescent*, 45.

the company of his friend, the architect Itō Chūta, who had been touring the Ottoman sites of antiquity and medieval architecture for the year. After the Japanese victory in 1905, Meiji 38, Yamada returned to Istanbul from Japan via the Trans-Siberian Railway—a journey for which we have restaurant invoices.[45]

Fukushima probably must have met with the merchant Yamada Torajirō who, together with Nakamura, had earlier played a part in this intrigue, when he had visited Istanbul in 1895–1896 on his third expedition, or in his subsequent visit after the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 as a General Staff officer. Miyuki Aoki Girardelli suggests in this volume that they met during Fukushima's trip to the Ottoman Empire and India according to Itō Chūta's family who explained that Fukushima had introduced Itō to Yamada in preparation for his trip to the Ottoman Empire. Yamada had already settled in Istanbul as the manager of Nakamura Shoten and was well on his way in his occupation as the informal intermediary for Japanese visitors with the Ottoman authorities.

When Lt. General Fukushima served in Manchuria in 1904–1905 during the Russo-Japanese War, he had exchanged post-cards with the Japanese merchant, Yamada Torajirō in Istanbul, which suggests they had known each other for some time. A post card from Major General Fukushima Yasumasa to Yamada Torajirō dated 20 December 1904 asks him to contact the doctor and the lawyer who work in the Iranian Embassy in Istanbul and tell the doctor that he is waiting for his postcard. The Japanese appear to have formed a network among the Iranians in the Istanbul Embassy. The 1880–1881 Mission to the Muslim polities of Ottoman Turkey and Qajar Iran under Yoshida Masaharu had visited Istanbul in March of 1881 after their three-month stay in Iran. Yoshida and the Mission members might have had discussions with resident Iranians who subsequently published a favorable article on the Yoshida Mission in *Akhtar*, a Persian language Journal with liberal views that was published in Istanbul. The Yamada Family Collection also reveals the use of postcards that were used as conduits for the exchange of brief information about the situation during the Russo-Japanese War. One presumably feels that the difficulty of finding Japanese language experts internationally, may have been behind the frank expression of information in some of the post-cards. Still, Fukushima who sent the post-card from Manchuria through regular international post carefully miswrites the name of Yamada under an alias of T. Sato with the simple address directions of "Japanese Merchant, Pera, Constantinople, Turkey." On the other hand, another card was sent from Fukushima on 24 February, 1905, again from Manchuria but this time it was addressed to Yamada Torajirō and was sent through special military post without an actual address—a detail that

45 Esenbel, *The Crescent*, 46.

suggests it may have been sent to Japan because Yamada had arrived in Osaka by this time. On 15 May, 1905 Fukushima sent another post-card within the Japanese Empire, but this time it was addressed to Yamada's family home in Osaka, thanking him for his beautiful post card that shows a lovely Eurasian landscape that is addressed to Yamada himself and not an alias.[46]

The watercolor paintings on the cards also exhibit some intriguing scenes from Manchuria which may have been drawn by Fukushima himself. The first card of December 20, 1904 shows a Japanese official in an engaging interaction with another man who is short and looks again like someone from China or Manchuria but with an explosion in the background! The second card shows an elderly woman who is sitting on the floor holding a piece of cloth. Fukushima has written a note on the card that explains this is a Manchurian woman. Finally, the third card is that of a Manchurian Wagon pulled by mules or horses with two seated men and one standing in front. The Yamada Collection also has a card written by Yamada himself to Fukushima in Tokyo congratulating him on the New Year and the great victory of the Imperial Army that is dated the 11th day of the first month of the New Year, and which was send from Istanbul presumably just before Yamada and Ito departed for Japan.[47] The Anglo-Japanese Alliance that had already begun in 1902 surely provided the conducive milieu for Japanese intelligence activity in Constantinople. The British chargé d'affaires regularly informed Minister Makino Nobuaki of the Japanese Legation in Vienna and Iijima Kametarō, the Consul General of Odessa who was put in charge of the intelligence operation, of Russian moves despite the ostensible neutrality of Great Britain in the Russo-Japanese War.[48]

Shadows of the State

Utsunomiya's support for Muslim activities was a small but visible component of his larger strategy to support the revolutionary elements in Qing China and

46 Yamada Family Collection, *The Crescent*, 261–264. Anja Pistor-Hatam, "Progress and Civilization in Nineteenth Century Japan: The Far Eastern State as a Model for Modernization" *Iranian Studies* Vol. 29 (1–2) (1996) Winter-Spring, pp. 111–126. Article on the Yoshida Mission in Istanbul on March 23, 1881 one day after the mission's departure for Bulgaria.

47 Yamada Family Collection, *The Crescent*, 261–264.

48 Inaba Chiharu in Selçuk Esenbel and Inaba Chiharu, *The Rising Sun and the Turkish Crescent: New Perspectives on the History of Japanese Turkish Relations*, (Istanbul: Bogazici University Press, 2003), 130–133.

the Korean Kingdom as well as to extend Japanese contacts in Mongolia and Manchuria. His diary is sprinkled with references to Japanese officers—agents moving to and from the Inner Asian frontiers of Central Asia to engage in activities among the indigenous populations of the vast geography which linked with the Silk Road. The General emerges as the mastermind who, in his own words, threw out money (*sute kane*) to the revolutionary cause of Sun Yat Sen, Huang Xing, and Li Yuan Hong in that well-known connection between the Japanese and the Chinese Revolution with the participation of nationalist Kokuryūkai organization members. The spiritual head Tōyama Mitsuru, the Chair Uchida Ryōhei, and the *tairiku ronin* the roaming continental fighter Miyazaki Tōten and others took part in the clandestine rebellions that successively broke out before the final 1911 Chinese Revolution. At some point Utsunomiya gave the significantly hefty sum of 10,000 Yen to the cause—a sum which had been received from Mitsubishi. For Utsunomiya, support for revolutionary forces in China and Korea was ultimately for the benefit of the Japanese Empire; in other words this was "to keep the continent destabilized" even if this meant supporting the cause of Yunnan province's independence to split China.[49]

Predictably, it is in the shadowy intercedes of the Japanese state that we find references to Muslim peoples from a variety of sources including materials from the Japanese foreign ministry on religious propaganda, Army reports, and the publications of the Asianist organizations. The four OSS reports on Japanese infiltration among Muslims in Russia, China, the Near East, and across the World that were prepared in the last years of the Second World War by Derk Bodde, based primarily on the Kokuryukai, Black Dragon publications of the thirties that narrated Meiji intelligence activities in the Muslim hemispheres. The declassified material has been the basis of much of the work on Japanese intelligence and secret services, which acknowledged this special Army interest and intelligence activities among Muslims in Asia.[50]

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49 Utsunomiya, *Nikki*, Vol. 2, Kubota Monji, "Utsunomiya Tarō to chūgoku kakumei wo meguru jinbaku Sonbun, Kōkō, Reigenkō", 60–69, 65 for Sun Yat Sen. The article is about Utsunomiya Tarō and the Chinese Revolution involving Sun Yat Sen (1866–1925), Huang Hsing (1874–1916), Li Yan Hong (1864–1928).

50 Office of Strategic Services (OSS), Research & Analysis (R&A) report no. 890, "Japanese Infiltration among Muslims Throughout the World" (May, 1943), 1–19; OSS, R&A no. 890.1" Japanese Infiltration among Muslims in China" (May 1944), 1–103; OSS, R&A 890.3, "Japanese Infiltration Among Muslims, Near East" (October 1943), 1–25; OSS, R&A 890.2," Japanese Attempts at Infiltration among Muslims in Russia and Her Borderlands" (August 1944), 1–62; Kuzuu Yoshihisa, *Tōa senkaku shishi kiden,* (Tōkyō: Kokuryūkai shuppanbu,

Although much of Japanese intelligence development ought to be placed in the context of similar global developments of the age, the unique character of Japanese intelligence during the Meiji period was the reliance of the Japanese Army General Staff from the beginning on the intelligence gathering and subversive activities of the Pan-Asianist right wing organizations, the Genyōsha, The Dark Ocean Society founded in 1881, and an off-shoot the Kokuryūkai, the Amur River Society, popularly known as the Black Dragons, founded in 1901—organizations that provided the rank and file of language experts, saboteurs, and field agents who assisted the Army operations in many parts of the world. Both societies had strong political visions of their own for the "just" cause of Japanese imperialist expansion in North Asia, the unification of Japan and Korea and the fated clash of Imperial Japan with Qing China and Romanov Russia. Japanese Pan Asianism as an intellectual idea infused a definite ideological character to their intelligence operations, which brought the "cultural" component of Japanese intelligence. This view colored Japanese international relations at this semi-governmental level with Muslims. Proponents of Greater Pan Asianism supporting the idea of Japan as a leader in Asia at the same time were ecstatic advocates of an egalitarian vision of supporting the independence of all nations. It was to be this Genyōsha and Kokuryūkai Asianist vision that would provide the intellectual premises for the incorporation of the nationalist and Pan-Islamist political vision of some Muslims also into the Japanese-Muslim agenda of cooperation after the Russo-Japanese War.[51]

Ian Nish notes that the total organization of intelligence capability in Japan became systematic after 1907 the year that the government accepted the Imperial Defense Plan "teikoku kokuboo hooshin." After 1907 the Army contemplated Russia as the "enemy" while the Second Bureau tended to neglect the United States. On the other hand the Navy contemplated the United States as the potential "enemy" of imperial Japan and remained less informed on the continental military power of Russia.[52] As the Russo-Japanese War showed, the Meiji Japanese military authorities and the Foreign Ministry had taken steps to

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1933–36). Major Japanese source for much of the studies of Japanese intelligence in the pre-war period.

51 E.H. Norman, "The Genyōsha: a study in the origins of Japanese imperialism", *Pacific Affairs* XVII (September 1944): 261–84, for the general history of the two organizations in English, 261–263 for the early history; Hatsuse Ryūhei in Sven Saaler, *Pan-Asianism*, 229 for the range of Asianism.

52 Ian Nish, "Japanese Intelligence" in Christopher Andrew and Jeremy Noakes, *Intelligence and International Relations 1900–1945* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1987), 127–144, see 127.

adapt the capacity of the Meiji state to compete as a player in the international scene of imperialist competition with intelligence activities.

The Japanese General Staff geo-political perspective gave priority to religion, Buddhism, Christianity, Lamaism, Hinduism and Islam, as the social and cultural communal structure of various nationalities—termed as *bukkyō seisaku*, or *kaikyō seisaku* (Buddhist policy or Islam Policy)—that could be used as the basis for propaganda and infiltration. The idea of infusing intelligence with religious activity so consciously may have also stemmed in part from the Aizawa argument that religious loyalty is the basis of political power and his acknowledgment of the effective role that Christian missionaries played as the vanguard of Western imperialism in Asia. It is noteworthy that in later years, the Gaimushō, Foreign Ministry, also organized files under *Honpō ni okeru shūkyō oyobi fukyō zakken* (Miscellaneous documents on religious and missionary activities in the home country) and *Kakkoku ni okeru shūkyō oyobi fukyō kankei zakken* (Miscellaneous documents on religious and missionary activities in other countries) that, under the rubric of religious and missionary activity, actually contain records on propaganda and intelligence activities among the religious communities of the world under Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam, in the pre-war period.[53]

53 While the European "origins" of Japanese geo-strategic thinking is predictable, at the same time, the Russia perspective of Japanese officers like Utsunomiya or others, reads very much like the argument of the Tokugawa nationalist intellectual Aizawa Seishisai in his challenging essay, *Shinron*, New Thesis, that he wrote in 1825 about Russia as the top threat to Japan's security. The essay attests to a lingering Tokugawa root to the Japanese geo-political attitudes particularly toward Russia as a major threat though there is no way to prove whether Aizawa's ideas were directly behind Japanese military thinking. But the discourse of the Meiji generation of leaders who had grown up with Aizawa's *Shinron* suggests that the Japanese geo-political thinking about Russia carried an indigenous quality rooted in late Tokugawa thought about how to counter the threat of Russia before encountering British or German opinion on the matter, which conveniently turned out to be the same. Already in 1825, Aizawa had noticed that the expansion of Russia over Siberia and with the occupation of Kamchatka and Sakhalin, posed a direct threat to Tokugawa. He had also toyed with the idea that if *Toruko*, (Turkey) the major military power that could act as a deterrent against Russia, would ally with Mughal India this could be successful in stopping Russia's move toward the Pacific. The world of the late nineteenth century was quite different compared to Aizawa's days, Britain had replaced the Mughals as the rulers of India and the Ottoman Turkish military might was not what it used to be. Still, Japanese military thinking reads like Aizawa's thesis by ascribing the special role to Turkey as a deterrent against Russia. For detailed expose, Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *Anti-Foreignism and Western Learning in Early-Modern Japan: The New Thesis of 1825*.

Aizawa Seishisai's *Shinron* had also introduced the idea that religion played an important role in the expansion of European imperialism across Asia, ascribing Christianity, "the evil religion" in his words as an instrument of global power.[54]

Utsunomiya's approach to Turkey and the holistic idea that 200 million Muslims represent a unified global entity as seen in his comment represents an ambivalence about political borders that infuses the strong transnational quality to the Japanese military intelligence vision of global Islam. This was partly due to the unifying Pan-Asianist worldview that colored Army thinking, but also because of the regional organizational character of the Japanese secret service which also ascribed special importance to religious categories of target populations. Intelligence historians note that compared to the German and British secret services, Japanese intelligence was organized more as a regional concept rather than country-based divisions that must have reinforced this quality.[55] As suggested in Utsunomiya's vision which ascribed importance to Turkey because of 200 million Muslims in the world, Japanese military intelligence opinion envisioned the connection to the Muslim hemispheres as a means to form global partnerships from different nations that would help Japan primarily in Asia, but even in sections of Europe and Africa that could transcend across many polities.

While Akashi Motojirō does not mention the Tatars in detail in his *Rakka Ryūsui* diary as part of his wide intelligence network among the opposition groups in Russia against the regime on the eve of the outbreak of War in 1904 against Russia, Sakamoto Tsutomu suggests that Fukushima Yasumasa's views dominated the Army General Staff intelligence policy in Asia that put great emphasis on Muslims and Tatars, which explains the connections between the Russian Empire's Turkic world via the Ottoman Empire and possibly some sympathizers in Qajar Iran. Sakamoto argues that Fukushima's strategy dominated the operations toward the Tatar Muslims in Eurasia extending to the edge of the Silk Road in Ottoman Turkey and Qajar Persia and that Akashi was following basically Fukushima's line on the Tatars that explains his contacts with Ibrahim as part of anti-Tsarist intelligence networking. Part

(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 196–199 on Aizawa's evaluation of Turkey and the Mughal dynasty in India against and Persia and Russia.).

54 For a detailed exposé on religion, Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *Anti-Foreignism and Western Learning in Early-Modern Japan: The New Thesis of 1825*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 200.

55 Peter Elphick, *Far Eastern File The Intelligence War in the Far East, 1930–1945*. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997), 40.

of the Japanese Pan-Asianist and military Islam card, the émigré Tatar people of Russia who were given asylum in Manchuria interconnected in this military strategy against Russia and continued to be one of the major networks of the Japanese Army in North Asia for the practice of Islam Policy. On the other hand the Utsunomiya connection to Muslims, Tatars and so on forges the manner in which this relationship translated the Pan Asian vision of these military men into a global network of military intelligence linking together the Japanese military attachés in Istanbul, the officer in disguise in Port Said, the military head of intelligence in Harbin, the Russia Tatar émigrés in Manchuria, and the Muslim political transnational, through Harbin to Tokyo and Istanbul. The Ottoman world that was situated on the crossroads of the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East was the starting point of the Silk Road into Central Asia in a geo-strategic vision of the Japanese General Staff that cut right across Eurasia.[56]

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56 Sakamoto Tsutomu in Esenbel and Inaba, *The Rising Sun*, for Akashi and Fukushima, 110–111.

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CHAPTER 5

Mongolia as a Base for Central Asia and the Silk Road

Li Narangoa

Inner Asia, with the Mongolian plateau at its center, historically lay at the crossroads of East and West, as well as being a centerpoint for North and South cultural and trade exchanges, but in the early 20th century it also found itself at the center of a struggle between the major powers: Japan from the east, China from the south, Russia from the north and northeast, and Great Britain from the west. During the first three decades of the 20th century, the major powers were concentrated around the Manchurian plain. After the foundation of Manchukuo in 1932, especially after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, however, the concentration of power gradually shifted towards the west, the so-called Chinese Northwest provinces—Shansi, Ningxia, Gansu, Qinghai and Xinjiang (East Turkestan), once described as a "new center of gravity" by Lattimore.[1] The Northwest has a geographical, trade and ethnic link with Central Asia along the Silk Road. The Mongol regions located between these two gravities had cultural and ethnic links to these regions and played an important role in the Japanese attempt to move from the east to the west. This chapter will examine the Japanese effort to win this struggle through consolidating the Mongol regions as an economic, military and political base and the challenges they faced in their endeavor to access the region along the Silk Road.

Japan's strategy towards the Silk Road and Central Asia was to flank the Soviets from its west to prepare for war against the Soviet Union. There was even an attempt to build an air-route between Xinjing (Shinkyō) in Manchukuo and Berlin via Inner Mongolia (Ejene), Kabul and Baghdad to form a link with Japan's ally, Nazi Germany. The route over India was a better option, but India was a British colony and so they took the path over the Pamir Mountains and across Central Asia.[2] Taking this vast area of Central Asia by military force

1 Owen Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia: Sinkiang and the Inner Asian Frontiers of China and Russia* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950), 3.

2 An airport was built in 1936 in Ejene, but it soon ceased to operate due to the difficulty of gaining fuel. Shinpo Atsuko 新保敦子, "Chūka minkoku jiki senkyūhyaku jūni senkyūhyaku

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was, however, impossible and thus the soft power of cultural campaigns was used to create Japan-friendly local governments. The Mongol regions west of Manchukuo were to become not only a military base but also a blueprint for such a state or government. The image of the Great Mongol Empire was used against the Soviet ideology and Chinese colonization to appeal to Mongol national aspirations. Along with the Mongols, Muslims in Mongol regions were also subjected to cultural campaigns to help the Japanese army's westward advance.

The Shadow of the Mongol Empire and a Unified Mongol State

From the late 19th to the early 20th centuries, the Mongol Empire in the 13 and 14th centuries, which covered the Eurasian continent and revived the Silk Road served as an aspiration for Japanese adventurers and intellectuals. It gave them confidence as an Asian race when Japan was being belittled by the Western Powers. They were proud that an Asian race, even if were not the Japanese, had conquered half of the continental landmass. In the early 20th century, when Japan gained its confidence as a sovereign and modern state, the image of the Mongol empire still lingered on in the mind of many Japanese, especially when Japan began to expand its interest on the continent. In this context, the image of the Mongol empire served two purposes: First, as a model of a unified Mongol state under Japanese leadership and, second, as an example of a territory that had once been under the Mongol empire and that should be ruled by Asians under Japan, implying that the entire central Asia under the influence of the Soviets should be taken from Russian rule.

When the Japanese Kwantung Army conquered Manchuria and the neighbouring Mongol region, some Japanese military officials as well as intellectuals had the idea of building a great Mongol state including Outer Mongolia which was then under Soviet influence. This unified Mongol state would be the base for creating other Japan-friendly states or governments in Inner Asia and would help to isolate the Soviets and the Chinese in the long term. The idea was certainly based on the local Mongol aspiration of reviving a Great Mongol State, a reference to their past glorious empire.

In the early 20th century, Mongol nationalism was on the rise. In 1911, Mongols north of the Gobi Desert declared their independence with the intention of unifying all Mongol lands north of the Great Wall. In 1917 and 1918 around the

shijūkunen ni okeru kokka tōgō to shakai kyōiku no kenkyū" 中華民国時期 (1912–1949 年) における国家統合と社会教育の研究, (Ph.D.diss., Waseda University, 2002), 245.

time of the Russian Revolution and the Paris Peace Convention, a Pan-Mongol movement was carried out by Buryat Mongols around the Baikal Lake and Inner Mongols south of Gobi. Neither movements were successful in creating a Great Mongol State including Buryatia in the North and Inner Mongolia in the South, but the idea of founding a unified Mongol state never died amongst the Mongols, though different parts of the Mongol lands attempted to achieve their autonomous or independent path in different ways and through different structures. Mongols around the Baikal Lake formed their own Duma within the Soviet Union, the Mongols south of Baikal north of the Gobi Desert created the first socialist state in Asia in 1924. In the south of the Gobi, the Inner Mongols struggled to have a genuine autonomous status within the Chinese Republic, but their wish was not fulfilled. When the Japanese occupied Manchuria in early 1930s, the eastern part of Inner Mongolia came under Manchukuo, which was founded in 1932, and the western part of Inner Mongolia declared autonomy within the Chinese Republic in 1933. However, in the early 1930s, Soviet interference in Mongolian domestic politics increased and the anti-Soviet undercurrent amongst the aristocrats and the Buddhist clergies correspondingly increased. In the south, the Mongols in Inner Mongolia were not satisfied with the Chinese Nationalist Government because of their lack of support towards Mongolian independence. Mongol nationalism and dissatisfaction towards the Soviets and the Chinese were powerful tools for Japan to use when playing the "great Mongol state" card against the Soviets and the Chinese Republican Government.[3]

The core of the great Mongol state would be Outer and Inner Mongolia and this would attract Mongols from other parts of the world to join and also attract other nationalities who had been under Chinese and Soviet dominations. Creating a great Mongol state was considered to be one of the two important steps in the war against the Soviets, as set out in the document below

> The basis for establishing peace in East Asia is the elimination of the Soviet military threat against Manchukuo and Japan. Therefore the Soviets should be asked to accede to the following requests:

3 "Tai Uchi-Mō shisaku yōryō" 対内蒙施策要領 (25 July 1935) in Shimada Toshihiko 島田俊彦, Inaba Masao 稲葉正夫 ed., *Gendai Shiryō 8: Nicchū Sensō* 1 現代史料8：日中戦争 1, (Tōkyō: Misuzu Shobō, 1964), 540. Apart from the People's Republic of Mongolia and Inner Mongolia that were generally known as Mongols throughout the world, there were the Upper Mongols (Deed Mongols) who lived in Qinghai as well as in Alashan and Ejene, both under the Chinese Province of Ningxia, and also Mongols in Xinjiang as well as Buryat Mongols who lived around the Baikal Lake.

1. Concession of the Maritime Province and northern Sakhalin.
2. Recognition of the creation of a great Mongol state (Dai Mōko koku)

The document also suggested that in the event that China supported the Soviets, China would be asked to "recognize the creation of the great Mongol state."[4] Here the great Mongol state meant also a state that included both Inner and Outer Mongolia.

The starting point for building this great Mongol state was Inner Mongolia. Inner Mongolia bordered Manchukuo and many Japanese individuals and non-governmental organizations had begun activities in this region. More importantly, however, there was a strong desire on the part of the local Mongolian leaders, represented by Prince Demchugdongrob, to build an independent Mongolian state, which would include the entire Mongol plateau. This aspiration provided a very good pretext for the Japanese army to extend its influence in the region under the banner of supporting Mongol independence. From the Inner Mongolian base, the Japanese could achieve the aim of winning Outer Mongolia over from Soviet influence which would facilitate access to the Baikal region in the north and Muslim Central Asia in the west, as stated in the above-mentioned document on the war against the Soviets: "If we successfully develop our work in Inner Mongolia, we can make Outer Mongolia separate itself from the Soviets. This would threaten the enemy's flank and at the same time establish the foundation of creating a great Mongol state."[5]

The Inner Mongolian base was also important for furthering Japanese interest further westward. After the foundation of Manchukuo, therefore, the Japanese idea of building an Inner Mongol state or government often referred to Japan's strategy not only towards Outer Mongolia but also Northwest China, which was connected to the Muslim world along the Silk Road. The Kwantung Army, for example, issued a guideline of Measures towards Mongolia (and Northwest) "Tai Mō (Seihoku) shisaku yōryō" in January 1936. The objective was to:

> ... Fortify De Wang's [Prince Demchugdongrop] Inner Mongolia Military Government and expand its power gradually to the Chinese Western region. Further along with our advance in North China, Inner Mongolia should be separated from the Chinese Central Government and become autonomous ... Along with the success of [this first step], using this region

4 "Tai-So sensō shidō keikaku taikō" 対ソ戦争指導計画大綱 (August 1936, Sanbō Honbu dainika), *Gendai Shiryō 8: Nicchū Sensō* 1, 686.

5 "Tai-So sensō shidō keikaku taikō," *Gendai shiryō 8, Nicchū Sensō* 1, 690.

> as a base furthers its power in Suiyuan and then in Outer Mongolia, Qinghai, Xinjiang and Tibet.[6]

The Japanese took the view that only after securing stable political conditions in the Mongol regions could they further their plan of expansion to the west. In some Japanese military circles, it was believed that founding a Mongol state would help create a Muslim state. By way of example, shortly after the incorporation of Jehol into Manchukuo in 1933, Matsumuro Kōryo—who was then working at the Intelligence office at Dolonnuur—had a vision of setting up a great Mongol state which would be followed by the creation of several independent states in the so-called Chinese frontiers:

> … the foundation of a Mongol state will hasten the Muslim betterment in Gansu and Xinjiang which will result in the foundation of a Muslim state. The Mongol state will also help Tibet's collaboration with Japan. Thus, Manchukuo, a Mongol state, a Muslim state and a Tibet state will make a circular alliance with Japan in its centre around China, so that it will force China to collaborate with Japan. This circle of alliance will have an enormous impact on the people in Outer Mongolia, Central Asia, Persia, India and Vietnam …[7]

The Japanese were very much aware that nationality and religion were the main problems facing the Chinese government in its efforts to unify and centralize the territory that it believed it had legitimately inherited from the Qing Dynasty.[8] Thus, creating a Mongol state based on Mongol national aspiration, a Tibetan state based on Buddhism and a Muslim state based on Islam would make perfect sense against China.

In this kind of political atmosphere, some Japanese officials including Tanaka Giichi, then a member of the Japanese Kwantung army's push for overseas expansion, unofficially promised to support the Mongol leaders' idea of building an independent Mongol state in Inner Mongolia initially and then

6 "Tai Uchi-Mō shisaku yōryō" (25 July 1935) 対内蒙施策要領, *Gendai Shiryō 8: Nicchū Sensō* I, 540.

7 Matsumuro Kōryō 松本孝良, "Mōko koku kensetsu ni kansuru iken" 蒙古国建設に関する意見, *Gendaishi Shiryō 8: Nicchū sensō*, 451.

8 JACAR アジア歴史資料センター, Ref.B10070366700, "Shina ni okeru seihoku mondai to seihoku jijō narabi ni jūō seiken no chūōka kosaku" (Shirabe 3 . 28) 支那ニ於ケル西北問題ト西北事情並ニ重慶政権ノ中央化工作 (調三.28) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.21.

expanding to other parts of the Mongol cultural zone. In 1935, a Mongol military government was created under the leadership of Prince Demchugdongrob and the military government was developed into the Mongol Allied Leagues Government in 1937. This government was then put together with two Chinese governments—Northern Chahar and Southern Shanxi—that the Japanese army had helped to set up. The new government of the amalgamation of these three regional governments was called the Mongol Allied Government, which was often known as the Mengjiang [Mongol frontier] government, with Prince Demchugdongrob as its head. All these successive governments, however, did not have the status of an independent state despite endless reminders by the Mongol leadership about the promise by Japanese officials. In 1943, however, the Mongol Allied Government was allowed to use the Mongolian term *Ulus*, meaning state. The name did bring some internal reform and positive hope to the Mongols, but did not give any rights in external relations.

In this way, despite the promise of independence for Inner Mongol state by some Kwantung army officials, the Japanese Army did not commit to creating a Mongol independent state in Inner Mongolia. Creating a great Mongol state failed mainly due to two reasons: first of all, the Japanese had to make concessions to the Chinese Nationalist government at the cost of Inner Mongol independence. Japan had set up a Japan-friendly Chinese Nationalist government headed by Wang Jingwei. In exchange for his efforts in turning his back on Chiang Kai-shek's Government, they agreed to the territorial integrity of China; second, was the failure to separate Mongolia from the Soviet sphere of influence. An independent Mongol state had a chance only if it comprised Outer Mongolia, as a Japanese army document indicated: "A Mongol independence state in Inner Mongolia is not to be allowed, unless Outer Mongolia is separated from the Soviets."[9] After the Nomonhan War in 1939, the idea of creating a great Mongol state comprising Outer Mongolia became practically impossible though the idea lingered on in the minds of Inner Mongolian leaders and in some Japanese circles, but it remained as a romantic idea rather than as a practical strategy. Thus entering Central Asia via Outer Mongolia was not possible, and Inner Mongolia became now the only entrance for the Japanese army's westwards plan in relation to Buddhist Tibet and Muslim Central Asia.

During the successive governments of Inner Mongolia, part of Inner Mongolia (the central part of today's Inner Mongolia) was consolidated as a base for the Japanese army. The Japanese power in the Mongol region west of

9 JACAR アジア歴史資料センター, Ref.B02030558900, *Shina jihen kankei ikken dai jūkyū maki* 支那事変関係一件 第十九巻 (A-1-1-360) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.2.

Manchukuo was secured especially via cultural and economic institutions with military backing. The organization, Zenrin Kyōkai, the Good Neighborhood Society or Friendship Society, was the institution that carried out most of the non-military activities, which were called "cultural campaigns or work" (bunka kōsaku). The Society promoted school education, modern medicine and hygiene as well as livestock improvement, using the rhetoric of restoring and reviving Mongolia. After establishing their work amongst the Mongols, the Society also promoted the same kind of activities amongst the Muslim population in the region in the hope that it would facilitate the Japanese advance to the Muslim region in the west. Thus, Inner Mongolia was not only a military base, but also a breeding ground for Japan's activities in Muslim communities in the region and beyond.

Zenrin Kyōkai and the Cultural Campaigns

As soon as Zenrin Kyōkai 善隣教会 or the Good-Neighborhood Society was established in January 1934, the Kwantung Army instructed that the Society should take responsibility for the cultural campaigns in Chahar and other Mongol regions west of Manchukuo.[10] Zenrin Kyōkai was to help in gaining the hearts of the people via cultural campaigns and thus contribute to the creation of a Japan-friendly Mongol government. The decision of the Kwantung army to use Zenrin Kyōkai for the cultural campaigns had a political context. By mid-1933, due to international political circumstances, the Japanese Government in Tokyo had not allowed the Kwantung army to pursue a military campaign further west to Manchukuo. After the occupation of Jehol, the Tanggu Truce signed on 17 May 1933, a ceasefire agreement between Japan and the Chinese Nationalist Government, which formally ended the Japanese invasion of Manchuria which had begun two years earlier. Both sides had to withdraw their armies and a demilitarized zone was created 100km south of the Great Wall in Hebei Province. It officially forbade both sides from any military campaigns. In this context, the Japanese army's advance into Inner Mongolia and further west took the form of cultural campaigns. Zenrin Kyōkai, which aimed to provide humanitarian help to the neighboring peoples and "advance each other's culture (sōgō bunka no kōjō)" was the ideal vehicle for the venture.

Zenrin Kyōkai was set up as a non-profit organization and originated from Nichi-Mō Kyōkai (Japan-Mongolia Society), which was founded by a

10 "Tai Cha shisaku" (Shōwa 9,1,24) 対察施策, *Gendai shiryō 8: Nicchū sensō* 1, 470.

tairiku rōnin, ("continental adventurer") Sasame Tsuneo in Tokyo in early 1933. Officially, it was not a government organization, but had strong connections to high ranking military and government officials. The Society received its initial funding from large companies such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo and later received at least half of its annual budget from the Japanese Department of Foreign Affairs.

As the original name—Nichi-Mō Kyōkai—reflects, the Society's main target neighbors were the Mongols, especially the central part of today's Inner Mongolia which shared a common border with Manchukuo. To achieve the aim of humanitarian help, the Society had the following goals:

- Setting up cultural institutions (bunkateki shisetsu)
- Assisting Mongolian industrial development in order to advance trade
- Introducing and promoting each other's cultures (Japanese and Mongolian)
- Managing research institutes and libraries
- Assisting Mongolian students studying in Japan
- Managing occasional schools that trained personnel who would lead the cultural and industrial development of neighbors.
- Publication and presentation of fieldwork and research results on Mongolia
- Opening health clinics and implementing mobile health checks
- Promoting the education of Mongolian children
- Researching Mongolia's natural resources

Even though the overall aim of the Society was to create a general neighborly friendship through humanitarian help, the main aim was obviously to work in Inner Mongolia. The foundation's purpose was "to save the Mongols" who inhabited the west of Manchukuo and lived in politically and economically harsh conditions.

> The Mongols and the Japanese have the same origin. The Mongols were once very proud people who conquered Europe and built a great state and contributed to the world culture. But it has been several hundred years since they experienced their downfall ... Their population has been decreasing due to deteriorating national health and an increasing death rate.... If we don't take a suitable lived path to save the Mongols, our brothers will be left behind from human civilization and will lead to the tragedy of their complete disappearance.... In accordance with the cause of co-existence of brother nations, we now step forward to rescue this nation who needs compassion, in an effort to promote their culture

and welfare. By doing this, we will achieve the friendship of friendly neighbours. …[11]

The Mongols were considered to have the same origin as the Japanese, but as having slipped backwards in their national development, and thus the Japanese should help them. A close affinity with the Mongols was often used to justify Japanese involvement in Mongol regions.

The Society's central office was located in Tokyo. It also set up a bureau in Xinjing, the capital city of the newly founded Manchukuo. From there they started their activities in Mongol regions centered in Dolonnuur, Abaga and West Sunid banners in the Shilingol League.

The significant cultural activities that the Society campaigned for were education, modern health care, livestock and pastoral improvement. These were activities that were important for local people and also the easiest way to get access to local communities. Most of the human and financial resources were spent on these three items. In 1938, for example, the Society had altogether 54 professional personnel working in Inner Mongolia. Nearly 80% of them were working in these three areas (19 in education, 16 in health care and 8 in animal husbandry and veterinary science).[12] Accordingly, the cost in these three areas was high: the total budget of the Society was 411,793.21 Yen in 1938. The budget allocated to activities in Inner Mongolia was 333,383.21 Yen (81%) and these three areas made up 61.4% of the subtotal (79,789.06 Yen for education, 60,859.26 Yen for health care, 64,035.20 Yen for livestock and veterinaries).[13] This budget was increased for the following year again to 67.6% of the Inner Mongolian total budget of 422,726 Yen.[14]

Funding for school education concentrated on the countryside where traditionally hardly any schools existed. The Society set up no less than fifteen schools, though not all of them continued to the end of the war and most of the schools were boarding schools because the Mongolian countryside was sparsely populated. All the accommodation, food and school utensils were provided

11 "Zenrin Kyōkai sōritsu shui" 善隣協会創立趣意, Zenrinkai 善隣会 eds. *Zenrin Kyōkai shi: Uchi Mōko ni okeru bunka katsudō* 史：内蒙古における文化活動 (Tokyo: Nihon Mongoru Kyōkai, 1981), 253.

12 JACAR Ref.B05015956300, *Zenrinkyōkai kankei dai ni maki* 善隣協会関係雑件 第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-00-02) Gaimushō.Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.24.

13 If we calculate the budget (23,730.00 Yen) for the Mongolian student section of the Society, which had its own separate budget within the Tokyo office, the percentage will go up further.

14 JACAR Ref.B05015956300, *Zenrikyōkai kankei zakken dai ni maki* 善隣協会関係雑件 第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-00-02) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan. pic.32–34: 105–123.

by the Society. Apart from schooling in Mongolia, the Society sent Mongol students to Japan to study and set up a Mongolian Student Section (ryūgakuseibu) in Tokyo to take care of these students as well as other Mongolian students studying in Japan.[15] A technical school called Zenrin Kyōkai Senmon Gakkō was also set up in Tokyo in April 1935. This technical school aimed to train young Mongolians as well as young Japanese who would be working in Asia, especially in Mongolia and Manchukuo.[16]

The health and medical care initially focused on rural areas, but later the Society also set up two hospitals in Houhe and Baotou, the two big cities in the region, after the Japanese army occupied these regions in 1938. In rural areas they set up health clinics and also organized mobile clinics to provide health checks to the herders. The mobile clinics in Shilingol region carried out health check for 2690 people in 1935.[17] While the health clinics and the mobile clinics were almost exclusively checking and treating Mongolians, the hospitals in the cities were open to all, including Muslims and Chinese. In fact, the majority of the patients were Chinese. The Mongolians were reluctant at the beginning to be checked or treated by the Japanese because it was so different from their traditional medical practice which had been mainly carried out by lamas (Buddhist monks). In a similar way, in the cities people gradually began to trust the Japanese doctors. In 1939, for example, the Baotou hospital treated 9168 people,[18] which makes about 250 people daily. To spread the idea of modern medical and hygiene knowledge, training centres were established for modern

15 Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 412–418; "Uchimōko ni okeru bunka jigyō josei" 内蒙古ニ於ケル文化事業助成 JACAR Ref.B05015956300, *Zenrinkyōkai kankei zakken dai ni maki* 善隣協会関係雑件 第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-00-02) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.4. More on Zenrin Kyōkai's educational activities in Inner Mongolia, also see Suzuki Ken'ichi 鈴木健一 "Zenrin Kyōkai to Uchimōko kyōiku," 善隣協会と内蒙古教育 in Suzuki Ken'ichi eds. *Ajia kyōikushi kenkyū no kisō kadai* アジア教育史研究の基層課題 (Tōdaihan: Kinki Daigaku Kyōiku Kenkyūjo, 1990), 142–148; Bao Tiemei 宝鉄梅, "Mōkyō seikenka no tai Mongorujin nihongo kyōiku ni tsuite" 蒙疆政権下の対モンゴル人日本語教育について in *Gendai shakai bunka kenkyū* 現代社会文化研究 (No.31 2004): 79–95.

16 It was renamed as Zenrin Kōtō Shōgyō Gakkō in 1939 and as Zenrin Gaiji Senmon Gakkō in 1944.

17 Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 412–418.

18 Saijirahu 財吉拉胡 "Kindai Nihon no tai Uchimongoru iryō eisei jigyō" 近代日本の対内モンゴル医療衛生事業 Tokyo daigaku kyōyō gakubu tetsugaku kagakushi bukai, *Tetsugaku. Kagaku shi ronshu* 東京大学教養学部哲学・科学史部会. 哲学・科学史論集 (2012): 91–130.

medicine and hygiene, and young Mongolians including lamas were trained there.[19]

Along with education and health care campaigns, veterinarian care for livestock was an important activity for the Society. It carried out livestock disease prevention measures, supervised new pasture management and attempted to upgrade livestock. In 1935, the Society set up two experimental farms—in Abaga and Chahar. In the Abaga farm, the Society implemented the crossing of Mongolian sheep with Australian merino sheep, and in Chahar they carried out research on local Mongolian sheep.[20]

Improving the pastoral economy was a crucial element in improving the Mongols' living standards and wining their hearts and their trust. Developing a sustainable pastoral economy in Inner Mongolia was also politically and strategically very useful in keeping Inner Mongolians in Inner Mongolia, if not attracting Mongols from Outer Mongolia under Japanese control. Interestingly enough, progress in improving livestock in Outer Mongolia by Soviet assistance was taken as a good example. Despite public criticism of Soviet ideology and the impact of its politics on religion, the Japanese were very much aware of the progress made in the Soviet Union in economic terms. It reported that the total livestock number in Outer Mongolia increased to 22,372,460 in 1935, an increase of 62% compared to 1924. These increases were due to the introduction of modern knowledge on livestock husbandry that the Soviets spread by setting up seminars and through state supported networks and research on pastoral economy. They also improved water resources, took prevention measures and increased veterinary care. The report also continued that if these kinds of positive changes were known to the people in Inner Mongolia, the Mongols would probably be more attracted to Outer Mongolia, but "if Inner Mongolia itself was to be reformed and progressed and the people enjoyed positive development, then there would be no worry." Therefore helping the Mongols' only economic base—livestock husbandry—would bring Japan's "civilizing work to a full scale (*honkakuteki reberu*)."[21]

Moreover, livestock products—horses as well as wool and leather—were also crucial for Japanese war efforts in China. The Society set up a livestock husbandry department within its administrative structure in Inner Mongolia

19 Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 292, 318, 369.

20 "Uchi mōko ni okeru bunka jigyō josei" 内蒙古ニ於ケル文化事業助成 JACAR Ref. B05015956300, *Zenrinkyōkai kankei zakken dai ni maki* 善隣協会関係雑件 第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-00-02) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.93.

21 *Zenrin Kyōkai kankei zakken dai ni maki*, 善隣協会関係雑件 第二巻 JACAR Ref. B05015956300 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-00-02) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.12–13.

in 1938 to manage livestock and pasture improvement. Model pastures in Dehua, Baizimiao and East Ujumchin were set up. To improve the wool quality of Mongolian sheep, cross-fertilization was begun. In 1938, they received assistance from the Japanese-Manchukuo Sheep Association of the Colonial Department and upgraded these farms as model farms and carried out cross-fertilization with Corderos sheep.[22]

Apart from the medical and educational activities and the improvement of pastures and livestock, the most significant activity that the Society engaged in was collecting information and conducting research on Mongol society. The Research Section (Chōsabu) was responsible for this venture and published many Mongolian-related books and pamphlets to promote Japanese public awareness on Mongol lands. The Society's biweekly newsletter was a confidential report to internal members to begin with, but from March 1935 the newsletter became a monthly research journal, *Zenrin Kyōkai Chōsa Geppō*. Until August 1944, a total of 146 issues were published.[23] The monthly journal reported on a wide range of topics on Mongolian history, culture, politics, lifestyle, economy, ethnicity and languages. The journal not only covered the region of central Inner Mongolia where the Society was most active, but also all the people in the broader Mongol cultural zone (Buryats around Baikal, Kalmuks around the Caspian Sea, Mongols in Manchukuo, Xinjiang and Qinghai). It also reported extensively on Muslim culture and politics in Inner Mongolia and beyond. This Research Section, along with the South Manchurian Railway Research department, together were the most important institutions that carried out most of the knowledge production about Mongols, their culture, history, economy and politics in the first half of the 20th century.

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, along with the Japanese army's expansion deep into the north China plain and Suiyuan region, the Society went through a major restructuring to meet the army's strategic interests. In February 1938, the Japanese Resident Army in Mongolia (Chū Mō gun), that replaced the Kwantung army in Inner Mongolia, instructed the Society to move most of its personal and institutional base from Tokyo and Manchukuo to Inner Mongolia where the actual activities had been carried out. The bureau in Manchukuo was abolished and the Executive Director (rijichō) of the Society and the Research Section moved from Tokyo to Mongolia and a new upgraded office called 'Overseas Central Office' (Zaigai Honbu) was set up in

22 "Uchi mōko ni okeru bunka jigyō jōsei" 内蒙古ニ於ケル文化事業助成, JACAR Ref. B05015956300, *Zenrin Kyōkai kankei zakken dai ni maki* 善隣協会関係雑件 第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-02) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.14–15, 22, 93.

23 From Volume 83 it took the new name *Mōko* (Mongolia).

Kalgan.[24] Setting up this overseas central office and moving the research section to Kalgan meant more efficient management and activities closer to the ground. Due to the war, the army tightened its control over the cultural campaigns, and thus an office with more decision making power would make the collaboration with the army in the front much easier.

The Resident Army in Mongolia instructed that all the education and medical facilities of the Society were to be transferred to the newly founded Mongolian Allied Leagues Government. It also decided that those Japanese who worked long-term in the Mongolian government should be administered and paid for by the Mongolian government. Those people who would be working in Yeke Juu and Ulaanchab leagues as well as in other regions outside the current Mongolian government administration, were to carry out the original Zenrin Kyōkai activities under the direct supervision of the army.[25] The transfer of the health clinic and education facilities in Hohhot, West Sunid, Abaga, Beizimiao and clinic in West Ujumchin were carried out between July and December 1938. Even the Mongolian students who were studying on scholarships of the Society in Tokyo had to get their scholarship henceforth from the Mongolian Government.[26] However, the facilities in strategically important locations and departments were not transferred to the government and the facilities in Baotou belonged to this category. Baotou was the military base for entering western Mongolia and the Chinese Northwest. The activities concerning livestock husbandry were also not transferred to the Mongolian government, because this was an important sector for the "Japanese national strategy." This sector was expanded further in the following year due to the demand for war materials.[27] The Society's telegraphic office and the staff were transferred to the local Japanese Special Service Agency.[28]

The transfer of the Society's local medical and educational facilities meant three things. First, the Society met its mission of laying the groundwork for building a Japan-friendly government via cultural campaigns, as a report of the Society stated "with the establishment of the Mongolian government, we

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24 "Zenrin Kyōkai shidō hōshin sōfu no ken" 善隣協会指導方針送付の件, JACAR Ref. C04120256600, Showa 13 昭和 13 年 *Riku Shina mitsu dai nikki* dai 10 go 陸支密大日記第 10 号 Bōeshō Bōei kenkyūjo 防衛省防衛研究所, pic.5–6.

25 The annual budget of the Association would be limited to 300,000 Yen per annum and it would be coming out of the Foreign Ministry (Ibid. pic. 5–6).

26 Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, p.317.

27 JACAR Ref.B05015956300, *Zenrin Kyōkai kankei zakken dai ni maki* 善隣協会関係雑件第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-00-02) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.90.

28 Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 317.

have accomplished most of our mission in the Mongol region";[29] second, the recognition that the Mongol government was responsible for the cultural and welfare works in its own territory; and third, it was cheaper for the Japanese side because the Mongolian government would then be responsible for the expenses of running these institutions and now the Society could invest more in its activities further west. As Kimura Hisao witnessed, the branch offices and facilities of the Society in Abaga and West Sünid were given to the Shilingol League to prepare more activities of the Society to the west into Ningxia.[30] In 1939, new centres were planned further west in Ulaanchab and Yeke Juu leagues to campaign for education, health and veterinary programs.[31]

Campaigns to the Northwest

By transferring most of the educational and medical institutions to the Mongolian government in late 1938, the Zenrin Kyōkai was now ready to expand its campaigns further to the west: to western Inner Mongolia, Ningxia and then to Gansu, Qinghai and Xinjiang. The Society's plan of action referred to this westward advance as its "second mission."[32] Three immediate action plans were made: the cultural campaigns amongst the Muslim population in Inner Mongolia and north China; the campaigns into west Mongolia, Ulaanchab, Ordos, Alashan and Ejene where the newly founded Mongolian government legislation was yet to be extended; and the opening of a college to train people who would be contributing in these regions.

The cultural campaigns amongst the Muslims in Inner Mongolia were "to help the independence and revival of Muslims who were Japan-friendly and anti-communist in the Northwest."[33] The idea of building a Japan-friendly Muslim government, if not a state, was the agenda behind the campaigns. The Kwantung army often indicated in its policy guidance at the onset of the

29 "Mōkyō oyobi seihō chihō ni okeru Zenrin Kyōkai kongo no jigyō narabi ni sono jicchi'an" 蒙疆及び西方地区ニ於ケル善隣協会今後ノ事業並ニ其実施案 in Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 313.

30 Kimura Hisao 木村肥佐生, "Nishi Jaran-byō no Mōko minshū taikai 西ジャラン廟の蒙古民集大会," Zenrinkai eds., *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 186.

31 JACAR Ref.B05015956300 *Zenrin kyōkai kankei zakken dai ni maki* 善隣協会関係雑件 第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-00-02 Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.89–90.

32 "Mōkyō oyobi seihō chihō ni okeru Zenrin Kyōkai kongo no jigyō narabi ni sono jicchi'an," in Zenrinkai eds., *Zenrin Kyōkaishi*, 313.

33 JACAR Ref.B02030558900, *Shina jihen kankei ikken dai jūkyū maki* 支那事変関係一件 第十九巻 (A-1-1-360) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.2.

Society's foundation that this new non-governmental institution was also to promote cultural campaigns amongst the Muslims.[34] The Society, however, did not do much amongst the Muslim populations until 1938, when the Japanese Resident Army in Mongolia ordered the Zenrin Kyōkai to shoulder the responsibility for developing cultural campaigns directed towards the Muslim population along the railway line between Beijing and Baotou under the army's supervision in addition to their usual cultural work in the Inner Mongolian region.[35] In the newly occupied cities of Baotou and Hohhot there was a concentration of a Muslim population: 4,000 and 15,000 respectively. The Kwantung army had an interest in the Northwest expansion already in the early 1930s, but the Tokyo government was reluctant. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, however, not only the local armies but also the Japanese central government and army considered the Northwest and co-opting the Muslim warlords in the region to be important for the war against China.[36] The Northwest region was controlled by Muslim warlords and so bringing them to the side of the Japanese would not only cut off Russian trade and support lines to China, but also outflank Fu Zuoyi, the governor of Suiyuan, who still controlled the western part of Suiyuan after the Japanese army's occupation of Houhe and Baotou. This region included the western part of Inner Mongolia and bordered Ningxia and Shaanxi, thus blocking the path to the Northwest region.

The Society's activities in Inner Mongolia became the blueprint for their activities in Muslim communities. In May 1938, at the request of the army, Zenrin Kyōkai took the Muslim Research Institute (Kaikyō Kenkyūjo) led by Ōkubo Kōji under its wing. The institute published Muslim-related books and journals, including the monthly journal *Kaikyōken* (The Muslim Zone). Monthly

34 "Tai Cha shisaku" (Shōwa 9,1,24), *Gendai Shiryō 8, Nicchū Sensō I*, 470. Kwantung army outlined Zenrin Kyōkai's activities as follows: wooing lamas and Muslims and improving Lamaism in the future; carrying out educational activities; setting up hospitals and clinics as well as founding and managing a *Zenrin* Hall. But the issues of the region were mainly carried out by the Japanese army's Special Service Agency (Tokumukikan). Li Narangoa, *Japanische Religionspolitik in der Mongolei 1932–1945: Reformbestrebungen und Dialog Zwischen Japanischem und Mongolischem Buddhismus*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1997, 35.

35 "Zenrin Kyōkai Shōwa sanjū nendo jigyō hōkoku" 善隣協会昭和十三年度事業報告, JACAR Ref.B05015956900, Zenrinkyōkai kankei zakken dai ni maki 善隣協会関係雑件第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-00-02) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.5.

36 Shinpo, "Chūka minkoku jiki senkyūhyaku jūni senkyūhyaku shijūkunen ni okeru kokka tōgō," 244–47.

seminars and fieldwork reports were held.[37] The new Muslim Research Institute stood under the Society's central office in Tokyo and had a separate budget of 30,000 Yen. Within a couple of years, Zenrin Kyōkai had set up Muslim health clinics (kaimin shinryōjo) in Baotou,[38] Salaqi and Houhe. In addition, a Medical Training Centre for Muslims and a Muslim school (*Kaikyō Juku*) were also set up in Houhe and medical checks and treatment were offered free of charge. As with the Mongol population, mobile clinical checks were also conducted. In 1939, a section for Muslim students was added to the Tokyo office to take care of Muslim students who studied in Japan.[39] In 1940, a Muslim Girls School (Zenrin kaimin jojuku) was founded in Kalgan to train Japanese language teachers for Muslim schools.[40] Interestingly the budget for these activities amongst the Muslim population was not included in the Society's annual budget in Inner Mongolia or the "Overseas Central Office" in Kalgan. It seems that these costs were covered from a separate source.

For the cultural campaigns amongst the Muslims in the Inner Mongolia region, Zenrin Kyōkai had to work with the army as well as with the Northwest Islamic Union (Seihoku kaikyō rengōai) that was founded by the Japanese army Special Service Agency in Houhe at the end of 1938.[41]

Despite the recognized importance of the Muslim campaigns, the campaigns amongst the Muslim population continued to be a secondary obligation for the Society. In the activity plan of 1941, for example, the Executive Director, stated that if the Society did not get any extra funds on top of what the Kōa'in provided, then the activities (the educational and clinical institutions) in Muslim communities would have to be given up and would only focus on the Inner Mongolia Branch and the Kōa Gijuku, an academy that was set up in 1939 (more details below). As the Zenrin Kyōkai was a non-profit organization, its activities depended on external funding. In 1938, the Japanese government

37 "Zenrin Kyōkai Shōwa sanjū nendo jigyō hōkoku," 善隣教会昭和三十年度事業報告 JACAR Ref.B05015956900, *Zenrin Kyōkai kankei zakken dai ni maki* 善隣協会関係雑件第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-0-02) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.5, 19.

38 "Zenrin Kyōkai Shōwa sanjū nendo jigyō hōkoku," JACAR Ref.B05015956900, *Zenrin Kyōkai kankei zakken dai ni maki* 善隣協会関係雑件 第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-00-02) Gaimushō.Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.5.

39 "Uchimongoru ni okeru bunka jigyō josei," 内モンゴルに於ける文化事業助成 JACAR Ref.B05015956300, *Zenrinkyōkai kankei zakken dai ni maki* 善隣協会関係雑件 第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-00-02) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.96.

40 Nozoe Jirō 野添次郎, "Zenrin Kyōkai no tai kaikyō bunka jigyō," 善隣教会の対回教文化事業 Zenrinkai eds. *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 122–124.

41 On this Union, see Shinpo, "Chūka minkoku jiki senkyūhyaku jūni senkyūhyaku shijūkunen ni okeru kokka tōgō to shakai kyōiku no kenkyū," 321–23.

increased its assistance from 30,000 Yen to 300,000 Yen, which was a huge increase. It was further increased to 350,000 Yen in 1940. With the preparation for Northwest expansion, the Society also received funds from other institutions that were lobbied by the army and the Kōa'in, and it seems that these extra funds were used for the Muslim campaigns.[42] Despite this concern, the Society obtained extra funding for 1941 and thus the total budget reached 610,000 Yen, which ensured that the campaigns in Muslim communities could continue.[43] Nonetheless, this was an indication that even after 1938, the Society's main target continued to be the Mongol communities.

The second plan of action of the Zenrin Kyōkai was to expand its cultural work in the western part of Inner Mongolia (Ulaanchab, Ordos, Alashan and Ejene) because this region was located in the strategic location of the Northwest. The Society had set up schools and clinics in Ulaanchab in early 1936, but had to withdraw due to the defeat in military campaigns against Fu Zuoyi in the end of 1936, which was known as the Suiyuan Campaign or East Suiyuan incident (Suitō jihen). The facilities were re-established only in 1938, when the Japanese-Inner Mongolia army retook the region. Alashan and Ejene were under the Ningxia provincial jurisdiction and thus were controlled by the Muslim warlord Ma Hongkui. Advancing to Alashan and Ejene therefore meant preparing the path to Ningxia and Muslim areas in the region.

> … the Society recognizes that advancing to west Mongolian regions and the Muslim areas is absolutely urgent and necessary for national strategy. Therefore, on top of strengthening all of the above-mentioned activities [which they had been doing in Inner Mongolia], we will set up a branch office in Ningxia and establish offices in Alashan and Ejene to carry out health checks for both herders and livestock and introduce educational institutions in 1939. At the same time we will enter into Muslim areas and, as long as the conditions allow, carry out cultural campaigns amongst the Muslim in Gansu, Qinghai and Xinjiang … and try to materialize friendly collaboration.[44]

42 Inoue Boku 井上僕, "Zenrin Kyōkai shōwa jūrokunendo jigyōkikaku oyobi keihi ni tsuite", 善隣教会昭和十六年度事業企画および経費について Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 351–352.

43 Zenrinkai, *Zenrin kyōkai shi*, iv.

44 "Uchimongoru ni okeru bunka jigyō josei,": 内モンゴルに於ける文化事業助成 JACAR Ref.B05015956300, 善隣協会関係雑件 第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-00-02) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.90.

In many ways, the campaigns in west Mongolia were a natural extension of the Society's work that it had been carrying out in Chahar and Shilingol region. In contrast to the Muslim campaigns the campaigns in west Mongolia were planned with a detailed budget breakdown already in 1938 for the action plan in 1939. The total budget for the planned campaigns in west Mongolia made up some of the annual budget of the Kalgan Office in 1939 and we can see the commitment of the Society to expanding westwards. But the political situation in western Suiyuan and further west was not favourable for Japanese cultural campaigns. Before the Japanese were able to bring the Muslim warlords on side, Fu Zuoyi was successful in wooing them to join his anti-Japanese counter campaigns. The plan to establish branch offices and cultural institutions in Ejene and Alashan was doomed to failure. The money that was budgeted for Alashan and Ejene was used to upgrade the Baotou hospital.

The third plan of action was a combination of the previous two plans: opening Kōa Gujuku (Asia Development academy) in Houhe (today's Hohhot) in 1939, to train people who would be working in Muslim and Mongol communities in Inner Mongolia to help the westward advance.

The Kōa Juku was an institution that focused on local knowledge and language training because local knowledge and language were essential for understanding the local people and working amongst them and collecting authentic information. Prior to the establishment of this school, the Society's Tokyo Central Office used to send language students to Mongolia for in-country study. The school was a formalized and developed form of this in-country study. The aim of the school was 'to train people who would work in Mongolia and in the north-western regions of China.[45] The Yomiuri Newspaper reported as follows,

> Kōa Juku will be opened with the mission of training young people with the aspiration of carrying out cultural campaigns and other works to secure the region between Mengjiang and China's Northwest and destroy the Red Route to materialize the imperial strategy on the continent.[46]

The study was divided into two language majors: Mongolian (Mōkohan, Mongol class) and Muslim (Kaikyōhan, Muslim class). Those who chose the Mongolian class would learn the Mongolian language as the main language and take Russian as their second language. Those who chose the Muslim class would learn Chinese as their main language because Muslims in most parts of China spoke Chinese only and they took Arabic, sometimes Turkish, as their

45 Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 366.

46 *Yomiuri shimbun*, 15 March 1939, in Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 319.

second language. During the first few months of on-campus study, they also had to study history, geography and social and political conditions in Mongol and Muslim regions, as well as a general knowledge of North and Northwest China. During this period, they had to make a couple of retreats to Mongol regions to practise how to survive in a tent and to prepare for their off-campus study later. During this period, they also had to learn how to ride a horse and undertake some sporting activities. An off-campus study of about ten months would follow a few months later in which the students were individually sent to their respective language areas (mostly to families, temples, schools in the Mongol region, to mosques and schools in the Muslim cultural zone along the Beijing-Baotou Railway lines) to improve their language skills. They would live together with the locals and dress like the locals and eat the local food. After their real 'in-country' study, they would be called back to write a final essay and complete their one and half years of study. The school had a brand new campus built in late 1939 with classrooms, library and accommodation.[47] All the study and living costs were covered by the school.

The Academy had the ambition to train the best and toughest young Japanese who would give their life for the cause of Japan's interest in the Mongol and Muslim regions. Originally, it was planned to include five local students, but in the end no local students were recruited. The students were chosen from among graduates with middle school and above qualifications, and were expected to be "… pioneers and leaders."[48] They were educated in the ideology of "becoming the leader of waking East Asia and Central Asia from their sleep and of making Japan, Mongolia and Manchukuo as one moral, one hearted, good friends."[49] The Executive Director of Zenrin Kyōkai, Inoue Boku said to the newly arrived first year students: "We want to gather people who do not care about money, name and fame as well as their lives. This academy is not a place to do academic studies, but a place to bring up people. Training is the first priority. People with no determination are rather a hindrance to national policy and thus those who are not good enough would be returned to Japan."[50]

47 Nakada Zensui 中田全水, "Kōa Gijuku are kore" 興亜義塾あれこれ, Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkaishi*, 141; Kasuga Yukio 春日行雄, "Kōa juku dayori" 興亜塾便り, in Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 135, 139.

48 Kasuga Yukio 春日行雄, "Mominggan-ki dayori" モミンガン旗便り, in Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 160.

49 Satō Chikara 佐藤力, "Jūnan sai no jukusei" 十七歳の塾生, in Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 179.

50 Kasuga Yukio, "Kōa juku dayori," 興亜塾便り in Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 135.

The school rules were accordingly very strict and demanded that the student be morally as well as physically strong. Students were to "have the duty of spreading the imperial spirit in the Asian continent and to be prepared to contribute to the building of an East Asian order and to concentrate on their training." If their ideas and thought did not match the school's objectives or if they were not physically able to stand the training, they were not allowed to continue in their studies. If they failed to come to the class for more than one month, due to laziness or illness, they were asked to leave the academy. If the one-month absence was caused by illness and if the person showed future promise, he could be re-enrolled for the next year if he wished. The school regulations also gave detailed instructions on how to behave outside the campus and how to ask students to become an exemplary person.

> Concerning the off-campus training, especially during their stay with Chinese, or Mongolian or Muslim families or institutions, they should pay special attention to understanding and respecting their customs and avoid using any language or behaviour that would hurt their feelings. At the same time, [students] are to behave in a way that will earn respect and trust.[51]

Gaining the trust of the local people was an important aspect of the training because the academy had the objective of training young people who would work amongst the Mongols and the Muslims, and the leaders of the school and the association were absolutely convinced that mutual respect was the key for success. "Thinking in your belly" (Hara de kangaeru, meaning looking at the big picture and aiming high) and "gaining the heart" (shinzō o tsukamu) were the key phrases (ai kotoba) of the Academy.[52]

The academy was set up at the recommendation of the army and thus its objective was very much in line with the army's westward interests. This objective was very much reflected in the talk by the first Director of the academy, Maekawa Tankichi: "[Our] work in Inner Mongolia is the work for Outer Mongolia" and "The aim of the Northwest work is Central Asia" and "Xinjiang is like Outer Mongolia."[53] This statement captures the trends in Japanese interests and the main direction of the academy as well as of Zenrin Kyōkai. The work in Northwest China was just a stepping board to Central Asia just

51 "Kōa gijuku saisoku" 興亜義塾細則, in Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkaishi*, 338.
52 Kasuga Yukio, "Kōa juku dayori," in Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 137.
53 Kasuga Yukio, "Kōa juku dayori" in Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 137.

as Outer Mongolia would be. Connecting with Muslim Central Asia from both Outer Mongolia and Xinjiang would outflank the Soviets.

The school song of the academy written by Kasuga Yukio, one of the students who enrolled in the foundation year, also illustrates the academy's objective and the interests deep into Central Asia where the Mongol empire once ruled:

> Clouds gather and fade away ten thousand miles, with pride. The Great Wall brings light to the steppe, ...
>
> Focus the eyes to the north of the *oboo*, there is the Gobi Desert under the yellow dust; people struggling in the red flood, suffering badly in Outer Mongolia.
>
> The [caravan] bell is ringing towards the Northwest, camels go forward to the Silk Road; Aimed Ordos[54] and beyond the Yellow River comes the sound of Koran.
>
> Brethren, hold each other's shoulders, look at the happy land, North China, Manchukuo, our great father land, emerging holding hands, and steaming with anti-Soviet blood, the new Great Wall.
>
> ...
>
> Brethren, look up the Urals, Altai and Pamir from the Yinshan mountains,[55] the conquest path of Chinggis Khan, forward by horse, when will we drink the water of the Caspian Sea.[56]

The academy's objectives and the school song inspired a dream of adventure through going to the Northwest and then deep into Central Asia following Chinggis Khan's steps, and being able to do something that no one else could achieve. Two of the graduates, Nishikawa Ichizō and Kimura Hisao, separately went to Tibet as Mongol pilgrim lamas in 1944. They had different motives in travelling to the northwest. Nishikawa wrote later in his book that he had a direct order from Tōjō Hideki to go deep into the enemy lines and collect information. Kimura stated in his memoir that he was attracted by the western

54 Ordos is a region in the western part of Inner Mongolia which was officially under the Chinese Nationalist Government's sphere of influence and is located just under a sharp bend in the Yellow River.

55 Yinshan mountain runs west-east in the middle of Inner Mongolia and is about 12,000 km long; its main rise is just north of Hohhot (Houhe, where the academy was based), 2,850 metres above sea level.

56 Kasuga Yukio, "Kōwa, Seika en dayori", 厚和, 西河園便り (Letters from Houhe, Xiheyan), in Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 175.

Mongolian dialects and wanted to learn more about the Mongols in Xinjiang and Qinghai. We lack proof for these claims but both of them seemed to have assistance from the local Japanese intelligence bureaus and army and thus we can assume that they had been given the task of collecting information. Their training in the Mongolian language was very useful. Both of them dressed as Mongol lamas and were successful in going through enemy control lines and reaching Ningxia, and later Tibet. Their training at the academy obviously contributed to their success in disguising themselves as Mongol lamas, not only in their use of the language but also in knowing Mongol customs and political conditions in the region. The extended Mongol cultural zone also played an important role in their adventure. The Mongol cultural zone extended to Ningxia, Gansu, Shanxi, Xinjiang, Qinghai and even to Tibet. Many Mongol pilgrims went to these areas, especially Shanxi, Qinghai and Tibet where the large Buddhist monasteries located. So, travelling as a Mongol lama to the west was the most plausible way to go. Moreover, lamas were the most educated people in Mongol society and they often acted as medicine men and were trusted by the population. The Japanese therefore often took medicine with them to give to people when they were asked for help. The two men, however, could not do much in the Northwest because the war ended and Japan was defeated.

These two cases were, however, exceptions. The academy altogether produced six classes and about 100 graduates from the foundation by the end of the war in 1945.[57] The original idea was to employ them in the Society to improve their activities amongst Mongols and the Muslims.[58] Despite the romantic dream of going westward, the graduates were given posts in local government and in other institutions in the region and some of them were sent to medical universities in Harbin, Manchukuo, to study medicine because the medical care and health issues were considered to be one of the acute needs in the region and also the most effective "cultural work." The graduates of this school focused on their work in local communities in Inner Mongolia rather than going out to the west and working behind enemy lines, due to the change of political and military conditions in the world and that of the Northwest in particular.

The above-mentioned three plans of Zenrin Kyōkai were not very successful due to the changing circumstances in western Suiyuan and in the Northwest. In 1940, the Battle of Wu Yuan pushed the Japanese-Inner Mongolian army

57 "Zenrin Kyōkai no enkaku" 善隣協会の沿革, Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, iii.

58 Uchi mōko ni okeru bunka jigyō josei 内蒙古ニ於ケル文化事業助成」 JACAR Ref. B05015956300, *Zenrin Kyōkai kankei zakken dai ni maki* 善隣協会関係雑件 第二巻 (B-H-06-02-00-10-00-00-02) Gaimushō. Gaikōshiryōkan, pic.94.

to the east and Fu Zuoyi controlled the area again. Wu Yuan was seen as a step to the western Inner Mongolia and a base to the westwards advance tc Ningxia and Xinjiang. Fu also attracted Muslim warlords to his site to fight against the Japanese. The Resident Army in Mongolia did not have the capacity to counterattack and even had they won a counter attack, they lacked the resources to hold extra territory in the long term due to the wars in Centra China and elsewhere, as General Okabe Naosaburō of the Resident Army ir Mongolia reiterated in his diary. Even before Fu Zuoyi's counter attack, he insisted that the army should give up Wu Yuan as soon as Fu Zuoyi was ready to launch a counter attack, because the battle with Fu's army was not about gaining extra territory but solely to weaken his force.[59] Further west in Xinjiang, when Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the Governor of the Province allied with the Chinese Nationalists who dominated the province from 1942 and soon replaced Soviet control.[60] Chinese counter campaigns to woo the Muslim warlords and the governors in the Northwest were obviously much more fruitful than the Japanese campaigns that did not go beyond the regions of Inner Mongolia and Suiyuan. As Ando pointed out, the Japanese Muslim campaigns failed due to the counter campaigns and conduct of the Chinese.[61]

These changes in regional and international politics brought a new twist to the Zenrin Kyōkai's activities. Advancing to the west practically became impossible and thus the Society refocused its activities in Chahar, Shilingol and part of Ulaanchab. Many of the new schools, clinics and other institutions were now set up along the strategically important locations bordering Outer Mongolia and to Wu Yuan. The activities were much more geared to the war efforts in China as well as in the Pacific. Their priority was first of all to collect materials and then try to convince people that the Japanese army were winning battles in the war. Experimental pastoral settlements were created tc do research on Mongol pastoral life as well as to improve productivity.[62] The Muslim campaigns in Inner Mongol region came to be also neglected due

59 Okabe Naosaburō 岡部直三郎, *Okabe Naosaburō taishōgun no nikki* 岡部直三郎大将の日記 (Tōkyō: Fuyōshobō, 1982), 300–303.

60 Wang Ke 王柯, *Higashi Torukisutan kyōwakoku: Chūgoku no Isuramu to minzoku mondai* 東トルキスタン共和国研究—中国のイスラムと民族問題 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 1995), 59–80.

61 Ando Junichirō, "Japan's Hui-Muslim Campaigns' in China from the 1910s to 1945: An introductory survey," *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies* 18, 2 (2003): 21–38, see 14. *Japan Association for Middle East Studies*, 14.

62 Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, 326–40.

to the Japanese army's expansion into Southeast Asia and their interests in Islamic communities in Malay and Indonesia.[63]

To adjust the new circumstances, the Society 's Overseas Central Office in Kalgan was separated from the Tokyo Central Bureau at the request of the Resident Army in Mongolia in May 1940. The former was called Mōko Zenrin Kyōkai (Mongolia Good Neighbor Society) and aimed to 'achieve the harmony of peoples in Mongolia and Northwestern regions of China,' with the academic journal *Nairiku Ajia* (Inner Asia) reflecting its activities and interests in Inner Asia as a whole including the Muslim world. The Tokyo Office retained its original name Zenrin Kyōkai and was supposed to be more active in broader neighboring regions, but published an academic journal Mōko Kenkyū (Mongolian Studies) instead of a journal that would cover a broader regional affairs.[64] It seems that the focus of the Tokyo office did not change much after all.

Due to the War and the members' departure to the army, the Society existed almost in name only by mid-1944. The romantic idea of going Northeast and the importance of the region, however, lingered on. A new research institute, the Seihoku Kenkyūjo (Northwest Research Institute) came into being under its wing. It was headed by the scientist Imanishi Kinji. Most of the 12 members were from Kyōto University and became well known scholars in their own fields in the postwar period. The institute was considered to be an extension of the Ethnographical Research Institute, which was set up by the Cultural Ministry in January 1943. As Nakao pointed out, the institute was a scientific research institute but it certainly had the duty of collecting information that could be useful for Japanese military strategy. As the name suggested, the institute was to do research and collect information on the Northwest. Their activities, however, mainly focused on Inner Mongolia because of the difficulties of entering the northwestern region and because they did not have much time until the end of the war. Imanishi intended to travel to Xinjiang but due to political conditions closer to the end of the war, he gave up the idea, and instead was planning to climb Mount Everest.[65]

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63 Sakamoto Tsutomu 坂本勉, *Nicchū sensō to isuramu: Man-ō Ajia chiiki ni okeru tōchi kaijū seisaku* 日中戦争とイスラム：満蒙・アジア地域における統治・懐柔政策 (Tokyo: Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2008), 70–71.

64 By 1941, the Mōko Zenrin Kyōkai had 93 officers and the annual budget reached 610,000 Yen including 350,000 Yen from Kōa'in. Zenrinkai, *Zenrin Kyōkai shi*, iv.

65 Nakao Katsumi 中生勝美, *Shokuminchi jinruigaku no tenbō* 植民地人類学の展望. (Tōkyō: Fūkyōsha 2000), 229–231.

Conclusion

The Japanese Northwest campaigns failed partly because the Japanese army's main concern was overly focused on anti-Soviet ideology and lacked a good strategic plan against the Chinese nationalist and the communists (as Sakamoto argued), and partly because the Japanese were not aware of the importance of the northwest trade route and economic exchange (as Ando reasoned). It was also partly and even more importantly because of Japan's over-expansion and lack of human and material resources to assist the Resident Army in Inner Mongolia and the Kwantung Army in the north.

At first the Japanese goal of entering Central Asia from Inner Mongolia via the Northwest and Outer Mongolia emerged from the strategy of out-flanking the Soviets in case of war against the Soviet Union. The Japanese attempted to gain access to the west, first by creating a United Mongol state comprising Outer and Inner Mongolia, and then creating a Japan-friendly Muslim state or government. Both a Japan-friendly Mongol state and Muslim state would have contributed greatly to Japan's goal of advancing further into Central Asia, which was culturally related to the Muslims and historically connected to the Mongols. This seemed to be a viable strategy, when the only enemy was the Soviets, and when the Japanese army was able to concentrate on the north and northwestern borders. The Japanese army, however, cut its own throat by expanding the war theatre in China, and then to Southeast Asia and the Pacific. It pushed the Chiang Kai-shek government out of Nanjing, and the Nationalist government moved their administration from Nanjing to Chongqing. With the expansion of the war zone in east and central China, the Chinese Nationalist looked to the Northwest to build a sustainable economic and political base and to open a path to the Soviet Union and Outer Mongolia to receive help from them, as did the Communists. They also began to strengthen their military presence. Moreover, the Japanese occupation of Burma cut the Chinese connection to the British supply route in the south and so the Chinese were forced to go to the Northwest to "defend the Great Northwest" and "get through to international lines," as the Communists put it, to gain military supplies from the Russians as well as from other Western countries. The Northwest, Xibei, as the Chinese referred to it, especially Xinjiang, not only became a base for the Chinese-Soviets trade and communications, but most importantly, Soviet control was replaced by the Chinese Nationalists soon after Nazi Germany marched across the Soviet border. The "Great Northwest" was already in the hands of the Chinese nationalists and the Japanese had no chance to get to the Northwest and then Central Asia with their downsized armies in Inner Mongolia and elsewhere on the continent.

In this broader political and military context, the Zenrin Kyōkai's cultural campaigns in the Northwest were also doomed to fail. The cultural campaigns were a form of soft power that could penetrate regions which military forces could not easily access. The long-lasting Sino-Japanese War, however, accelerated the anti-Japanese feeling in broader Chinese society. Even with humanitarian aim, the Zenrin Kyōkai could not enter the Northwest without military backing. The Society was not successful in its cultural campaigns to the west, but it was successful in setting up cultural institutions such as schools, training centers, clinics and pastoral management in Inner Mongolia. These activities helped the Japanese to gain access to local people and leaders and contributed to the acceptance by Mongol and Islamic leaders of the "help" provided by the Japanese army and helped to make Inner Mongolia as a base for the Japanese vision of accessing the Northwest and Central Asia. Local leaders were aware of Japan's intention to expand, but they also knew that Japan was a more modern and powerful nation than that of the Chinese nationalist government. The modern institutions and knowledge that the Zenrin Kyōkai brought with it confirmed this assessment. Local leaders wanted to modernize their own societies through the help of the Japanese and welcomed the introduction of modern educational and medical assistance provided by Japan.

Though it failed, the idea of going to the west and entering into Central Asia along the Silk Road left romantic dreams in the minds of young Japanese of the time, especially to those who worked and studied in Inner Mongolia, as the school song of the Kōa'a Gijuku illustrated: "Brethren, look up the Urals, Altai and Pamir ... the conquest path of Chinggis Khan, forward by horse, when will we drink the water of the Caspian Sea."

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CHAPTER 6

Abdurreshid Ibrahim and Japanese Approaches to Central Asia

Komatsu Hisao

Earliest Japanese Contacts with Central Asia

One of the earliest examples of Japanese political interests in Central Asia can be seen in the official report prepared by a young diplomat Nishi Tokujirō (1847–1912). After serving as the extraordinary chargé d'affaires in St. Petersburg, on his return to Japan he traveled extensively in Russian Turkistan for about four months in 1880. The observation of Russian colonial policy in Asia as well as the Great Game in Central Asia was invaluable for a small Far Eastern country. When he visited the Amirate of Bukhara under a Russian protectorate, he gained the opportunity to meet Amir Muzaffar himself in September 1880. In response to the Amir's question of the possibility of trade with Japan, young Nishi responded by saying, "it's very difficult for us to open trade with Bukhara due to the great distance, however if Japan can open trade with Persia and caravan routes through Persia to Turkistan are secured, it may be possible to open trade." In his report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Inoue Kaoru, Nishi comments on the future of Central Asian peoples as follows:

> Central Asian peoples are so devoted to the teaching of Islam and keen to observe every prescript of Islam that their wishes are never free from Islamic dogma. It is impossible to change the established order and institution. Even if they find any inconvenience in their life, they attribute this to the divine will. As a result it is very difficult to accept Western civilization. If they fail to bring into existence a new learning adapted to contemporary conditions, they cannot stand as an independent people, and are destined to remain under the rule of others (ie, Russians).[1]

1 "Nishi shokikan chūajia ryokō hōkokusho," *Nihon Gaikō Monjo*, Vol. 14, (1951): 478; Recently a detailed survey of Nishi's correspondence with the Bukharan authorities was published:Kimura Satoru,"Uzubekisutan denson no Nishi Tokujirō shokan wo megutte," *Ajia Ahurika Gengo Bunka Kenkyū*, No.88, (2014): 5–41.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004274310_008

It was 30 years later that Islamic reform—the so-called Jadid movements—prevailed among Muslim intellectuals in Russian Turkistan. Nishi's report and work entitled *Chū Ajia Kiji* (The Description of Central Asia, Tokyo, 1886) based on his field survey and researches of foreign publication and sources can be considered the first achievement of Central Asian studies in Japan. It should be noted that his book was translated into Italian and published in 1911. The introductory letter of recommendation by Raffaele Cappelli says, "This work is neither an essay nor a travelogue but a concise and accurate 'picture' (*quadro*) which enables the reader to broaden his knowledge of the geography and history of Central Asia.... Nishi's view on Central Asia is typically Asian and Japanese."[2] In this way his work was highly evaluated by an Italian scholar. In later years Nishi was promoted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1897–98), however Central Asian affairs attracted little interest in Japanese foreign policy for many decades. As is well known its main concerns were issues related to China, Manchuria and the South Seas.

Nevertheless growing contests with Russia in Korea and Manchuria as well as Chinese strategies caused the Japanese to pay greater interest to Central Asia in its broader sense, and the Japanese army and its agents (continental adventurers) played a great role in the preparation of her Central Asian strategy as seen in the case of Fukushima Yasumasa (1852–1914). For many years, however, Japanese authorities could not find any means of establishing a direct collaboration with Central Asian activists or organizations.

Abdurreshid Ibrahim's First Arrival in Japan in 1909

It was Abdurreshid Ibrahim (1857–1944), an ardent Pan-Islamist and one of the most aggressive political figures among Russian Muslims, who filled the gap between Central Asian peoples and Japanese authorities. He was famous for his great journey around the Eurasian continent including Japan. During his stay in Japan from February to June 1909 he succeeded in establishing close personal relations with Japanese statesmen, intellectuals (especially right wing nationalists), and army officers. At the same time he continued to report his observations of the remarkable progress of Japan and Japanese people through Tatar and Ottoman newspapers and journals such as the *Bayan al-Haq* (Kazan) and the *Sırat-ı Müstakim* (Istanbul). His eloquent arguments emphasizing the significance of the "Rising Sun" in world politics could not fail to

2 Kazuo Enoki, *Studia Asiatica: The Collected Papers in Western Languages of the Late Dr. Kazuo Enoki*, (Tōkyō: Kyūko Shoin, 1998), 592.

attract the attention of Japanese nationalists, among others Pan-Asianists in the late Meiji era as well as the interests of the Japanese intelligence service headed by Lieutenant-General Utsunomiya Tarō (1861–1922).

It is useful here to introduce some examples of the attention he earned: in March 21 Ibrahim was invited to the editorial meeting of the journal *Gaikō-jihō* (Foreign Affairs Report), probably on the recommendation of Prof. Tomizu Hirondo (1861–1935), an expert in international relations, and his speech—published in the journal (1909, No.137) under the title "Tatars' aspiration for independence"—can be summarized as follows:

> My purpose in visiting Japan is to investigate Japanese affairs in detail. I am sure we can learn many things in Japan. As to our Tatar people, words cannot describe every kind of oppression that we suffered during 450 years under Russian rule. I will repeat again that as a whole Asians are disgusted by the Europeans. From this point of view, I am sure that bringing about the union of Asian peoples to stand up to Europe is our legitimate means of self-defense. We Tatars do not hesitate to respect Japan as our senior, and we hope to send our youth to study in Japan. I will never believe that our independence can be achieved by ordinary means. It will become possible for us to carry out the independence movement only when the world order transforms all at once and great changes come about in the balance of power (due to the appearance of the Rising Sun in the Far East).

In May 1 Ibrahim was invited to a reception held by a Pan-Asianist society (Nittō-Kurabu). His solid personality is described vividly in the famous nationalist journal *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* (No. 509). In this reception, upon a Japanese request he wrote an Arabic phrase on a silk cloth. It was a sacred *hadith* (the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad), "Look for science even in China; if not found look for it around China." According to the explanation of Ibrahim, "around China" means Japan. Although it is not certain the Prophet admitted Japanese superiority, Ibrahim suggested that the hadith implied Japan. Such an eloquent speech gained great sympathy among Japanese participants. By the way this hadith was a favorite text and one that has been quoted frequently by Muslim reformist intellectuals since the end of the 19th century. Because it justified the acceptance of that which was "foreign" by origin, then it allowed for the adoption of indispensable modern science and technology for the development of Muslim societies. Following this article the same journal published another speech of Ibrahim in which he condemned the brutal Russian rule in Turkistan in strong tones (No.511). Introducing a number of examples

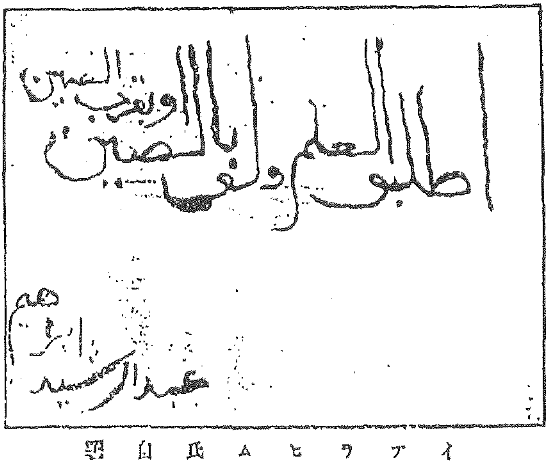

FIGURE 6.1 *Ibrahim's autograph of the hadith.* Nihon oyobi Nihonjin, *No.509, May 1909, p. 64.*

of injustice and oppression carried out by Russian colonial authorities in Turkistan, Ibrahim appealed to Japanese sympathy. Ibrahim's repeated appearance in the journal *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* (including another case in 1933 on the occasion of his second visit to Japan) proves his close relation with a leading nationalist critic Miyake Setsurei (1860–1945).

Admiration for, and protection of, the Japanese national spirit—the so-called "yamato-damashii"—was a common cause for both Ibrahim and Japanese nationalists. In his opinion the Japanese should not be westernized and must keep their pure national spirit that can be strengthened by the acceptance of Islam in future. From this point of view in his speeches he never forgot to criticize the activities of Christian missionaries in Japan, pointing out the political motives of the great powers behind the missionary activities including those of the Russian Orthodox Church with about 32,000 Japanese believers in those days. A Japanese newspaper *Yamato shinbun* testifies to Ibrahim's intimate friendship with Umehara Kitarō, who published a sensational book *The Russo-Japanese war and Nikolai church* (1904)—a book for which he was famous and that attacked the Russian Orthodox Church as well as the Russian Empire in extreme terms.

As to the approaches of Japanese military intelligence service, General Utsunomiya planned to use Ibrahim in order to manipulate the Muslim peoples in general, however it seems that his plan was not realized as he had expected.

The Establishment of the "Ajia Gikai"

As a result of Ibrahim's collaboration with Japanese nationalists they succeeded in organizing a tiny nonofficial political society "Ajia Gikai" (Society for Asian Cause) on June 7, 1909. In his travelogue *Âlem-i İslâm* (The World of Islam), he proudly describes the establishment of this society. At the time the initiators swore an oath to keep their agreement. The prospectus and program of the society prepared a little later are full of Pan-Asianist ideas. Its organ, the *Daitō* (Great Asia), highlights Pan-Asianist approaches to the Islamic world as well as to China, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Tibet. While stressing its close relations with the Shaykh al-Islam in Istanbul and the Sharif of Mecca, the *Daitō* spoke of the importance of Chinese Muslims for Japanese foreign policy.

As to Central Asia we can find correspondences from Tashkent and some echoes from Muslim intellectuals in Russian Turkistan. For example the journal introduced a letter from a young Turkmen living in the Samarkand region. The author criticizes the oppressive Russian rule that was intensified after the Russo-Japanese war. He says: they expected better conditions after the Russian defeat in the war, but that hope was in vain. European publications tells false information about Russian rule in Turkistan. They say that Turkistani Muslims are enjoying peaceful life under the protection of the Russian government and so on, however the real situation is far from such discourses. Among others the confiscation of their land, Russian peasant immigration to Turkistan, and prevailing of alcoholic drinks, all of these factors brought about the decline of Muslim societies in Turkistan.[3] By this wide range of contents the *Daitō* should be considered very unique and the most comprehensive Pan-Asianist journal in Japan. At the same time the contents show that Ibrahim's personal network created in the Muslim world played a certain role in the publication. Before the *Daitō*, voices of Central Asians have never appeared on a Japanese publication.

However as a consequence of the Xin-Hai revolution in China in 1911 the Ajia Gikai was short-lived. Most of the continental adventurers rushed into Chinese affairs, and Japanese relations with Abdurreshid Ibrahim, who was deeply engaged in the defense of the Ottoman Empire, were cut off for 20 years. Interestingly Lieutenant-General Utsunomiya noted in his diary on 14 April 1913 that the Ajia Gikai was appropriated by ex-colonel/Takeyoshi (1865–1933) and was nothing more than a false society.[4] Depending on any change in the political

3 "Chūō Ajia ichi Turukumenjin yori no shokan," *Daitō* 5-2, (1912): 22–24.

4 Utsunomiya Tarō, *Nihon rikugun to Ajia seisaku—Rikugun taishō Utsunomiya Tarō nikki*, Vol. 2, (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2007), 220.

situation, non-official activists in the Asian continent could conduct themselves without following the direction of the Second Bureau of the General Staff. However the Pan-Islamism-Pan-Asianism axis was never abandoned by Japanese authorities, who invited Ibrahim once again in 1933.

Once Again in Tokyo

It seems that in this invitation another continental adventurer played a great role. His name is Wakabayashi Han, In his book *Kaikyō sekai to Nihon* (The Islamic World and Japan, 1937[5]) in a fifth edition published in 1938, we find the handwritten title by Ibrahim with a slightly different meaning: *Âlem-i İslâmda Nippon* (*Japonya*) (Japan in the Islamic world). According to the author's own accounts, since consulting with famous Pan-Asianist leaders Tōyama Mitsuru (1877–1946) and Uchida Ryōhei (1874–1937), both of them were colleagues of Ibrahim, around 1910, he had worked hard for the realization of Islamic policy that was essential and indispensable for the Japanese 'Great Asia' strategy. He confesses he was converted to Islam in 1917. In 1932 he was acquainted with Major-General Isogai Rensuke (1886–1967) and succeeded in persuading him of the importance of Islamic factors in the political and economic interests of Japan. After that General Isogai was appointed the chief of the Second Bureau of the General Staff. Maintaining close ties with the army, Wakabayashi dispatched a number of young activists to India, Afghanistan, Iran and Egypt as well as Japanese pilgrims to Mecca. At last in 1933 consulting with Mr. X, he invited Ibrahim from Turkey where he was under the watch of the jandarma (gendarmare) in Konya and accommodated him in Tokyo in order to work together for the achievement of Islamic policy.

In Tokyo Ibrahim contributed a number of political articles to the monthly Tatar journal *Yanga Yapon Muhbire* (New Japanese Correspondence) that aimed to introduce Muslim peoples to social thought and movements important for both Japanese and for Muslims. Its motto was to be "a unique journal that introduces Japan to Muslim countries in the world." In an article under

5 Wakabayashi Han, *Kaikyō sekai to Nihon* (The Islamic World and Japan), (Tōkyō: Dainichisha 1937). Showing the geographical and demographical features of the Islamic world, the author writes: "Given the rise of the Islamic world as well as Muslim countries it is clear how close and important the relations are with the development of Asia and the Asians. It is not necessary for us to say that the Islamic policy has a great significance for a Japan that regards itself as the leader of Asia and takes on the mission of establishing peace in the world.", 115.

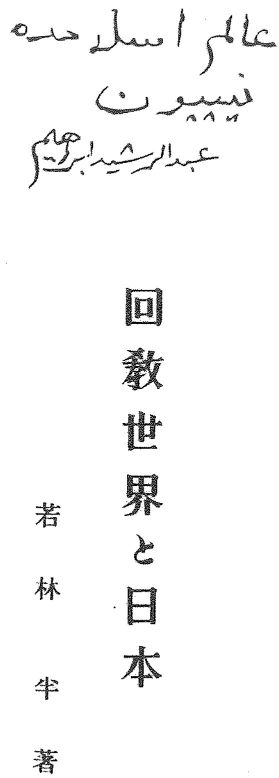

FIGURE 6.2 *Ibrahim's autograph of his signature and the title of Wakabayashi Han's book,* Âlem-i İslâmda Nippon (Japonya) *in Ottoman Turkish on the cover and the title page. Wakabayashi Han,* Kaikyō sekai to nihon *(Tokyo: Dainichisha, 1938).*

the title of *al-Jihad* published in 1933 Ibrahim, anticipating a great war in the world, invited all the Muslims to support the Japanese for their own liberation.

The year of 1938 marked the heyday of Islam in Japan, especially in the political sense. Following the opening of the long-desired Tokyo mosque in 1938 with magnificent ceremonies, the Dai Nihon Kaikyō Kyōkai (Great Japan Islamic Society) came into existence under the presidency of General Hayashi Senjūrō (ex-War Minister and Prime Minister). It aimed to establish close relations between Japan and 300 million Muslims in the course of building up "the New order in East Asia," and supervised Muslim organizations in the occupied territories in China and Manchuria. Cooperation with influential Muslim intellectuals such as Ibrahim must have been indispensable for Japanese authorities that worked to secure support from Muslim peoples in Asia. The creation of the Great Japan Islamic Society highlights the great achievement of Islamic policy that aimed to awaken Asian peoples and create an anti-communist bloc in Asia.

It is not certain that the Japanese government had a consistent and solid Islamic policy. However it is true that the Sino-Japanese war pressed the government to take measures for realizing Islamic policy. A document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated August 1938 under the title of "Setting up measures toward the Islamic world" throws some light on this issue. The preface says:

> the geographical distribution and the demography of the Muslim peoples as well as their character have a great significance in conducting the Empire's foreign policy. Among others we are facing with these Muslim problems in Chinese borderland. It is an urgent need to establish a fundamental policy in treating Islamic issues. The first principle to be adopted is to gain the status of the strongest supporter of the Muslims world and utilize this favorable status for Japanese foreign policy, especially for conducting foreign policy toward Britain, the Soviet Union and China. In order to put the policy into effect three measured should be taken.
>
> 1. It is necessary to set up the committee for Islamic measures consist of staffs from Ministries of Foreign Affairs, War and Navy. Its mission is to investigate, plan and direct the Islamic measures.
> 2. To increase friendship with Muslim peoples by reinforcing official establishments abroad and by directing private traders in Islamic areas.
> 3. To make the Great Japan Islamic Society the highest nongovernmental research center for Islamic affairs, and by supporting and directing to have this center carry out effective measures in cultural affairs.
>
> Its additional note says that this decision of the Cabinet meeting should be kept secret considering possible reaction from the Islamic countries.[6]

6 *Honpō ni okeru shūkyō oyobi fukyō kankei zakken: Kaikyō kankei dai ni kan bunkatsu* 3 (Miscellaneous documents relating to religion and propagation of religion in Japan/ Documents relating to Islam: Vol 2/Division-3), No.34, "Kaikyō seisaku juritsu ni kansuru ken" (About the establishment of Islamic policy): Asian Historical Sources on the web (http://www.jacar.go.jp): ref=B04012533600. As to this source I owe to the following article:

In May 1944 the Society held a celebration for the long life of Ibrahim. This scene of cerebration was to be used for a propaganda film "Muslims in Tokyo" for the Muslim population in the South Seas under Japanese occupation. According to the memories of the director of this film, Aoyama Kōji, shooting on the film led to old Ibrahim's exhaustion and, at last, his death in mid-summer.[7] In those days a Marxist, left wing researcher, Kozai Yoshishige (1901–90), who worked in the research department of the Society, left in his diary critical comments on the creation of the sacred persona of Ibrahim by the Society. Following the funeral ceremony Kozai wrote an obituary notice at the demand of the General Staff, and in December he wrote a broadcast article regarding the intention of the late Ibrahim.[8] Even after his death Ibrahim played a great role for the Society. How did he regard his own activities in Tokyo? At least we know that at his deathbed he repeated three times "I am a Muslim."

The activities of Abdurreshid Ibrahim over many years in Tokyo reflect the rise and fall of Japanese Islamic policy based on a Pan-Asianist idea in the first half of the 20th century.

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7 Aoyama Kōji, "Imāmu Iburahimu no koto" (Memory of Imam Ibrahim), *Shūkyō Kōron*, Vol. 17–4 (1948): 7–11.

8 Kozai Yoshishige, *Senchū nikki* (Diary during the war period), *Kozai Yoshishige Chosaku shū*, Vol. 6, Keisō shobō, 1967.

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Ōtori Nansei, "Dattan no shishi Iburahimu," (A Tatar activist Ibrahim) *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*, No.509, (May 1909): 64.

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CHAPTER 7

Exploring Asia, Reforming Japan: Ōtani Kōzui and Itō Chūta

Brij Tankha

Introduction

Japanese accounts of their travels, in general, and of their exploration of Asia in particular, show the varied ways in which Japan's heritage, it's cultural contours, the shape of its history, and its relationship with the Asian region were being defined to reinforce the civilized and modern status of Japan. These accounts form part of the emerging political discourse that was creating an archive of Japan's past and defining the way this past could be comprehended and interpreted. The imperial discourse became that of the triumphal march of the state, a state defined simultaneously as modern and mythic. The mythic aspect provided the basis for a unity that transcended history and defined the core culture that, even as it absorbed and assimilated influences from the culturally and politically powerful states of China, Korea, India and subsequently the West, continued to remain uniquely Japanese. In fact this absorptive ability defined the superiority of Japanese culture and underlined the country's equality with the West.

Travel writing provides a rich source to track the play of ideas in the social and political world. In modern times the exploration of remote and uncharted places became for the colonizing state a way to chart and define "new areas" and bring them under imperial control but travelers were moved by a complex of impulses not always in consonance with the state's imperial drive. Travel accounts, even as they are written with the authority of lived experience, carry the baggage of prejudices that color and shape what is accounted for and, equally importantly, what is left out.

Travel literature in Japan has a long and rich history: diaries of travels to China to bring back Buddhism, of pilgrimage (Saigyō, Bashō), literary tales (Hizakurige,), accounts of exploration (Matsuura Takeshirō's charting of Ezo), and the immense travel literature of guides and routes that grew around the sankin-kōtai system are indicative of the diverse texts available to us. Many of them, such as Bashō's iconic journey, have exercised a powerful influence on the Japanese imagination. The Meiji period saw a further growth in travel

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writing as it changed under the impetus of modernity. Japanese began traveling abroad to study and learn and their accounts, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi's description of the West, or the records of the Iwakura mission, marked the beginning of a virtual flood of books and articles.

The growing fascination with the outside world for a people long isolated was natural and by the early twentieth century there was even a magazine that specialized in travel and exploration. Entitled *Tanken sekai* 探検世界 (The World of Exploration), it started publication in May 1906.[1] Its writers were inspired by a range of motives from studying different societies and understanding their politics, to furthering trade and commerce and exploring "uncharted areas" in Asia, Russia, the Amazon, and the Pacific Islands.[2] These writings expressed a desire to see the new, but equally strong, if not always dominant, was the desire to trace the roots of influences felt in Japan, as well as to chart "new" areas and lay the basis for understanding countries to better promote trade and commerce.[3]

The United States, Britain and Western Europe provided a model that had to be studied and explored but the experience and knowledge gained there also represented Japan's assertion of equality with the Western colonial powers. It too, as a modern country, and later as a colonial power, needed to explore and chart it's neighborhood to strengthen its links with the region and create the basis for an imperial identity. Thus these explorations played an important part in creating new disciplinary knowledge systems involving history, philosophy, and architecture.

The impact of colonization in China, India and Southeast Asia had been an important concern for the ruling elites from the late Tokugawa period, a concern that found expression even in popular literature. This interest continued in the Meiji period, permeating all levels of society. The European colonization of Asia, for instance, was a significant element in early Meiji school education, and was a subject of popular fiction as well as of scholarly analysis. The colonial gaze of power was also, as we look at the those who went to South

1 The magazine was edited by Murakami Dakurō 村上濁浪 and published by Seiko Magazine Publishers from May 1906 to August, 1911. See microfilm in the National Diet Library.

2 See the writings of Nakamura Naokichi et al. in the series *De nipponki Meiji no bōkenshatachi* 出にっぽん記-明治の冒険者たち (*Journeys Out of Japan: Meiji Japan's Explorers*) (Tōkyō: Yumi Shobō, 1994), 10 Vols.

3 For instance, since treaty revision was a major issue that preoccupied the Meiji government it became important to see how other nations negotiated with European countries. This was one of the reasons for the interest in Egypt and West Asia. Shiba Shirō 柴四郎 (1852–1922) wrote the first history of modern Egypt in 1899.

and Central Asia, shaped by the need to understand the spread of Buddhism, recover lost texts and create a reliable history of Buddhism that would assert the primacy of Eastern Buddhism as opposed to the Southern Buddhism that had caught the imagination of the western world. The academic turn was part of the effort to establish Buddhism as a rational and modern religion on par with, if not better than, Christianity as a religion for the modern world. As in all such processes, it would be an over simplification to overlook the multi-layered and often contradictory ideas that found expression in these writings but it is important to note that "Asia" became the site where Japanese modernity was being defined.

The religious impetus that moved many to undertake needs to be integrated into any analytical understanding: for many it was not travel but pilgrimage that they undertook, to see the sacred places associated with the Buddha. This bond of belief set them apart from the Western explorers of Asia, who went as colonial functionaries (usually funded by the colonial state) and adventurers to map, research and control. One can distinguish those who traveled in monks' robes and those who wore Western clothes. One such traveler, Ōtani Kōzui (1876–1948) combined in his person both these aspects of monk and modern scholar, and an exploration of his life, the forces that shaped him, and the objectives he sought to achieve bring together the many elements in the complex fabric of Japan's engagement with Asia and the modern. In this paper I look at Ōtani's intellectual project in the context of the restructuring both of Buddhism and his own sect, the Nishi Honganji and his explorations of Asia together with the work of the architectural historian Itō Chūta, (1867–1954), who played a crucial role in defining "tradition" in architecture and in attempting to create an Asian architecture for modern Japan. The interests and objectives of these two very different individuals led them both to explore Asia and brought them together to build a new Japan. Ōtani Kōzui was not just a monk but a scholar as well and his ideas are part of an emerging discourse about the nature of Japanese culture and history. The art historian and cultural bureaucrat Okakura Tenshin was also a key figure in laying out the intellectual contours of this project, This new discourse was shaped by a cross fertilization of European, Asian and Japanese ideas and a simple flow from the "West" ignores these complex interactions that point to a far richer history.

The Nishi Honganji: A Religion for Modern Times

Ōtani Kōzui was trained in the Nishi Honganji but more particularly was powerfully influenced by the reforms initiated by his father Myōnyo. The Honganji reforms should not be seen as a unified project; the monks were not neatly on the lines of radicals pushing reforms, and conservatives opposing change, but within these groups there were divisions over the nature and direction of reforms, and group loyalties were determined by regional loyalties. The Ōtani family was head of the Nishi Honganji and were direct descendants of Shinran. the founder of the The Pure Land Sect (Jōdoshinshū) which had first established a temple at Higashiyama, in the Ōtani valley in Kyoto, and after the death of Shinran his daughter Kakushin Ama looked after it till her grandson Kakunyō took over. He renamed it Honganji and from that time on the heads of the temple have come from the same family. There is an aura of divinity around the head so followers worshipped the head of the temple as the Living Buddha, even bathing his feet and then drinking the water. This religious devotion had its roots in popular belief that some people have special powers. Adherents to the faith were organised across the country into solidarities or *kō*, and these solidarities linked people horizontally in a deeply hierarchic society and gave the common people access to Buddhism. This organised popular support sustained the temple sects as well as laid the basis for the notion of individuality.

Nobunaga, in the sixteenth century, fought the religious solidarities or *ikkō* communities and attacked Ishiyama. Kennyo (1543–1592), the then head of the Honganji temple, who finally capitulated and agreed to negotiate although his son, Kyonyo opposed the move. Kennyo retired to the province of Kii where he later sought the assistance of Hideyoshi and in 1591 built the Honganji in Kyoto. This became the Nishi Honganji. Kyonyo built the Higashi Honganji with Tokugawa support. Aside from other differences the Nishi was close to the imperial court and the Higashi to the Tokugawa bakufu but this relationship was reversed after the Meiji *Ishin.*

The Nishi Honganji's links with the imperial court have their origin in the support that Chōshū gave Rennyo during his fight with Nobunaga at the battle of Ishiyama and which was later reciprocated when Nishi Honganji helped the Chōshū samurai in 1864. Given the long memory of the temples this history should not be ignored. Higashi, on the other hand, even offered to fight to support the Tokugawa when they returned power to the emperor. It was only in 1868 during the Boshin war that they decided to re-evaluate their stance and not fight the new government. Higashi paid a heavy price as a penalty for their opposition as the Meiji government extracted 20,000 ryō (a ryō was a gold coin used in pre-Meiji Japan weighing 16.5 grams although this was reduced with successive mintings) and provisions of rice for their soldiers.[4]

4 See Tahara Yukio 田原由紀夫, *Nishihonganji sanjūsannen funsō*, 西本願寺三十年紛争 (Tōkyō: Shiratorisha, 2004), 10–26.

However, change did not begin with the Meiji *Ishin* in 1868 as many institutions and ideas had been developing and changing since the late eighteenth century. The transformation of the Nishi Honganji started in the late Tokugawa period when key figures such as Gessui (1818–1858), who tutored Konyo, Kōzui's grandfather, were looking to reform not just the sect but the larger realm as well. Gessui and his student Ozu Tetsunen (1834–1902) were active reformers along with Takasugi Shinsaku and others, and after the defeat of the Tokugawa at Toba and Fushimi these reformers began to consider how to strengthen the Nishi-Honganji's position within the imperial house.

The Nishi Honganji began this new phase of reforms in 1868 when the then head was replaced by the young Koson or Myōnyo (then only nineteen years of age), and the reform process he intiated occurred in two stages—first in 1870 and then in 1875. The reforms were initiated to democratize the organizational structure, develop a modern educational system, and seek knowledge abroad, along the same lines as the Meiji reforms. Indeed in some areas they anticipated the Meiji planners. Institutional reform changed the complex and hierarchical relationship between temples and between the main and branch temples. Earlier, because of the lineage of the temple priest, some temples had occupied powerful positions within the organization but these distinctions were abolished and a uniform system instituted. The country was divided into seven large districts, and these sub-divided into eighteen sub-districts each with a maximum of twenty-five temples. The smallest unit of organization was the *so*, and in 1880 the head of the Honganji convened a general assembly (shūkai) of the heads of the *so*. The general assembly elected a cabinet to run the Nishi Honganji hiving off the administrative power and making the Ōtani family the symbolic head of the temple.

These reforms predated the Meiji constitution and were influenced by the people's rights movement, then demanding representative government. This temple general assembly, for instance, debated the Religious Affairs Bill in 1881, a bill that aroused intense controversy around the issue of religious freedom.[5] The system of training priests was also reformed to bring it in line with a modern, Western educational system. Akamatsu Renyo, a key Honganji reformer, came back from Europe in 1874 and played an important role in creating the new curricula and the reformed temple organization.

In the two hundred and fifty schools, called "gakurin," the curricula were modernized to introduce new subjects such as geography, physics and English. In 1876 all schools of the temple were unified and it was decided that there

5 See Shirasu Jōshin 白須浄眞, "Ōtani tankentai to sono jidai 大谷探検隊とその時", *Museao* 12, (2002): 53.

would be at least one primary school in each prefecture, and a middle school in each of the seven large districts. The gakurin was modernized, not just in curricula, but in appearance as well. The Ryukoku University, established in 1639 had begun to teach German in 1872 and the modern brick building built in Omiya, Kyoto that same year expressed the new spirit. Tokyo Imperial University, it should be noted was established only in 1877. Moreover, the emphasis was now on training both priests as well as lay believers, the reformers took as their model the Christian mission schools where religion was but one of the subjects, along with Chinese, English and Arithmetic. The school uniform was Western and foreign teachers were employed.[6]

The Honganji also began to send students to study abroad, and among the first group were people like Shimaji Mokurai, Umehara, Akamatsu, Horikawa, who were sent to England, with others going to Germany. Tachibana Junjirō (1866–1945), is a good, representative example of the trajectory of these priests. After studying in the temple's school he was sent to England, France and Germany where he studied Sanskrit. He returned and taught at Tokyo University. It was not just to Europe that the priests were sent. Itō and Ashikaga were sent to Europe via India and Turkey, Sasaki to Austria and the Pacific Islands, Doki Jakusei and Asakura were dispatched to Ceylon and Singapore. Watanabe Tesshin, together with some twenty students, was sent to Russia. Watanabe and many from his group would work in the Ōtani expedition. The Honganji also sent missions to teach Buddhism and establish temples, initially for Japanese residents but gradually expanding their activities to address the local inhabitants. The first mission to Hawaii was in 1897 and others followed. The Honganji was actively sending people to many different countries not just to study and learn but also to understand the global situation and they used this knowledge to reform and re-structure their organization and spread their message. It was what could be called a "self-strengthening" program.

The reforms the Honganji carried out were not just within the framework of coping with Western influence. The genealogical tree of the reforms had deep roots in the Tokugawa, and Western influence was neither monolithic nor administered in a single dose to those who went abroad to study. The reforms were thus equally shaped by internal developments, in particular the growing movement for democracy—the people's rights' movements, whose demands for constitutional government were finding widespread support among the people. These demands also meant that the Honganji had to deal with accommodating the demands of its own priesthood. Priests were often participants

6 Shirasu, "Ōtani tankentai," 56.

in the people's rights movement associations at the local levels and temples and shrines were used as political meeting places.

Ōtani Myōnyo: Strengthening the Honganji, Strengthening the People

These reforms and the direction they took provide an important backdrop to the emergence of Ōtani Kōzui. A brief "setting of the scene" is therefore essential to understanding his project. The two key figures were Kitabatake Dōryū, (1820–1907) and Ōtani Myōnyo, the then head of the Honganji. Dōryū, a monk from the han of Kii (Wakayama) who had played an important role in the domain reforms, became involved in the reform of the Honganji because of his connections to Ōtani.[7] Dōryū, then a mature man of fifty-nine, brought with him a well-developed perspective and experience in domainal reform as it faced political and economic crisis and social upheaval.[8] He had also developed a network of contacts and was widely known and respected. Myōnyo wished to control the changes and direction that the monks who had been sent abroad to study were taking—men such as Shimaji Mokurai. He saw their reform agenda as destroying the whole edifice of Buddhism and felt that a lot of money had been spent on them and now they were committing, as he wrote in Kyogi shinbun, "a great sin against all our ancestors."[9] The Tokyo branch of the Honganji, the Tsukiji Honganji became the center of the reform group.

To counter the Shimaji group Myōnyo and Dōryū, initiated a program to reform the Honganji. It is not clear who was the main architect of the reform plan but regardless of the individual contributions it is clear that Dōryū, played an important role, a role that led to his later exclusion. It was because he was considered a threat by the Shimaji group that, after the reforms were aborted, he was given a large sum of money to go to Europe to study the religious situation, an excuse to get him out of the country.

Dōryū,'s thinking, according to his biographer, was based on his understanding of *shinzoku nittai* that Honganji must work to build a citizen's state,

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7 Kitabatake Dōryū Kenshōkai, 北畠道竜顕彰会 *Gōsō Kitabatake Dōryū: denki Kitabatake Dōryū*, 豪僧北畠道竜伝記豪僧北畠道竜 148 Series 業書 148 (Tōkyō: Ōzōnsha, 1956, 1994).

8 See my "Religion and Modernity in Meiji Japan: Strengthening the People," Rosa Caroli and Pierre-Francois Souyri, (Eds.), *History at Stake in East Asia* (Venezia: Libreria Editrice Ca'foscarina, 2012).

9 *Goso Kitabatake*, 54. こう我一宗にとって皆祖の罪人なり。

a "kokka kokumin." He saw the Honganji as a public body inextricably linked to the state and for this reason felt it should be returned to the country. The role of the Ōtani family must be separated from the daily management of the Honganji and its temples.[10] The lineal descendants of Shinran who headed the Honganji—the Ōtani family—would be made religious heads (hoshū) and would have no say in the daily administration of the Honganji temples. They would continue to live in Kyoto and carry out ceremonial functions and receive Y3 million to maintain a suitable life. The separation from daily politics would, in fact, according to Myōnyo and Dōryū, underline their sacred nature. The temples and priests would elect representatives and manage the temple affairs. The sect's administrative headquarters would be moved to Tokyo. This would bring about a democratic management structure and give equal authority to all temples and priests.[11] The reforms predate the reforms of the imperial court and the role of the emperor in the Meiji constitution. The Meiji government was aware and interested in seeing the success of these reforms perhaps to test the waters as it were. Ōkuma Shigenobu, contributed Y100, 000 in support of the Honganji reforms and Dōryū, it is known, had close links with many other political leaders who would have given their backing as well.[12]

The reforms measures in the han of Kii had worked because of the wide network of support within the elites and the social forces pressing for changes but the Honganji reforms faced opposition from both conservative monks who were opposed to any change as well as from those of the Yamaguchi group who had a different reform agenda. Dōryū, and Myōnyo could not get the critical support to enable them to proceed. The opposition, composed mainly of influential Chōshū priests such as Oshu, Shimaji and Akamatsu, with the backing of the many small temples in Yamaguchi, were able to stop these reforms and sideline Dōryū. Myōnyo was brought back and one reform effort ended. The political situation in the post Seinan war was also unsettled and not conducive to realizing these deeply contested and divisive changes. Iwakura asked Dōryū, not to press on with his plans and so the reform effort was over in a matter of some two months: in April 1879 Dōryū, had been given an official letter asking him to proceed and in June he was asked to stop the reforms. Myōnyo was whisked away to Kyoto and not allowed to communicate with Dōryū.

The failure of Myōnyo's reform efforts provided the backdrop for Kōzui's Asian effort. It was in this atmosphere of adapting and changing both the institutional and religious structure that Ōtani Kōzui and the group that went on

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10 *Goso Kitabatake*, 57.

11 *Goso Kitabatake*, 57.

12 *Goso Kitabatake*, 54.

his exploratory missions was trained. The question that needs to be addressed is this: do these reforms represent a trajectory different from the anti-Western trend in Meiji thinking because they grow out of an independent modernizing spirit? And if not, what do these efforts share with Meiji thinking? Was the Nishi-Honganji transformation part and parcel of the Meiji structure, or was Nishi-Honganji adapting to the challenges posed both by the Meiji turn to Shinto and the separation and suppression of Buddhism, as well as to the challenge of the West? I would argue that the Nishi-Honganji was transforming as a religious organization as well as offering an alternative to a Western modernity through its Asian project.

The 1868 separation of Buddhism and Shinto (*shinbutsubunri*) put the Buddhists on the defensive. Temples were destroyed and Shinto shrines purged of Buddhist practices. In Kochi, for instance out of 596 temples 451 were destroyed, in Toyama 252 Higashi Honganji temples were amalgamated into one temple. Shimaji Mokurai, who had studied the relationship between the state and religion while in England, returned to argue against Meiji religious policy and State Shinto. He supported the separation of religion and state representing the new modern view of religion as separate from the secular, a view influenced by European ideas. This European experience had convinced him that Jōdo Shinshū was actually far more rational and modern in its philosophical and religious ideas than Christianity. It was from this modern perspective that he criticized Kidō Kōin and the government's support for State Shinto.

Ōtani Kōzui: Opening New Frontiers

Ōtani Kōzui (1876–1948), educated in both the traditional education of Buddhist priests but also in the new modern manner, recognized that Nishi-Honganji and Japanese Buddhism were equal to Western religions but that to make this acceptable to the "West" the strength of Buddhism as a rational philosophy must gain recognition. The study of Buddhism of necessity involved tracing the roots of Buddhism back to India and its transmission to Japan through China and Korea. This scholarly turn was apparent in other areas, as for instance in art, with E. Fenellosa and Okakura Tenshin exploring these areas to study the flow of influences that went into shaping Japanese art and aesthetics, or Itō Chūta exploring architectural forms.

Ōtani Kōzui turned to the exploration of areas of Inner Asia particularly those such as Kucha that had hitherto been unexplored by Western scholars, such as the Swedish geographer and explorer Sven Hedin (1865–1952) or Aurel Stein (1862–1943), the Hungarian born explorer who worked for the British colonial government in India. The desire to explore these areas was fueled by his Buddhist beliefs and his feeling that as Buddhists, with a deep knowledge of the Chinese Buddhist texts they, rather than Christian scholars, should be at the forefront of this exploration. By studying Sanskrit and exploring India they were also building their knowledge of where Buddhism had originated so there was a complex layering of motives including pilgrimage, exploration, an assertion that their school of Buddhism was a modern rational religion that provided a basis for modernity outside the Western canon and served both as a way to assert equality with the West as well as to reclaim the Buddhist tradition and assert the superiority of Eastern or Japanese Buddhism.

Kōzui's father Myōnyo, as we have seen, had a reform agenda to meet the new challenges that the temple faced. The Ōtani family traditions ensured that Kōzui was brought up much like an imperial prince but, unlike the normal training of a monk he was sent from the temple school, at the age of 14, to join Gakushūin Peers School in Tokyo and then after that again brought back and trained in the traditional manner.[13]

Kōzui first showed his interest in looking beyond the boundaries of Japan when he went to China in 1899 and was witness to the turmoil following the China-Japan war of 1894–95, the efforts to reform the Qing administration, and the Boxer uprising. As he would do throughout his extensive travels he immersed himself in all manner of interests trying to understand the country in all its aspects—not just religious places but also steel plants and jails, graveyards and orphanages, which he was surprised to see run by Christian missionaries. He traveled along what later became the route for the railway line between Hankow and Beijing; possibly, it is suggested, because he knew about a proposal submitted by Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909). It was on the basis of the travel account "Record of a Journey to Qing China," published in 1900, that he became a member of the Royal Geographical Society of England, the first non-European member. His constant companion Uehara Yoshitarō whose account of this trip was published posthumously, accompanied him.[14]

13 On Ōtani Kōzui I have used parts of essay in see Brij Tankha, "Nihon bukkyōtō no kindaiteki tensei—Ōtani kōzui no chūōajiatanken" 日本仏徒の近代的転成—大谷光瑞の中央アジア探検 in Shirasu Jōshin, *Ōtani Kōzui to Kokusai seijishakai Tibet, Tankentai, Shingai kakumei* 大谷光瑞と国際政治社会チベット、探検隊、辛亥革命 (Tōkyō: Bensei Publishers, 2011), 111–129; Shirasu, *Ōtani tanken*, 70.

14 Shirasu, *Ōtani tanken*, 71–72. Uehara wrote an account, published later as, *Nansenhokuba* 南船北馬 (Southern Ships and Northern Horses).

Kōzui went to study in London at the end of 1899 along with Hino Senpo, Watanabe Tesshin, Takeda Tokusho and Sakurai Giichi.[15] From his base in London he explored Spitsbergen in Norway, as well as traveling to Europe and Turkey, meeting scholars, visiting churches, museums, libraries and studying the countries and cultures that he encountered. He met scholars such as Sylvain Levi.[16]

Kōzui spent time in England studying Sanskrit, Tibetan and reading widely on Central Asia and India. He had the Chinese and Japanese Buddhist texts (the Chinese texts with Japanese commentaries were edited by Takakusu Junjirō (1866–1945) as the definitive Taisho Tripitaka) sent from Kyoto. These texts, including the travel accounts of Chinese pilgrims provided an invaluable source for his explorations.[17] These were texts that Europeans were unfamiliar with and Kōzui's study and interest was further strengthened by the path-breaking explorations of Sven Hedin (1899–1901, Hedin had undertaken the second Central Asian expedition) and of Aurel Stein whose first expedition to Central Asia was in 1900. The 13th International Congress of Orientalists met in 1902 in Hamburg, Germany and this spurred Kōzui to form an international team to survey Central Asia.

Kōzui however took the decision at this time to make an independent effort to explore the region, a decision that significantly met with much criticism in Europe. The European explorations were part of colonial policy and so a Japanese launching an expedition was seen as a challenge to their intellectual hegemony. Writing in 1910, many years later, a journalist for the Hōchi Shinbun, wrote that the reason Kōzui launched the expeditions was because he felt that Japan had not produced anyone to equal the spirit of adventure and religious belief of the Chinese pilgrims, such as Xuanzhang (602–664), the Chinese monk who went to India in the early Tang and whose writings inspired the classic Journey to the West by Wu Cheng. This spirit of adventure and religion were necessary to spread the light of Buddhism and make it a world religion.

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15 See Katayama Akio 片山章雄, "Ōtani Kōzui no Ōshū Ryūgaku" 大谷光瑞の欧州留学 (Kōzui Ōtani on the way to Europe), *Tōkai daigaku kiyō bungakubu* 東海大学紀要文学部 Vol. 76 (2001): 175–194.

16 For his travels see the writings of Sonoda Soei 園田宗恵, *Tai-Ō nisshi* 滞欧日誌 and Inoue Senshō 井上宣正, Ōshū shūki no ichi setsu 欧州手記のいち節. See Shirasu Jōshin 白須浄眞, *Wasurareta Meiji no tankentai Watanabe Tesshin* 忘られた明治の探検隊渡辺哲信 (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992), 150–151.

17 The following account of Ōtani's expeditions is based on *Nirakuso to Ōtanishinken tai Modernisumu saikō* 二楽荘と大谷探検隊モダニズム再考 (Villa Niraku and Ōtani Expeditions), (Asiya: Asiya Bijutsu Hakubutsukan 芦屋市立美術博物, 1999), 147–152.

This led Kōzui to explore the routes by which Buddhism went from India to China.[18]

Ōtani Kōzui and the Japan's Journey to the West

The first expedition started barely six months after the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance on August 26, 1902 and it was reported both in the London Times and the Honganji magazine Kyōkai Ichiran. The London Times noted both that the team members were well prepared in terms of knowledge of relevant languages and subjects for their exploration of Central Asia as well as that the Honganji had unlimited funds to support these explorations.

Kōzui's original intention was to go from Central Asia to Northern India and then enter Burma and from there go back up to China. The eighteen member expedition, most of them still in their twenties, would take a route of some 15,000 km through some difficult and, at times, inhospitable terrain, where the fragile political situation added to their difficulties. The plan was to divide the group into three main parties to take the following routes: one via the Pamirs to the Tarim Basin and then into India, another directly to India, and the third from Burma into Yunan. The India group included Ōtani Kōzui, Sonoda Soei, who joined them from Berlin, while Uehara Yoshitarō, Masutomo Rikuryō, and Shimaji Taitō came from Japan and Kiyomizu, then studying in Calcutta University, met them in India. Kiyomizu was the son of Shimaji Mokurai and during their travels he went with Inoue Kōen to the Himalayan region.

During their explorations the intention was for the members to break off into smaller groups so that they could cover greater ground within a shorter period. Kōzui cut short his trip when he heard of his father's illness and made plans to return. His father died even before he could leave and Kōzui became the twenty-second head of the Nishi-Honganji while in India. He could not go on the Burma trip but went back straight to Japan. While in Central Asia the others also modified their itinerary as the situation demanded Watanabe and Hori went on to Kucha, Turfan, Urumchi and then into Xian and Hankow. By the end they covered a far greater area of the region then they had originally planned.[19]

The expedition went from London to St Petersburg and Moscow meeting with some members along the way and then going on through the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea to the Karakorum and Alati ranges. On the way they met

18 Shirase, *Wasurareta*, 152–153.

19 Shirase, *Wasurareta*, 156–157.

up with Inoue, who would publish an account of his travels in West Asia the following year. Inoue had left Vienna at the same time as Ōtani Kōzui and his members were leaving London.[20]

The expedition first explored Kashgar and Yarkand together and then separated into two groups, one going to India (Kōzui, Inoue and Honda). This group crossed the Mintaka pass on October 9, 1902 and went to Gilgit and from there to Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. The Central Asian group (Watanabe and Hori) explored Khotan and on January 2, 1903 crossed the forbidding desert of Taklamakan and went to Aksu and Turfan, returning to Kashgar by 20 February, 1903. Since Turfan and Khotan had been extensively explored by Stein and the Germans Kōzui's group concentrated on Kucha. The Central Asian group spent a longer time traveling while the Indian group was larger, as they were joined by other members in India where they crisscrossed the country, sometimes separating to explore as extensively as possible. Their main objective was to survey the Buddhist sites but their records show that they visited other religious and historical places, temples and mosques, museums, botanical gardens and zoological parks. They had prepared for their travels by reading a wide range of literature concerning the lives and customs of the people of India.

Accounts of their travels were published in the Honzan magazine, *Kyōkaiichiran*, and many of the members published their own accounts soon after returning to Japan. For instance, Ōtani Kōzui's travel account Travel Journal of the Conditions in the Pamir appeared in 1904 in *Journal of Geography*, and the photographs taken in India were also published the same year. The travel accounts of some of the members of the India group came out in the following years (Fuji in 1906, Sonoda and some others published accounts in magazines and newspapers). These accounts were finally put together by Uehara in 1937 in the "New Journey to the West."[21]

Uehara Yoshitarō, a close companion of Ōtani Kōzui, who has been called the Ibn Batuta of Japan, because he traveled extensively, wrote a vivid account of his travels but he is little known today. Uehara, like many of the people associated with the expeditions, came from a family with long connections with the Nishi-Honganji, dating back to the Ishiyama siege (1576–1580) a defining battle with Oda Nobunaga. His family were retainers of the temple and though freed from their obligations after the reforms they continued their close association with the Ōtani family. Uehara studied in the temple school with Kōzui from the age of four, and later at the Nishi Honganjijo in Yamashina gakumonjo

20 Villa Niraku and Ōtani Expeditions, 147.

21 Uehara Yoshitarō, *Shin seiikiki* 新西域記 (New records of the Western Regions) (Tōkyō: Yukosha, 1937). 2 Vols.

山科学問所. It should be noted that Kōzui, as the future head of the temple, was brought up much as a crown prince in the imperial family, with carefully chosen companions and a carefully monitored education. Tokutomi Sohō calls Uehara's work one of the best books published in Japan between the Meiji period and the start of the Great Eastern War.[22] Most of the art, sculpture and other material brought from India were displayed in Nirakusō and later moved to Lushun.[23]

Ōtani Kōzui sent in all three expeditions to explore Central Asia and India: 1902–04, 1908–09, and 1910–14. These expeditions represent, for Tokutomi Sohō, an alternative to the Alexandrian invasion of Asia, they were undertaken by an Asian as cultural campaigns to uncover Buddhist culture and its artistic and historical artifacts. Tokutomi writes that as Islam had long been dominant much of this had been forgotten or lay buried and there were many historical conundrums that needed to be solved.[24] Sohō is looking at Kōzui as a man who best represents a vigorous expansionist spirit but Kōzui was also what Okakura calls a "cultivated man" for whom the transformation of Japan was linked to re-building its Asian ties through Buddhism.

Constructing a New Honganji: Ōtani Kōzui and Itō Chūta

After the first expedition Otani commissioned Nirakuso 二楽荘, his residence in Kobe. The Villa reflected Ōtani Kōzui's interests and the influences he brought back from his travels. It represents an attempt to incorporate elements and motifs from different parts of Asia and blend them into a Japanese style. In this Kōzui's approach fitted well with Itō Chūta, the architect-historian who played an advisory role in designing this residence which would function as an alternative center to the sect's center in Kyoto and where Kōzui sought to train a new generation of monks to carry his vision forward.

The building was modeled, in appearance on Mughal buildings, particularly in its use of sandstone and there were other elements such as Persian, as well as traditional Japanese designs. Each room was thematically designed to reflect one cultural tradition; thus there was an Indian room done up in an

22 Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰, *Ōtani Kōzui no shōgai* 大谷光瑞師の生涯 (The life of Master Ōtani Kōzui) (Tōkyō: Ōtani Kōzui Geika Kinenkan, 1956), 86.
Uehara Yoshitarō 上原芳太郎, *Shin seiikiki* 新西域記 (New records of the Western Regions Tokutomi Sohō, 86.

23 See *Villa Niraku*, 148.

24 Tokutomi Sohō, *Ōtani*, 37.

opulent style with Indian motifs and materials. Tokutomi Sohō felt that there was a reason for building this villa in Kobe because Kōzui's father had been unable to shift the Honzan to Tokyo because of internal opposition and so he sees the villa as a sort of alternative Honzan: what he calls a working headquarters katsudōhonzan 活動本山.[25]

Ōtani's activities in India are not well documented aside from the information that he traveled to the sites associated with the Buddha as well as met with British officials, attending parties with the Viceroy and meeting other high officials when he stayed in the British summer capital of Shimla.[26] Indian influence in Japan was appearing in a number of ways. The better known negative example of India as a colonized country that should serve as a warning to Japan can be traced back to the translations of Wei Yuan, (1794–1857) and particularly his chapter on India, which was translated into Japanese many times but along with this there was also a growing interest in Indian Buddhism.[27] The popularity of Kitabatake Dōryū's travels to India are one reflection of this, as is the interest in the Indian ruler Ashoka, who famously renounced war and became a Buddhist, after seeing the horrors of war in the battle of Kalinga. The novelist Mori Ogai wrote a biography of Ashoka in 1909 and Kōzui's sister established a Ashoka hospital in Tokyo.[28] Kōzui was also impressed with Mughal architecture in India and particularly with the Mughal ruler Akbar, who built a pan-Indian empire and even attempted to create a new religion for the sub-continent.

It was this interest in India that brought him close to the architect Itō Chūta (1867–1954). To understand Itō it is important to note, one, that Itō's study of Japanese architectural history was a step in creating architecture as a discipline and specifically, his ideas of temple and shrine architecture, as redefining traditional practices to suit the modern world. Two, I would suggest that Itō's study and travels through Asia (even though he started with the objective of seeking the links between Greece and Japan) played an important role in leading him to recognize Asia as a site for knowledge. Itō placed Indian art and architecture not within an anthropological perspective but within a modern disciplinary

25 Tokutomi Sohō, *Ōtani*, 28.

26 Seki traveled at the same time and writes an account of his travels as well as Ōtani's experiences in India. Seki's book deserves closer scrutiny, as he is a careful observer who goes beyond the Buddhist circuit and also talks to Indians. In most Japanese accounts Indians rarely make an appearance and their voice is absent. Seki Rokō 関露香, *Honganji hoshū Ōtanikozuihaku indo tanken* 本派本願寺法主大谷光瑞伯印度探検 (Tōkyō: Hakubunkan, 1913).

27 On Wei Yuan see my "Reading Wei Yuan in Japan: A Strategy for Self-Defence Against the West" *China Report* (New Delhi), Vol. 36, No.1 (2000): 29–42.

28 See Shirase, 85–86, and *Ōgaizenshū* 鴎外全集 Vol. 4, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1972).

practice and went on to experiment with incorporating Indian elements in his own practice of architecture to create a modern and Asian Japanese aesthetic. Itō's thinking was shaped by his study and work in the restoration of Hōryūji and other buildings, as well as through his engagement with other Asian architectural practices that he actively sought out as objects of study in his extensive travels. And the word "extensive" needs to be emphasized—both for Itō and Kōzui—as any comparison with the other Japanese travelers or students who went abroad to study the "West" would show. This experience led Itō to think about the nature of Japanese culture and its relationship with society and nation.

Itō Chūta studied architecture at the Department of Engineering (Kogakubu), Tokyo Imperial University, as a student of Tatsuno Kingo (1854–1919) between 1889 and 1892. His graduation thesis was "The Philosophy of Architecture" (Kenchiku testsugaku, 1887–92) and his doctoral thesis was "A Theory of the Architecture of Hōryūji (Hōryūji kenchikuron 1905)." In 1905 he became a professor at Tokyo Imperial University, and in 1943 he was awarded the Order of Culture (Bunka kunshō), the first architect to get this distinction.

When Itō joined the university architects were trained as engineers, not carpenters, breaking from traditional practices that placed emphasis on carpentry. Yet the break was far from complete. The second decade of Meiji rule marked a turning point as a new generation of architects came into their own. Itō's generation turned to learning from and reviving those traditional skills and to incorporating them into modern architectural practices. It was in negotiating the terms of this incorporation that they had to face the questions around what constituted Japanese tradition, and what had to be preserved and what changed.

Restoring the Old and Building the New

Kigo Kiyoyoshi (1844–1907) came from a family of carpenters who traced their family origins back to the Muromachi period. He was a specialist in shrine and temple architecture and was a formative influence on Itō and his contemporaries. Kigo was employed by the Imperial Household Ministry and began to lecture in 1889 at Tokyo Imperial University on Japanese architecture. Kigo had played a very important role in the reconstruction of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo after it burned down in 1873. The question of whether to follow the traditional design or build a Western style palace was debated and finally it was decided in favor of following the traditional style. The palace building was completed in 1889, after fifteen years, and the emperor moved in on January 11

1889.[29] Itō learnt a great deal from Kigo, both through his lectures on building as well as the study trips that Kigo organized to study not just religious but also secular buildings, including urban houses. These were extensive trips: for instance one representative entry in Itō's diary is of going between July–August 1891 to Aichi, Mie, Kyoto, Shiga, Nara and Osaka to study not just temples and shrines but the whole range of old architecture—the Shūgakuin in Kyoto, the Shōsoin in Nara as well as tea houses and urban dwellings.[30]

Itō traveled to Asia in 1902, His travels took him through China, Southeast Asia, India, Turkey, and then to Europe and the United States returning to Japan in 1905. This grand tour shaped Itō's understanding of architecture and modified the ideas that he began with when he started his tour. Itō had, much against the wishes of the Ministry of Education, insisted on going to Asia, the ministry argued that if he wanted to study abroad he must go to Europe. Itō, however, wanted to trace the roots of Japanese architecture and, in particular, what he imagined was the Greek influence on Hōryūji, and so he insisted on going to Asia. The ministry finally agreed but on the condition that after he had toured Asian countries he would go to Europe.

Itō's thinking was shaped not just by Kigo but also by the intellectual climate of his times. Here the influence of Okakura Tenshin (1862–1913) was crucial in shaping the intellectual discourse of that period.[31] Okakura had started lecturing at the university from 1890 and so exercised an influence on Itō's study, The Philosophy of Architecture (Kenchiku tetsugaku). In 1893 Itō also lectured at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts where Okakura was the principal and, as the scholar Maruyama Shigeru points out, the two became friends after November 1892. He was also friends with the cultural bureaucrat Kuki Ryūichi (1852–1931) and helped to write the section on architecture for the Paris Exposition book.

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29 Inaba Nobuko 稲葉信子; "Teikoku daigaku ni okeru 'Nihon kenchikugaku' kōgikenchiku akadamisumu to nihon no dentō" 帝国大学における'日本建築学'講義建築アカダミスムと日本の伝統. in Tokyo University Edited, (Tokyo Daigaku hen) 東京学編, *Tokyo Daigaku Korekushion V, Gakumon no kaki Genzai. Mirai Dai ichibu Gakumon no arukeoroji* 東京大学コレクシオン V, 学問の過去現代未来 (第 1 部) 学問のアルケオロジ (Tokyo University Collection v. *The Past, Present and Future of Knowledge*, Part I, *The Archaeology of Science*) (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppansha, 1993), 406–407.

30 Inaba Nobuko 稲葉信子, "Kiko Kiyoshi no Teikokudaigaku (Tōkyō: Teikoku Daigaku) ni okeru nihon kenchikugaku jugyō ni tsuite" *Nihon kenchikugakkai kaikeigaku keironbun hōkoku* dai 374 木子清敬の帝国大学における日本建築学授業について"、日本建築学会会計額系論文報告第 374.
(Showa 64 (1989). 4th Month): 111–121, see 117.

31 On Okakura see my article in my (edited), *Shadows of the Past Of OkakuraTenshin and Pan-Asianism* (Kolkatta: Sampark 2007).

It important to recognize that Okakura Tenshin's cultural critique of Western civilization found its expression both in the books he wrote in English as well as in his activities as a art historian and as an art administrator. Okakura's writings need to be placed in the context of contemporary Japanese writing as they are part of a process of creating a body of professional knowledge to establish Japanese credentials in the West, a process supported by the state and the imperial court. In this process Okakura was but one of many who went abroad, not just to Europe but to Asia as well, to trace the roots of Japanese culture and to establish a firm academic basis to identify the lineaments of this culture and the basis for Japan's superiority, and its equivalence with the West. These writings also served to "explain" Japan to the outside world though whether that was the sole purpose is open to question. It is worth thinking about that Okakura's English books are mostly written during or shortly after his trip to India and his long stay in the United States did not lead to any major publication in English.

There were also other publications explaining Japan to the west. For instance, Nitōbe Inazō (1862–1933)—in "Bushido The Soul of Japan"—, written in 1899, argued that bushido or the warrior spirit of feudal Japan was the single source of Japan's success as well as the core of its national character. The constitutional scholar Hozumi Nobushige, (1856–1926) in "Ancestor Worship and Japanese Law," a collection of lectures delivered in Rome and first published in English in 1901, the Japanese version came out in 1913, extolled the religious ideas that bound the Japanese, and the Irishman who became a Japanese citizen, Lafcadio Hearn's (1850–1904) "Japan: An Interpretation" (1904), sought to define the essential characteristics of Japan. These books were very influential in building a view of Japan among Western intellectuals, but they also shaped and supported writing within Japan. In these books the authors not only outlined the essential principles that underlay Japanese society, but also sought to project Japan as the interpreter of the Orient, as a country that harmonized the East and the West.[32]

Itō Chūta: The Discovery of India

It was in this intellectual climate that Itō's trip through Asia began in 1902 when he went to China and from where he worked his way through Southeast Asia, India, Turkey and finally, as promised, reached Europe before returning

32 Ōkuma Shigenobu in "Our National Message," Masaoka Naoichi (Ed.) *Japan to America* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam Sons, Knickerbocker Press, 1915), 1–5.

to Japan in 1905. This extended journey broadened his mind and exposed him to a huge variety of experiences that spoke to his own concerns. His travels allowed him to see a wide range of traditional architecture but also exposed him to modern colonial architecture in the countries he visited. His first experience of a modern colonial city was Calcutta, which he admired. An informed and interested traveler, he took copious notes, made beautiful drawings and took or bought collections of photographs, all of which provide a rich source for understanding how he responded to what he saw. In India he traveled the length and breadth of the country, even taking a bullock cart in some remote areas. He visits most of the main religious and cultural sites, makes detailed drawings and takes photographs. Itō looks at, and comments on, not just temples but also the cities and the general life of the people. His appreciation of Indian art and buildings is as art, unlike the prevailing European attitudes, which still looked at Indian art within an anthropological framework.

Three themes run through Itō's account of India: the beauty and perfection of ancient art and architecture, the state of modern cities and an assessment of Indian society and people. He was familiar with much of the British literature on Indian art and had referred to it in his graduate dissertation so he came to India with a familiarity with the existing Western scholarship and yet, as his writings show, he brought his own critical perspective.[33]

Itō traveled across much of India and was impressed by the beauty of many of the temples that he saw. The monuments and paintings of Orissa made such an impression that he said that to understand the principles of aesthetics it is necessary to go to Orissa and study the art and architecture there. He was equally moved by the sculpture at Khajurao (temples built by the Chandela rulers between 950–1150 and re-discovered in the late 19th century) which other travelers found morally offensive.[34] In Ellora (Buddhist, Hindu and Jain temples built between the 5th–7th CE representing the finest Indian rock architecture) not only was he impressed by the immense effort that went into the massive sculptures but also by their beauty. The Kailash temple, one of

33 In *Kenchiku Tetsugaku* 建築哲学 (Philosophy of Architecture) Itō uses a variety of British writing such as Ferguson to emphasize the importance of "national taste." See Toshio Watanabe, "Japanese Imperial Architecture from Roger Smith to Itō Chūta," in Ellen P. Conant, *Challenging Past and Present The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth Century Japanese Art*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 240–253, 248.

34 Itō Chūta kensetsu bunken henshukai, *Indo Ryōkō kenbunkikō*, Ryūginsha 伊藤忠太建設文献編纂会, 印度旅行, 見学紀行, (Tokyo: Ryuginsha 1946), 418. In contrast Sydney and Beatrice Webbs, in line with the prevailing view, were repulsed by the "grotesque lewdness of Khajurao" Sydney and Beatrice Webb, *The Webbs in Asia The 1911–12 Travel Diary* Introduced and edited by George Feaver, (London: The Macmillan Press, 1992), 343.

the major temples in the complex, he writes, is not just one among the many beautiful temples but it is an extraordinarily beautiful building that compares with the abstract beauty of Greek sculpture.[35] This noting of equivalence rather than any stress on the strange and exotic points to an intellectual position that was working outside the boundaries of colonial knowledge. However, his appreciation of Indian art was not unqualified. He dismissed the paintings of Ajanta as childish by contemporary standards though aware that were regarded highly by most commentators.[36]

His reactions to the cities and modern development was mixed. He was impressed with Calcutta, which he saw an imperial city that looked like Europe with wide roads, parks and impressive buildings—better, he thought, than London, though he had yet to see it. Bombay, however, he found uninteresting as it was an industrial city and lacked parks and museums and he dismissed the Victoria Terminal Building as 'unnecessarily complicated', *nōzatsu sugiru* 農雑過ぎる. It was then considered a fine example of a modern building. Itō was moved by the sight of Benares and compared it to Venice but he found the sight of men and women bathing on the riverbank strange.[37]

Itō found India poor and the standard of living low, writing that even well off Indians dress worse than the lowest Japanese and are mostly illiterate. He saw caste restrictions as preventing change and the creation of a modern way of thinking.[38] We hear his comments but rarely does an Indian voice intrude. For instance, Itō visited the poet RabindranathTagore (1861–1941) but has little to say about his meeting except to note with surprise the number of servants Tagore had (some thirty worked in the house). Itō mulls over the fact that each servant has a specific duty and will not do other tasks, (was this he conjectured a sign of specialization?) and remarked on the contradictions when an upper caste Brahmin servant worked for a lower caste employer. Itō expresses a desire to see the Kali temple but since non-Hindus cannot go in Tagore helps him to dress up in Indian clothes and warns him not to speak. Ito is sent off to see the temple with a guide. There are no comments about how easy it was for Itō to shed his Japanese identity, or what motivated Tagore to do this. He obviously has no idea of that Tagore was a Brahmo and was therefore critical of the then Hindu practices. The Brahmo Society was an influential monotheistic, religious reform movement that began in the early nineteenth century.

35 Itō Chūta, *Indo ryokō*, 429.
36 Itō Chūta, *Indo ryokō*, 429.
37 Itō Chūta, *Indo ryokō*, 416.
38 Itō Chūta, *Indo ryokō*, 425.

It should have been of interest to Itō, and Ōtani, as it was very similar to their own reform agenda.[39]

Itō's understanding of contemporary India comes out clearly when he compares India with the Chinese. Having just come from China it is natural that he compares his experience and understanding but neither emerge as people for whom he has any sympathy or affection. He writes that both the Indians and Chinese have an excessive desire for money. While Indians are more superstitious and lazy, *randa*, 懶惰 they were cleaner and bathed more than the Chinese. However, he found the Indian habit of wearing shoes in their homes dirty and, he writes that, "like many primitive people" they fight a lot. He notes their eating habits and says that because of differences in climate and religion their food is very different so while the Chinese eat a lot of meat Indians do not eat meat.[40]

Itō saw Indian society as caste-divided and the strength of religion in social life excessively strong. It was also a country composed of many diverse races so he felt that this impeded the growth of patriotism and unity and ultimately of development.

Few Indians, Itō writes, know anything about Japan and they often confuse Chinese and Japanese. He found India fundamentally different from Japan so much that he felt that the two had nothing in common but was constrained not to voice his criticism because he found that the Japanese were liked in India. The ambiguity of his appreciation of India is best represented by his views on Mysore where he found the attention to detail in the stone sculpture incomparable but argued that this revealed the Indian character—wasting a great deal of effort in small details![41]

Itō set out to trace the influences that shaped Japan and trying to understand how these were transmitted but in this process he is really forming ideas of other countries and through that developing a view of Japan and the Japanese. His observations of social life are not incidental to his account, they serve to shape his view of India and in turn of himself and of his country. The silences also suggest that even though there may have been a far greater interaction then his account suggests, by his silence he places himself as a self-contained traveler who studies India but is not changed by his travels. Tagore was a talented man of wide erudition. Did they discuss art and architecture? Did Itō talk about his idea of Greek influence in Hōryūji? We don't know. Itō is

39 Itō Chūta, *Itō Chūta seiyūrokubanri* 伊藤忠太西遊六万里 (Tokyo; Hokkosha, 1947), 71, and 100–101.

40 Itō Chūta, *Indo ryokō*, 444–445.

41 Itō Chūta, *Indo ryokō*, 411–449.

silent. The influence on his practice is visible but his writings keep a very clear separation from the "native" population: there is no engagement. Yet there was playfulness in his character which surfaces in his drawings and his fascination with imaginary animals that suggests a far livelier interaction than the rather arid diaries present.[42]

Indo-Saracenic Goes East

One influence that the India travels had on Ōtani was an admiration for the emperor Ashoka, who famously renounced war and turned to Buddhism but Ōtani was also fascinated by the Mughal emperor Akbar, who ruled an empire that, at its height, covered most of present day South Asia. As a ruler Akbar is remembered as a man who expanded not just the territory of the empire but tried to knit it into a community even so far as crafting a common religion. Ōtani was also impressed with the Mughal architectural style, which was adopted by the British for their buildings in India. Mughal architecture, as British architects such as Thomas Roger Smith urged, provided a properly grand imperial architecture unlike British architecture. Smith argued that English imperial architecture should use Mughal embellishments to project British imperial power, such a fusion would create an architecture that will serve "both as a rallying point for ourselves, and as raising a distinctive mark of our presence, always to be beheld by the natives of the country." Smith's disciples built in a style that came to called Indo-Saracenic.

In Japan, Josiah Condor (1852–1920), who taught at the Imperial College of Engineering, later incorporated into Tokyo Imperial University, saw architecture as not just engineering but art and so placed emphasis on giving modern improvement to traditional buildings. Condor, who had studied under Smith, thus took a position against Okakura and Fenollosa (1853–1908) in the pencil and brush controversy and argued against excluding Western art. He used the Indo-Saracenic style to add decorative elements to Western style buildings but his ideas did not find ready acceptance in the Japanese establishment.[43]

42 See Itō's detailed India field notebooks, which show his careful study of the sites he visited and occasional delightfully playful drawings that reveal an impish sense of humour. The notebooks, along with other material related to Itō Chūta, are in the library of the Architectural Institute of Japan, Tokyo.

43 "Japanese Imperial Architecture from Thomas Roger Smith to Itō Chūta" 24–253 in Ellen P. Conant (ed.), *Challenging Past and Present The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth Century Japanese Art*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 242–247.

Itō also came to appreciate not just Mughal architecture but the many styles he encountered in his extensive travels in Asia and brought these influences back to create some unique buildings. This influence is apparent not just in the Tsukiji Honganji where the structure is built using a number of Indian and Southeast Asian styles but this influence can be seen also in the embellishments, in particular in his extensive use of imaginary animals in his buildings that echo figures from across the Asian region, as seen in the Taisho era building, the Honganji Dendō—in Kyoto (the Shinshū Shinto Seimei Hōken kaisha).[44]

These journeys, intellectual as well as exploratory took place within intertwined circuits. The world at the turn of the century was divided into the Western colonizers and the colonized or dominated. Japan had political independence and was beginning to assert its equality by gaining recognition as a civilized nation through a complex mix of transforming its polity, negotiating the end of unequal treaties, strengthening its economic and military capabilities and establishing a colonial empire. The British colonial system centered on India extended to Hong Kong and the treaty ports of China, this overlapped and was in tension with the Tokyo-centered colonial order that linked East and Southeast Asia from the late nineteenth century. These circuits were, in turn, bound in the embrace of the West. Japan's assertion of modernity was framed within the Western discourse but Asia, of which India was an important element, became one element in defining the liberationist rhetoric of its colonial enterprise.

In Japan the creation of a colonial empire was framed as resistance to the West and as the assertion of an Asian vision. Buddhism, one component of this project, was transformed into a "modern," "rational" and universal religion. As part of this transformation the historical Buddha and the links with India assumed a new and crucial importance. Travel to India, explorations in Central Asia, as well as the urge for "exploration" in general, grew out of this interest, as did the notion of an Asian unity but, as Okakura Tenshin's writings show these developments, far from being confined within this frame, struggled to change the parameters and articulate new modes of consciousness and speak a new language.

Buddhism, as it developed in Japan engaged with the project of Western modernity and this engagement led to both strategies of accommodation and resistance. The secularity of Western modernity, seen as a defining feature at that time, meant a rejection of the foundational principles that united the inner and outer lives in Buddhist thought. Buddhists, monks and those who

44 Fujimori Terunobu (ed.) 藤森照信編集, *Itō Chūta Dōbutsuen* 伊東忠太動物園 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1995).

turned to a secular life in the Meiji period sought to contest these and articulate a broad political vision to restructure their public and private lives. They were also responding to, and meeting the demands from below for greater participation. In this counter-project "Asia" became a site to confront the "rationality" of the West with that of the Japanese state. The effort to become "rational" and the transformation of religion into a philosophy—essentially, the "Protestantization" of Buddhism—has been an important project but there was a counter-project that sought to build a different basis for being modern. I would suggest that Ōtani Kōzui's Asian enterprise grew out of the abortive attempt of his father, Ōtani Kōson, to reform the Honganji in 1879. Ōtani Myōnyo, along with Kitabatake Dōryū,, tried to revitalize the relationship between the Honganji and its followers by creating a more equitable political structure. Their reforms were not just aimed at modernizing the Honganji but sought to provide a model for the larger society and hence were opposed. This attempt drew broad sustenance from the earlier "ikkō ikki" tradition (the True Pure Land solidarities that rose against warrior rule in the 15–16th centuries) as well as the new Western learning. It grew out of the social demands being made by excluded groups for greater political participation and so should not be placed exclusively as a reaction to Christianity and the West.

The failure of the Honganji and the success of the Meiji "emperor system" (tennōsei) closed this route of using the age-old imperial institution to build a new political system that would increase political participation and address both material and spiritual objectives. Ōtani Kōzui found through his Asian enterprise another route to think about being Buddhist, Japanese, and modern. His largely forgotten attempt provides a way to rethink many of the established ideas about modern Japanese history that uses the vantage point of the people rather then the state, and that moves away from the framework of Japan and the West integrating Japan's relationship with Asia as an integral part of its history. Kōzui's Asian explorations and Itō's search for an alternative architectural practice grew out of this background.

Itō Chūta, set out to prove the equivalence of Japan and the West by tracing the links between ancient Greece, the source of European culture, and Japan. The explorations of Ōtani Kōzui, radiating out from Kyoto, Kobe and London, to seek the routes of Buddhism opened a new intellectual world that suggested new ways of constructing knowledge. Or as Okakura wrote, "The task of Asia today then becomes that of protecting and restoring Asiatic modes. But to do this she must successfully recognize and develop consciousness of these modes."[45]

45 *Ideals*, 131 and 235 where Okakura defines *advaita* as the state of not being two meaning that all reality though it appears manifold is one so that "all truth must be discoverable in

These explorations were grounded in this recognition and sought to develop new modes of consciousness.

These new modes of consciousness would produce a man, in Okakura's words "who can ponder and dream at leisure—a highly cultivated man."[46] I would suggest that both Ōtani Kōzui and Itō Chūta should be seen as men who were attempting to become modern "cultivated men" and for them Buddhism provided a transnational basis for solidarity and for crafting a new nation. Unraveling these objectives from Japan's imperial drive provides a way to re-think the trajectory of Japanese history within Asia, and speaks to the diverse ways that "Asia" and "Japan" and their history were being interrogated.

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Inaba Nobuko 稲葉信子, "Teikoku daigaku ni okeru 'Nihon kenchikugaku' kōgikenchiku akadamisumu to nihon no dentō" 帝国大学における'日本建築学'講義建築アカダミスムと日本の伝統. in Tokyo University Edited, (Tōkyō Daigaku hen) 東京学編, *Tokyo Daigaku Korekushion V, Gakumon no kaki Genzai. Mirai Dai ichibu Gakumon no arukeoroji* 東京大学コレクシオン V, 学問の過去現代未来 (第 1 部) 学問のアルケオロジ (Tokyo University Collection v. *The Past, Present and Future of Knowledge*, Part I, *The Archaeology of Science*) (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppansha, 1993), 406–407.

Inoue Senshō 井上宣正, *Ōshū shūki no ichi setsu* 欧州手記のいち節 in Shirasu Jōshin 白須浄眞, *Wasurareta Meiji no tankentai Watanabe Tesshin* 忘られた明治の探検隊渡辺哲信 (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992).

any single differentiation, the whole universe involved in every detail. All thus becomes equally precious.", 235.

46 *Okakura Tenshin zenshū*, Vol. 8, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1981), 184.

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CHAPTER 8

Ōtani Kozui and His Vision of Asia: From Villa Nirakusō to "The Rise of Asia" Project

Erdal Küçükyalçın

Ōtani Kōzui (1876–1948), a prominent figure of 20th century Japanese history, was the 22nd patriarch of the Honpa Honganji denomination of the Buddhist Jōdo Shinshū sect (True Pure Land or Shin Buddhism) and the chief-abbot of its head-temple, Western [Nishi] Honganji, Kyoto. He lived through the Meiji, Taishō and the first half of the Shōwa periods and witnessed the rapid transformation from pre-modern to modern his society went through. As the leader of Western Honganji, the largest and most influential religious institution in Japan he played a crucial role in the making of modern Japan.

A Summary of His Life

Ōtani Kōzui's life can be tracked on an almost daily basis through the pages of "*Kyōnyo Shōnin Nenpu*," the official biographical records of the patriarch, compiled by Fujioto Tokunin and published by Western Honganji on the occasion of his seventh annual commemoration.[1] Born in the temple grounds in 1876, Kōzui was raised within the temple precincts and received his initial education from private tutors. Right from the start, he had difficulties in adapting to an ordinary education and he quit the Gakushūin Peers' School in Tokyo. Then at the age of sixteen and due to his father's sickness he had to lead the *kikyōshiki* ceremonies for thousands of soldiers waiting to be sent to the battlefield during the Sino-Japanese War, 1894–95. In 1896, he married Kazuko, the daughter of Kujō Michitaka and undertook his first travel overseas—to Qing China in 1899. A year later he went to London to study but he was more interested in traveling and expeditions. He became a member and participated in the activities of the Royal Geographical Society. He traveled extensively in Europe and also visited Istanbul in 1901.

1 Fujioto Tokunin. *Kyōnyo Shōnin Nenpu* (Biographical Chronology of Master Kyōnyo). (Kyoto: Kyōnyo Shōnin Nanakainen Hōyō Jimusho, 1954).

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He planned and executed the first Ōtani Expedition in 1902 but upon receiving the news of his father Myōnyo's death he had to return to Kyoto in order to become the 22nd chief-abbot of Nishi Honganji. During the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) he mobilized his vast network for the war effort and sent chaplains, including his own brothers, to the army units on the battlefield. The Buddhist chaplains were called "*Jūgun Fukyō-shi*"—that is, "the Embedded Missionaries"—and performed pastoral care for the soldiers. After the war, his efforts were appreciated by the public and recognized by the Emperor Meiji who presented him an imperial rescript of gratitude in 1907. Between 1906 and 1910 he spent most of the time he could spare from routine work in overseas travel with his wife Kazuko. The couple went to Eastern Russia, China, India and England between 1906 and 1910, sometimes staying away from the main temple for several months.

Following the discovery of the library cave in Dunhuang by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907, he once again decided to send a new team to the area. Thus the Second Ōtani Expedition was held between 1908 and 1909 and a third followed between 1910 and 1914. In 1907 he started the construction of Villa Nirakusō at Ashiya, Kobe, which was completed in 1909.

The year 1911 marks a peak in his life. He opened a secondary school, *Mukō Chūgaku*, the education system and the curriculum of which were personally designed by him. During the 650th Commemoration activities of Shinran, the founder of the sect, which was held over ten days between March and April, 1911, Western Honganji under his leadership hosted more than one million believers from all around the country. By every measure it was a tremendous success and was too big a popular event for the politicians to ignore. Hence, Prime Minister Katsura Tarō (1848–1913) and the Minister of Communication Gotō Shimpei (1857–1929) honored the occasion by participating and praying in the ceremony at the opening day of the second phase (April 8).[2] He was now saluted as the star of Japan.

However the same year also was the beginning of his fall. His beloved wife Kazuko died suddenly in January. In July 1912, Emperor Meiji passed away and only two days after the completion of funeral ceremonies, on September 18, 1912, an official investigation into the financial affairs of the temple was launched. For the next two years, Kōzui struggled with the financial troubles and witnessed the destruction of everything he had built in his life. He was pushed to a corner and in November 1914, the stressful process ended up with

2 Ibid., p. 60. Both figures had close relations with Tokutomi Sohō, Kōzui's life-long friend and confidant.

his resignation from chief-abbacy and the patriarchate of the Honpa Honganji denomination.

When he got on a ship all alone heading towards the closest port on the continent, Pusan, Korea leaving all his rights and privileges (including his title "Count") behind, he was no more than an ordinary man. He had to start a new life in China, and in this new life he would manage to create a new Ōtani Kōzui, the public opinion leader and agricultural investor. From scratch, he would re-ascend to the level of cabinet advisor in 1939. He passed away in 1948, in Beppu, Oita, where today there is a small museum, Ōtani Kinenkan exhibiting his personal artifacts.

Who was Ōtani Kōzui?

Peter Hopkirk in his "Foreign Devils Along the Silk Road" describes him as an explorer of Central Asia and reflecting the cautious attitude of the British officials at the time, implies that he could be related to espionage work of the Japanese intelligence.[3]

A contemporary book published in 1907, on the biographies of the hundred most influential people introduces him—together with political and economic leaders (both in Japan and worldwide) of his time—as a living-Buddha, a reincarnation of Saint Rennyo.[4]

In a biography written during his abbacy in 1910, he is portrayed as a devout proselytizer who is fully occupied with *fukyō* (expanding the religion/mission) activities both in Japan and overseas.[5] Yet another of his biographers, the journalist Seki Rokō in his "Ōtani Kōzui," utters the confusion his biographers shared when it comes to define his personality:

> Is it Count Ōtani or is it Master Kōzui? There is no suitable name to respectfully address him. For the time being I will call him His Holiness Kōzui. His Holiness is a great spoiled child, the spoiled child of a generation, a well-educated spoiled child ...[6]

3 Peter Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 190–196.

4 Asahi Shimbun (ed.), *Jinbutsu Gaden* (Pictorial Biographies of Personalities) (Tokyo: Yūrakusha, 1907), 51–52.

5 Hirota Shirō, *Hōshū Kōzui Shōnin den* (Biography of His Holiness Kōzui, the Patriarch) (Tokyo: Kokkōkan, 1910), 62–73.

6 Seki Rokō, *Ōtani Kōzui* (Tokyo: Seikyōsha, 1916), 1–3.

Rokō's question regarding Kōzui's multifaceted personality still prevails. What we can do is to trace his multifarious activities and try to understand his ways of thinking.

The Patriarch

The famous journalist, and Kōzui's closest friend Tokutomi Sohō, (so close that his last published monograph was on the life of Kōzui) gives important information for locating his position within Japanese society.

> Nishi Honganji had social, political, religious power ... The Buddhist population of Japan at the time of Kozui's abbacy was around 49 million while the number of Shinshū temples was 19,636. The number of temple abbots was 14,909, and number of believers 13,400,000. Therefore Shinshū believers covered a quarter of total Buddhists in Japan.... Furthermore, there were 10 different denominations within Shinshū and (within that total number of 14,900 priests) the number of Nishi Honganji priests was 8,500 while Higashi Honganji had more than 6,000 priests [Rest—around 400—was distributed among eight other denominations]. Thus Nishi Honganji was the largest group within Shinshū which in turn makes it the largest group within religious communities [in Japan].[7]

Moreover, Sohō adds that Western Honganji's annual income was more than 100,000 *koku*[8] (an amount said to be more than the annual income of the city of Kyoto as a whole). Thanks to its popular support Western Honganji was the wealthiest religious institution in Japan, and a "kingdom within a kingdom" and thus Kōzui was like a "king" in his own right.

Family

Ōtani Kōzui's father Myōnyo was the 21st chief-abbot of Nishi Honganji and he had managed to guide his community to salvation through the dire years

7 Tokutomi Sohō, *Ōtani Kōzui-shi no Shōgai* (The life of Master Ōtani Kōzui) (Tokyo: Ōtani Kōzui Geika Kinenkai (Society for His Holiness Ōtani Kōzui's Memory), 1956), 24.

8 *Koku*: 石 Japanese traditional unit of volume. Originally it was calculated as the total amount of rice a man needs annually. In 1891, 1 *koku* was equal to 180.39lt. There were domains which had 10,000 *koku* of annual income.

of persecution during early Meiji (1868–1876). His birth mother was Enmyōin Fujiko but formally he was the son of Shinkōin Shigeko (d.1931), the official wife of Myōnyo.

Myōnyo had four sons and two daughters.[9] Kōzui was the eldest son and thus he was entitled to succeed his father as the chief-abbot of Honganji. His brothers were Songyō, Sonjū, and Sonyū while his sisters were Fumiko, and Takeko.[10]

Myōnyo's second son, Songyō was renamed as Kibe Kōji (1881–1969) when he succeeded the abbacy of Kinshokuji temple in Shiga prefecture, the head-temple of Kibe denomination of Jōdo Shinshū.[11]

The third son, Sonjū (1885–1961), was better known as Kōmyo and he was married to Kujō Kinuko (1893–1974), the fifth daughter of the Kyoto aristocrat Kujō Michitaka (1839–1906). In 1908–1909, Kōmyo was sent by Kōzui for an expedition around South and East Africa.[12] In 1907, he had stayed and studied in England and U.S. where he got interested in golf. Later in 1924, as the head of Tokyo Golf Club he founded the Japan Golf Association (JGA) and became "The Father of Golf in Japan."[13] He is the designer of the first golf courses in the country.[14] In 1922, he became the golf teacher of crown prince Hirohito (later Emperor Shōwa) and had the privilege of being his partner during a match with the Prince of Wales.[15] He had even created a small golf course in the backyard of Honganji.[16]

Myōnyo's fourth son, Sonyū (1886–1939) assisted his brothers in temple administration in various capacities. He was dispatched by Kōzui as chaplain to army units in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War. Following Kōzui's

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9 Uehara Yoshitarō, *Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyō* (Chronology of St. Myōnyo) (Kyoto: Shinshū Honganji-ha Gotoku-kai, 1935), 75 mentions a certain (Ayako?) (1897–?) as the third daughter of Myōnyo. She seems to be the only child from his official wife Shigeko, but no information except her birth date (9 Mar. 1897) can be found in sources. Some sources including Sohō's biography of Kōzui, do not even mention her name at all.

10 Tamba Hajime. *Nishi Honganji Dai 21dai Monshū—Myōnyo Shōnin Sho*, (A Short Biography of Myōnyo Shōnin—The 21st Abbot of Western Honganji) (Tokyo: PHP, 2004), 278.

11 Sohō, *Otani Kozui-shi*, 20–21.

12 Katayama Akio," Ōtani Tankentai to Ōtani Sonjū (Kōmyo), Watanabe Tesshin" (Kōzui Ōtani's Expeditions and Sonjū (Komyo) Ōtani, Watanabe Tesshin), *Tōkai Daigaku Kiyō*, No.77 (2002):133–156.

13 http://www.jga.or.jp/jga/html/about_jga/history/1924_1929.html, accessed on 9 May 2012.

14 http://www.151a.com/databox/golf100/index.html, accessed on 3 Jan.2010.

15 Antony Best, "A Royal Alliance: Court Diplomacy and Anglo-Japanese Relations—1900–1941", *The Suntory Centre Discussion Papers*, No. IS/06/512 (Nov.2006): 18–28.

16 http://homepage2.nifty.com/sho3ss/ken/7thpage.html, accessed on 30 Aug.2009.

resignation in 1914, he became more involved in politics. In 1928, he was selected as a member of the House of Peers, and then, in 1937, he was assigned as the Minister of Colony Affairs (*Takumu Daijin*) in the first Konoe Cabinet.[17] During his term of office (4 Jun. 1937–26 May 1938) he also assumed the role of General Director for the Northern China Development Agency (*Hokushi Kaihatsu Sōsai*).

Myōnyo's first daughter, Fumiko (1877–?) entered Tokyo *Kazoku Jogakkō* Girls' Peers School in 1887.[18] She was married to Tokiwai Gyoyū (1872–1951),[19] the third son of Konoe Tadafusa (1838–1873) who was both a priest and a scholar of Sanskrit in Kyoto Imperial University. In 1913, he became the abbot of Senjūji Temple (Takada-ha). He was the founder of the Imperial East Asian Studies Association (*Teikoku Tōyō Gakkai*), and the author of the first Dictionary of Sanskrit in Japanese.

The second daughter, Takeko (1887–1928) mostly known as Kujō Takeko, was perhaps the most publicly recognized figure (after Kōzui) among the family members.[20] She married another member of the Kujō family, Kujō Yoshimune (1886–1940). Takeko studied poetry and became a renowned lady poet and was also a pioneer in the women's emancipation movement. In 1920, she established Kyoto Women's College. Following the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923, she founded one of the first, fully equipped, modern hospitals of Japan in Tokyo: The Asoka Hospital.[21]

All the children of Myōnyo were active representatives of a new era, and via carefully planned marriages they expanded the Honganji network to new frontiers.

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17 Ministry of Colonial Affairs (*Takumushō*): A ministry that was established in 1929 and survived until 1942. It was responsible for the administration of Japanese colonies, overseas immigration of Japanese nationals. It had Korea, Taiwan, Karafuto (Sakhalin), and Southeastern Asia divisions. The famous Southern Manchuria Railway (Mantetsu) was also administered by this ministry.

18 Uehara, *Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyō*, 49.

19 Ibid., 32.

20 Details of her life, with a special emphasis on her activities in Hokkaido, can be found in the biographical study: Tanikawa Mitsue, *Kujō Takeko: Kita no Muyūge* (Kujō Takeko: Northern Flower without Sorrow) (Sapporo: Kyōdō Bunkasha, 2001).

21 http://www.asokakai.net/honbu/rekisi3.html, accessed on 3 Jan. 2010.

Marital Connections

As mentioned above, the Ōtani and Kujō families had become intertwined via marriages. Kōzui was married to Kazuko, Sonjū to Kinuko, and Takeko to Yoshimune. The significance of this strategic alliance comes with the fact that the Kujō family was one of the *Gosekke* (Five Regent Houses) families, the five branches of Fujiwara clan, which had the traditional monopoly to give brides to the imperial dynasty and function as regents.[22] Hence, when Kujō Sadako (1884–1951), the fourth daughter of Kujō Michitaka and the younger sister of Kazuko was received by the Emperor Meiji as the bride for his Crown Prince Yoshihito (later Emperor Taisho; 1879–1926; regnavit. 1912–1926) the imperial family had also joined in this alliance forged by Myōnyo and Michitaka. Sadako later would become Teimei Kōgō, the powerful Empress of Taisho era (1912–1926), and the Empress Dowager during the reign of his son Hirohito, the Emperor Shōwa (1901–1989; regnavit 1926–1989).[23] She was one of the most influential figures of Japan throughout the period 1926 to 1951.[24]

Although the marital partner of Kōzui's younger brother Songyō (Kibe Kōji) remains obscure, he apparently was chosen by Myōnyo to succeed the abbacy of Kibe denomination of the Jōdo Shinshū sect and was given to the Kibe family as an adopted son.

Sonyū's wife Yasuko was the daughter of Koide Fusanao (18049–1905), the last daimyō of the Sonobe domain in Tanba region, central-Japan. Fusanao was a well-known defender of the imperial cause during the Bakumatsu period.

Finally, Fumiko was married to Tokiwai Gyōyū, the 22nd abbot of Senjūji (today in Mie prefecture), the head-temple of the Shinshū Takada denomination. Although his name may not ring a bell for those who are not familiar with contemporary familial ties, this marriage was in fact an alliance with another *Gosekke* powerhouse, the Konoe family. Tokiwai Gyōyū's pre-clerical name was "Konoe Tsurumatsu" and he was the third son of Konoe Tadafusa (1838–1873)[25] who in turn happens to be the very person behind the Buddhist Persecution (*Haibutsu Kishaku*) policies of Early Meiji. Tadafusa was the son-in-law of

22 Gosekke families (all of Fujiwara descent) were Konoe, Takatsukasa, Kujō, Nijō and Ichijō. Due to this monopoly these families were the most powerful among the *kuge* nobility.

23 Kudo Miyoko, *Kokubō no Kihin: Teimei Kōgō no Shōgai* (The Grace of the Mother of Nation: The Life of Empress Dowager Teimei) (Tokyo: Seiryūsha, 2008), 44–49.

24 Hara Takeshi, "Taishō: An Enigmatic Emperor and His Influential Wife", in Ben-Ami Shillony, ed., *The Emperors of Modern Japan*, (Leiden: Brill, 2008): 227–240.

25 http://www.senjuji.or.jp/about/rekidai.php#22, accessed on 9 May 2012.

Shimazu Nariakira (1809–1858), the daimyō of Satsuma, the domain famous for its fierce persecution campaign against the Buddhist temples just before this policy was implemented nationwide. Furthermore, Tadafusa was the father of the pan-Asianist politician Konoe Atsumaro (1863–1904),[26] and hence the grandfather of Konoe Fumimaro (1891–1945), the three times Prime Minister of Japan, for whom both Sonyū and Kōzui would serve as minister and counselor, respectively.[27]

Therefore, thanks to his father Myōnyo, Kōzui, along with his brothers and sisters, had found himself in the midst of a carefully woven net of strong familial relations with a number of powerful families. This closely-knit network included the Imperial dynasty, the Kujō, the Konoe, the Koide, the Kibe, and the Takada families. These ties no doubt had an impact on his career. Yet in the second part of his life, starting with his resignation from the abbacy, and replacing all others in importance, a loyal friend would take the stage as the strongest connection. Tokutomi Sohō (1863–1957) was to be the single most influential person in Kōzui's life.

The Asianist

Tokutomi Sohō, in his book *"Ōtani Kōzui-shi no Shōgai"* (The Life of Ōtani Kōzui), defines Ōtani Kōzui primarily as an *"Ajiajin"* (Asian)—a sort of person difficult to find in contemporary Japan. For him, Kōzui was someone who loved the Himalayas more than Mt. Fuji, and preferred a cup of tea at the heights of Pamir instead of a tea ceremony in Kyoto. Kōzui no doubt was a devout Buddhist and his tremendous knowledge on Buddhist doctrine and history was superior to any of the high priests of his time. But for Sohō he was more a preacher than a carrier of tradition.[28] Kōzui would say, "Religion springs from the spirit and gets lost in form."[29] Probably, this conviction was

26 For the pan-Asianist views of Atsumaro see: Urs Matthias Zachmann, "Konoe Atsumaro and the Idea of an Alliance of the Yellow Race, 1898" in Sven Saaler and Christopher W.A. Szpilman, eds., *Pan-Asianism: A Documented History, Vol. 1:1850–1920* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011): 85–92.

27 Konoe Fumimaro was the 34th, 38th, and 39th Prime Minister of Japan. First cabinet between Jun. 1937 and Jan. 1939 (Sonyū acted as the Minister of Colonial Affairs); second cabinet between Jul. 1940 and Jul. 1941 (Kōzui acted as counselor); third term between Jun. and Oct.1941.

28 Sohō, *Otani Kozui-shi*, 38.

29 Ibid., [From Ōtani Kōmyo's preface, quoted from Kōzui's *"Hōrō Manki"* (The Travelogue of Wanderings) (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1916), 3.

one of the factors behind his resignation from the abbacy. It also was the main reason why he kept away from institutional religion thereafter.

Consequently, Sohō identifies two main goals of Kōzui through which he had combined both of his ambitions namely, Buddhism and Asianism together:

1. To promote Buddhism, and by doing that to help the East Asian peoples attain spiritual peace
2. To open all kinds of resources of East Asia; to improve the living standards of East Asian nations; help them attain their self-sufficiency; and thus end the colonial rule.[30]

Judging from Kōzui's own statements and activities, the word "East Asia" in Sohō's explanation, can safely be interpreted as "Asia" as a whole. Kōzui dreamt of a peaceful and prosperous Asia that would rise on agriculturalism (as opposed to industrialism) but in his time strong winds were blowing towards the opposite direction.

In fact, Ōtani Kōzui does mention memories of his childhood as the start of his interest in Asia by saying "... when I was seven, for the first time I was shown a world map by my father, I came to realize how small an island our empire was."[31] He also adds that, after some thirty years, he could not forget that moment. There within the same text, he declares his identity as an Asianist:

> ... At the center of all my deeds, lies in the five characters of *A-ji-a-shu-gi* 亜細亜主義 (Asianism). Asianism is Greater Japan-ism. To realize this is a duty of Mahayana..... In order to realize this goal, I will learn anything I can, I will act whenever I can ...[32]

It is possible to argue that at this point in his life he was heavily influenced by his friend Tokutomi Sohō's views. Sohō was a representative of those Taishō political thinkers who, with the rapid growth of Japanese influence in Asia, were experiencing a dilemma between nationalism and internationalism.[33] But unlike Sohō who, in 1916, published "Taishō Youth and the Future of the

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30 Sohō, *Otani Kozui-shi*, 102–103.

31 Ōtani Kōzui, *Gaisei Yogen* (Words after Deep Grief) (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1917), 2.

32 Ibid.

33 Dick Stegewerns, "The Dilemma of Nationalism and Internationalism in Modern Japan: National Interest, Asian Brotherhood, International Cooperation or World Citizenship?" in Dick Stegewerns (ed.), *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian Brotherhood, or World Citizenship?* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003): 3–16.

Empire" and proposed a conciliation between the two concepts (imperialism qua expansion with democracy qua egalitarianism) by binding them with the Imperial Household,[34] Kōzui never once in his writings mentions "expansionism." His vision of Asia can best be summarized as "peaceful co-existence" and not domination or subjugation. His Asianism was more romantic than utilitarian, and more pragmatic than theoretic. Unlike his Asianist contemporaries developing ideological, conceptual frameworks for Asian affairs, Kōzui was always on site, living, experiencing and studying the conditions in the continent.

Even during his abbacy he had spared the time to travel to Eastern Russia (Jul.–Aug. 1906), China (Sep. 1906–May 1907), India (Sep. 1909–Jan. 1910), and England (Jan. 1910–Sep. 1910). In addition, at times when he was too busy to travel personally, he sent his disciples to different parts of the world. Of these the second (1908–1909) and the third Ōtani expeditions (1910–1914) to Central Asia are well known. But recently Katayama Akio's studies have revealed that there were also some less popular expeditions organized by Kōzui: S. Umegami to South and North America (1907–1908), Z. Hashiramoto to India and Kashmir (1907–1909), Sonjū Ōtani (his brother Kōmyo) and Watanabe Tesshin to South and East Africa and India (1908–1909).[35] The monks sent to different corners of the world were coming with fresh, first-hand information, which in turn was used by the Honganji temple administration to plan future missionary activities. Owing to such updated information, in August 1908 at Wutaishan in China, he was able to organize meetings of Honganji representatives with the 13th Dalai Lama, who had escaped from Tibet following the British occupation. It was the first of such meetings wherein doctrinal issues of Buddhism were discussed, and an agreement for student exchanges was reached. Soon two Tibetan student monks were sent to Japan and started their education in Villa Nirakusō.[36]

The Buddhist relics, objects or sacred texts retrieved from expeditions and excavations were also brought back for further studies. Kōzui had designed

34 Alistair Swale, "Tokutomi Sohō and the Problem of the Nation-state in an Imperialist World", in edited Dick Stegewerns, ed., *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian Brotherhood, or World Citizenship?* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003): 68–88.

35 Katayama, "Ōtani Tankentai to Ōtani Sonjū".

36 Shirasu Jōshin, "Meiji 41 nen 8 Gatsu no Shinkoku Gotaisan ni okeru Kaidan to sono Hamon—Gaikō Kiroku kara Miru Gaimushō no tai Tibetto Shisaku to Ōtani Tankentai" (The Meeting held in August 1908 at Wutaishan in Qing China and the Sensation it Created—Japan's Tibet Policy Seen from the Documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ōtani Expeditions), *Hiroshima Daigaku Daigakuin Kyōiku Kenkyū Kiyō*, Vol. 2, No. 56 (2007): 55–64.

and built a special building and related facilities in order to store those materials and make them available for further research. This unique building, Villa Nirakusō, reflected his vision of Asia.

Nirakusō (Villa of Two Joys)

Situated on the slope of Mt. Rokkō in Ashiya town near Kobe, Nirakusō commanded a large panorama of the Setonaikai (Seto Inner Sea) and the mountains. The "Two Joys" in its name was given by Kōzui for the sea and the mountains, to symbolize this panorama. The selection of the town Ashiya was also deliberate since its pronunciation was very close to Kōzui's beloved *Ajia* (Asia).

Traditionally the chief-abbots of Honganji used to have summer houses or villas for their leisure at a number of places. The Villa at Suma (Kobe) was one of them. The Villa called "*Tsukimiyama*" (Mountain of Moon View) was built by Kōzui's father Myōnyo around 1890 in order to stay during his illness.[37] Its name was changed into "*Suma Kaisō*" (Suma Sea Villa) during a visit by the then president of the House of Peers, the famous Asianist Konoe Atsumaro.[38] In 1907, the Imperial Household Agency came up with a request to purchase the villa and the land at Suma in order to build an imperial residence (*Suma Rikkyū*). After the sales were realized in April, Kōzui decided to build his own dream villa at Ashiya.

After long negotiations with the local villagers, the site was finally purchased and the construction work started with the New Year. The design team led by Kōzui consisted of Honganji professionals. The famous architect who had travelled all around Asia (including the Ottoman Empire) in order to create a unique Japanese architecture, Itō Chūta (1867–1954) also joined as advisor.[39]

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37 Wada Hidetoshi (ed.), *Nirakusō to Ōtani Tankentai—II* (Nirakusō and Ōtani Expeditions—II) (Ashiya: Ashiya Shiritsu Bijutsu Hakubutsukan (Ashiya City Fine Arts Museum), 2003), 16.

38 Ibid.

39 For the details of Chūta's travels see: Itō Chūta, *Seiyū Rokuman Mairu* (Sixty Thousand Miles of Travel to West) (Tokyo: Hokkōsho, 1947). Since they shared the same vision of Asia, the collaboration between the two continued after Nirakusō. Under the patronship of Kōzui, Chūta would in 1934 design the Nishi Honganji's Tokyo branch temple Tsukiji Honganji. For the details of this Indian style Buddhist cathedral see: Honganji Shuppansha Tōkyō Shisha (ed.), *Tsukiji* (Kyōto: Honganji Shuppan, 2009). In 1912, he had realized his first project for Honganji under Kōzui's abbacy, by designing the *Shinshū Shinto Seimei Hoken Kaisha* (Shinshū Believers Life Insurance Company; today known as *Dendōin*). The

The overall design of the main building was influenced by the architecture of the Timurid Moghal Empire of Sultan Akbar's times (1542–1605) and also by the Taj Mahal.[40] The dome rising above the villa was a distinct feature that caught the eye of the visitors who were not accustomed to that sight anywhere in Japan.

Inside, Kōzui had preferred an eclectic combination of different cultures of Eurasia. There were five rooms decorated in line with the representative features of five distinct styles: The Chinese Room, the Arabian Room, the English Room, the Indian Room and the Egyptian Room. The construction of the main building was completed on 10 Sep. 1909.[41] But the work on related facilities like the school building, the teachers' office building, the playgrounds (including a tennis court), the gardens, the greenhouses (one hot and one cold) and the student dormitories continued. A large library and storage for the artifacts from expeditions were also planned. Even a cable-car system (with three separate ropeways) to carry people from the valley up to the complex was under construction. Finally in April 1911, all the facilities were ready and 337 students selected by an examination prepared personally by Kōzui, entered into the dormitories. On May 5, the opening ceremony of Mukō Chūgaku was held.[42]

A student of that school, who later had become a professor of Buddhism at Takezono College, Yamamoto Kōshō (1898–1976) remembers vivid details of his days in Nirakusō. After describing daily life he adds "Ōtani Kōzui's goal was to establish a school restricted by no one, a school in total freedom and a school giving education unparalleled in the world.... He aimed at creating an education of the genius."[43]

During the heyday of Nirakusō, he was visited by many important figures of contemporary Japan. Among them were Katsura Tarō (three times Prime Minister of Japan; Jun. 1901–Jan. 1906, Jul. 1908–Aug. 1911, Dec. 1912–Feb. 1913), Gotō Shinpei (The first director of the South Manchuria Railway in 1906; Home Minister in 1916, and Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1918) and Terauchi Masatake (Prime Minister between Oct. 1916-Sep. 1918). At times Katsura would stay at

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information board in its entrance introduces the building as one of the earliest examples of architecture of modern Japan to reflect an Asian style.

40 Ashiya Shiritsu Bijutsu Hakubutsukan (ed.), *Modanizumu Saikō: Nirakusō to Ōtani Tankentai* (Rethinking Modernism: Nirakusō and Ōtani Expeditions) (Ashiya: Ashiya Shiritsu Bijutsu Hakubutsukan, 1999), 61.

41 Ibid., 61–64.

42 Ibid., 194.

43 Yamamoto Kōshō, "Rokkō ni Omou" (Thinking of Rokkō), *Daijō—Buddhist Magazine*, Vol. 5, No: 10 (Oct. 1954): 153–166.

Nirakusō for a few days while Count Terauchi would come along with Kuhara Fusanosuke (the mining industrialist and politician) who had his summer residence nearby.[44] These figures were all well known for their Asianist views, and their long discussions with Kōzui no doubt had some political content. On the other hand, his rapport with such figures might have played a role in his downfall since with the start of Taishō democracy, the political arena would increasingly be hostile towards clan politics (*hanbatsu*) led by them (Katsura, Terauchi and Kuhara were all from Yamaguchi, the former Chōshū).

Whatever the reasons for his downfall were, when he left Nirakusō in 1914 Kōzui was leaving his dream, his *Jōdo* (the Buddhist Paradise) on earth, and his own small Asia he had created for himself. In his final days in Nirakusō, where he stayed in isolation, he had understood the fact that it was an impossible task to bring Asia to Japan; instead he decided to return and get lost in his beloved continent.

Later in his life, he would prepare his gift for the Asian nations: "*Kōa Keikaku*" (Construction of Asia Project), a detailed plan for the economic development of Asia compiled in ten volumes.

Kōa Keikaku (The Rise of Asia Project)

While departing Japan in 1914, Ōtani Kōzui was probably feeling like his ancestor Rennyo, the second founder/ organizer of the sect, who was persecuted many times but in each case had managed to find a new place for himself and his followers. Like Rennyo, Kōzui also succeeded in creating a new life for himself in a new land, rising to prominence as the expert on continental affairs; a man who knew Asia better than anyone in the Empire. He had buried his old self, the patriarch of millions in 1914 and from the 1920's to the '30's he grew as a respected leader of public opinion. This process reached its zenith in 1935 when one day Prince Konoe Fumimaro visited him in Tsukiji Honganji temple in Tokyo and asked him if he could kindly accept the position of Prime Minister of Japan. One of his students Tamagawa Yoshitaka, was with him and witnessed the dialogue between Kōzui and Konoe that day:

> In the year Shōwa 10 [1935], I was there when Prince Konoe proposed Master Kōzui to be the Prime Minister. The Prince was continuously calling Master Kōzui as "My Uncle." Then Master Kōzui answered like this:

44 Seki Rokō, *Ōtani Kōzui*, 73–74.

> "To make me something like the Prime Minister is like killing me. I am not apt for taking charge of fussy politics. That's why I decline."[45]

Young Tamagawa was impressed with the Prince's respectful attitude and did not really conceive why he was calling his Master as "My uncle." In fact, the Prince was referring to their familial relations, which Tamagawa was not aware of. Konoe Fumimaro's uncle Konoe Tsurumatsu (Tokiwai Gyoyū) was married to a younger sister of Kōzui (Fumiko). This episode, besides being a critical moment in Kōzui's life, constitutes an example to show the importance of familial relations in Japan.

Although he had declined to lead Japanese politics directly in 1935, Kōzui would choose to support his nephew during his second cabinet (Jul. 1940–Oct. 1941) by becoming his counselor.[46] In fact his brother Sonyū had also given his support to Konoe by becoming a minister in his first cabinet (Jun. 1937–Jan. 1939).[47] It was during this period that Kōzui started publishing his voluminous work "*Kōa Keikaku*" (The Rise of Asia Project).

Kōa Keikaku is the culmination of Kōzui's life-long endeavor to see a prosperous and independent Asia. The publication of the volumes started in Jun. 1939 and ended with the tenth in Oct. 1940.[48] The introduction to these ten volumes gives a clearer image of Kōzui's vision of Asia:

> The nations and countries have not lived a day of peace in more than twenty years. They have pursued wrong policies, continuously blamed each other, and yet no one has attained peace. Instead of working together they [the politicians] clashed, they divided the masses, they revered escape [from collaboration]. That's how we came to these days.
>
> I, [am calling] the sacred kings and the six furious sages to assemble, with a million guarding angels, and descend [from heavens] like marching tigers and bears. Assemble and rescue peoples from the miseries

45 Tamagawa Yoshitaka, "Tokyo—Berlin Tetsudō no Yume" (The Dream of Tokyo-Berlin Railway), *Daijō—Buddhist Magazine*, Vol. 5, No: 10 (Oct. 1954): 40–41.

46 The official document containing his appointment, dated 3 Oct. 1940 and bearing Ōtani Kōzui's name can be seen at: http://www.jacar.go.jp, Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, Doc. Ref. No. A03023520600.

47 The official document containing the list of ministers of Konoe cabinet and the name of Sonyū Ōtani as the Minister of Colonial Affairs (*Takumu Daijin*), dating 10 Jun. 1937 can be seen at: http://www.jacar.go.jp, Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, Doc.Ref.No. A03022068600.

48 Ōtani Kōzui, *Kōa Keikaku I–X* (The Rise of Asia Project I–X)(Osaka: Daijōsha, 1939–1940) 10 Volumes.

> caused by their neighbors. [Only] Then we may welcome sunny days, and heavenly angels may rule.
>
> Destroying plants, ruining mountains and rivers, closing them down as we did until now, will not lead to the peace of future generations.
>
> The ancient Sage-king Yu the Great, had created the Nine Provinces [i.e. China], prepared irrigation canals, conquered the water and soil, and with his princely deeds he brought food for the people. His works were so great that his light still shines today. After all, doesn't politics exist for supporting the people? To support people it [first] has to correct itself morally, and value life ...[49]

He ends his introduction by adding that he had traveled in the continent for over forty years since his youth, and although he could have lived silently under a bush he had decided to write the book because he felt it was his duty to tell what he knew. Aside from his apparent call for peace, the two points he emphasized needs to be underlined due to their significance in Kōzui's thinking. The first one is his reference to "The Six Sage-kings." By resorting to their help for salvation, he makes an interesting and deliberate choice. The six sages are believed to be renowned philosophers who had lived in India during the lifetime of Shakyamuni Buddha. Their teachings are regarded as heresy by institutional Buddhism. Kōzui's stress on them, and not for instance on boddhisathvas, shows his independent and inclusive stance as a Buddhist as opposed to the exclusive attitude of orthodoxy.

On the other hand, his reference to "Yu the Great" also conceals his stance as an Asianist. Yu is the legendary founder of China, the king who tamed the rivers, opened canals, dredged riverbeds and irrigated barren lands. By controlling the devastating floods he became the symbol of agriculture in China. Yu's egalitarian attitude towards his people and his contribution to China's prosperity based on agriculture had made him a perfect idol for Kōzui.

In the "Rise of Asia," Kōzui did what he promised in his introduction and put everything he knew on paper. His extensive knowledge of the geography, topography, geology, botany, transportation (both maritime and land) as well as mining, agriculture and industries of the region is impressive. In each volume he elaborates on the local resources and their potentials accompanied by detailed maps and his practical proposals for development. He foresees new trade ports, settlements and new lines of transportation among which "The Tokyo-Berlin Railway" in Volume VI is especially noteworthy. Following the ancient routes of the Silk Road his project proposes two lines, both starting from

49 Ibid., Vol. I, 2–4.

Dunhuang, which pass through the northern and southern sides of the Tarim Basin, meeting once again in Kashgar in Chinese Turkistan. From then on, the line goes through Tashkurgan—the Pamirs—the Hindukush—Celalabad—Kabul and via Tehran it is connected to the Baghdad Railway.[50] He was hoping this railway would help flourish the local economies and the interconnectedness of Asian countries. In a way, he was proposing a new Silk Road on rails. Although quite visionary for his time (or maybe because it was) the project was not received with popular support. He no doubt had shared his views on his dream with the cabinet members when he was functioning as advisor for the Second Konoe (1940–41) and the Koisō (1944–45) cabinets, but obviously the political Zeitgeist was not suitable for his plans, and the volumes of his meticulous study were to be left to oblivion.

In April 1945, when the Koiso cabinet fell, and Kōzui's duty as cabinet advisor was also finished, he decided to go to China. It was mid-war and Japan was approaching defeat on all fronts. Japanese nationals living abroad were trying to get back, but Kōzui was saying, "I will return to my homeland."[51] By "homeland" he meant China. He did not listen to people around him who warned him about the dangers of traveling since there were frequent bombardments on transport lines and ships sailing to China were continuously targeted. But he wouldn't change his mind. After a month-long journey full with hardships he succeeded in reaching Beijing via Korea. It was as if he wanted to die in China.[52] It may be that on the day he had left Japan in 1914, he had promised himself that he would live and die on the continent he loved.

Conclusion

Kōzui was a devout Buddhist and the patriarch of the largest Buddhist community in Japan. He was an explorer who organized three expeditions into Central Asia and India in order to find the roots of his faith. He was an agriculturalist who had plantations in Johor (Malaysia), Singapore, the islands of Sulawesi and Java (Indonesia), Kaohsiung (Taiwan) as well as investments in Ankara Gazi Farm and Bursa Turkish-Japanese Silk Weaving Factory.[53] He

50 Ibid., Vol. VI, 137–191.

51 Anonymous, "Waga Furusato Chūgoku nari"(My Homeland is China), *Daijō—Buddhist Magazine*, Vol. 5, No: 10 (Oct. 1954): 22–23.

52 Ibid.

53 For an account of Ōtani Kōzui's activities in Turkey see: Erdal Küçükyalçın *Kont Ōtani Kōzui ve Türkiye / Ōtani Kōzui to Toruko* (*Count Ōtani Kōzui and Turkey*), (In Turkish and Japanese), (Istanbul: DEIK- Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey, 2010).

was the adviser to the Konoe and Koiso cabinets, and a public opinion leader whose followers had established "The Gate of Kōzui Society" (*Zuimonkai*). But above all, he was an Asianist who, in the ten volumes of his *Kōa Keikaku* (The Rise of Asia Project) had proposed a new Silk Road on rails, a Tokyo-Istanbul-Berlin railway. *Kōa Keikaku* is the culmination of his extensive travels, studies and observations in, and a manifestation of, his economic views of Asian development, with a strong emphasis on agriculture. The peaceful alternative he proposed in his life-work was left unheard by the ears deafened by war-cries of his generation, and even now it awaits to be understood by ours.

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CHAPTER 9

The Effects of the Russo-Japanese War on Turkic Nations: Japan and Japanese in Folk Songs, Elegies, and Poems

A. Merthan Dündar

Introduction

Japan is a country followed with interest and curiosity in Turkey as well as in the Turkic world. It is possible to talk about a great sympathy towards the Japanese in Turkey although this sympathy seems to be unilateral. This interest reaches the point of making up legends about relations between the Turks and the Japanese. The examples for such made-up information include legends referring to Halide Edip Adıvar's naming her son after Admiral Togo,[1] Atatürk's Japanese instruction at the Military Academy[2] and that he was very much influenced by the Meiji Restoration[3] and even that he initiated the building of the Tokyo mosque.[4] The problem here is the fact that these imaginary statements are not only included in popular publications, they are also being repeated in academic studies.

Doubtless there are many reasons for the love Turks have for Japan. However, one can say that basically the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War was a turning point in this regard. It is possible to find the traces of this sympathy in

1 In her autobiography, Adıvar mentions that the name of her son is Zeki Hikmetullah. But he was called Togo like the other boys of the neighborhood. Therefore Togo was just a nickname for the boys at that time. See, Halide Edib Adıvar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev* (Atlas Kitabevi, İstanbul 1963), pp. 114.

2 For Nobuo Misawa the first (and the last) Japanese language education in Turkey was started in February 1891 and ended in December 1892. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was born in 1881. Therefore he was 11–12 years old and a primary school student in 1891–1892, so he could not have received any Japanese language lesson at the Military Academy. Göknur Akcadag, Nobuo Misawa, "The First Japanese Language Education in Ottoman Empire (1891–92): Shotaro NODA's Lectures in the Ottoman Military School", 東洋大学社会学部紀要, *Toyo Uni/Bulletin*, vol. 46/1 (2008): 232–33.

3 There is not any scientific or specific evidence or trace about this subject.

4 Atatürk had no direct or indirect relation with the Tokyo Mosque or any other mosques which were established in Japan.

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the works and memoirs of many intellectuals, statesmen, and opinion leaders including Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Kazım Karabekir, Saidi Nursi, Mehmet Akif, and Nazım Hikmet. Another clue on the subject was also brought to light in our study on the books and pamphlets on Japan written in Ottoman Turkish. According to the findings of our study, 53 works directly concerned with Japan were published between 1891 and 1928 and almost half of them were about the Russo-Japanese War.[5] There are even books entirely about the Russo-Japanese War among the military books published in 1928. One can study the effects of the Russo-Japanese War on the Ottoman State under two headings, the political and the social. When evaluated from the standpoint of politics, the first issue that comes to mind is the fact that the defeat of the Russians slowed down the Russian-supported armed separatist activities in the Balkans for a short time. When seen socially, it is observed that the Turkish intellectuals related the Japanese victory to their diligence, patriotism, and success in Westernization without losing their essence. The best example for this is seen in Mehmet Akif Ersoy's poem entitled *Süleymaniye Kürsüsünde*. Since I have previously published an article on why and how Akif wrote this poem, these issues will not be included in the current work.[6] The main purpose of this analysis is to put forward the reflections of the perception of Japan, which was in the making between 1905 and 1925 among Turkic peoples, on the literature of the Turkic world in the light of elegies, epics, folk songs, and poems through different examples. When offering examples, the entire text of the poems directly on Japan and Japanese are provided while only the related lines of those including the words "Japan" or "Japanese" are given.[7]

It is possible to argue that the Russo-Japanese War had two effects on the Turkic World. The first one doubtless concerns the sufferings brought about by the war. Soldiers of Turkish descent in the Russian Army were killed or held as prisoners of war and this deeply affected their families back at home and many elegies or poems were written for them. The lines, spoken in the voices of their mothers, loved ones, or directly in their own voices, are important in that they are reflections of the bitter memories of the Russo-Japanese War in the Turkic peoples' memories in the literature of the Turkic World. The other effect refers to the idea that Japan was seen as a future model and savior following the

5 About this subject my article *Japan in the Turkish Press: An Essay on Books Written About Japan in Ottoman Script During the 19th and 20th Centuries* will be published in Japan.

6 See; A. Merthan Dündar, "Türk Milliyetçilerinin Japonya Algısına Bir Kaynak Olarak Mehmet Akif'in Mısralarında Japonya ve Japonlar," *Türk Yurdu*, Cilt 32, Sayı. 295 (2012): 589–593.

7 I would like to thank, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Devrim Kılıçer and Murat Kadiroğlu for the English translations. The Turkish versions of the poems will be provided in the Appendix.

Japanese victory over Russia, as Japan won the appreciation of Turkic peoples victimized by Russia. The development that Japan was able to materialize in a short period of time and her unyielding position against the colonialists were considered to be the products of the honesty, intelligence, and diligence of the Japanese and the idea that the country should be like Japan in order to obtain prosperity, development, and independence became a common belief. It was especially the intellectuals of the Turkic World, including those in Turkey, who expressed their admiration for this Asian people, who had never been heard of up until a short time before, but who were able to defeat a "giant" like Russia, and Japan became a reference point for them. Also, the special relations of intellectuals like Abdürreşit İbrahim with Japan and the propaganda carried out by them need to be taken into consideration.

These developments that are summarized above affected the literature of the Turkic World, especially its poetry, and the elegies, epics, folk songs, and poems which were passed onto the future generations contributed to the formation of the perception of Japan in the collective memory of these peoples. This was a contributing cause that increased the efficiency of propaganda activies carried out by the Japanese, who attempted to unite Asia under Japan's leadership following the ideology of "Greater Asianism" especially during the period between the two world wars.[8]

Japan in Karachay-Malkar Literature

Japan became one of the Great Powers following the 1895 victory over the Chinese and now she had to confront Russia because of China's Manchuria region. The 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War and the ultimate Japanese victory in this war not only affected these two countries deeply but also the other Asian peoples. With the Russo-Japanese War, the Russians mainly recruited soldiers from the Caucasus region in order to enhance their army[9] but they not only recruited Turkic or Muslim men but also forcibly recruited

8 A. Merthan Dündar, *Panislamizim'den Büyük Asyacılığa: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Japonya ve Orta Asya* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2006), 206–210.

9 Ufuk Tavkul, *Karaçay-Malkar Destanları* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2004), 530; Nadir Devlet, *Rusya Türklerinin Milli Mücadele Tarihi (1905–1917)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), 61. In this war, Russia recruited mostly from Caucasian, Crimean and Idil-Ural Turks. As other Turkish people had not been recruited until 1916, the Turkish people who had not joined the war directly, such as Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek and Turkmen, are excluded from the study.

young men from other ethnic groups in the region through the orders of Tsar Nicholas II. Karachay-Malkar Turks, like other Caucasian groups,[10] fought against the Japanese in military units like the Terek-Kuban, the 2nd Daghestan Cavalcade participating in Liaoyang wars and the heroism and the sufferings of these soldiers became the subject of epic poems. *Yapon Uruşha Ketgenler* (*Japon Savaşına Gidenler—Those Who Went to the Japanese War*) is one of these epic poems.

THOSE WHO WENT TO THE JAPANESE WAR
We set off from Karachay
Being sold to the Japanese war
It started in the Japanese war
Black cannons thrown on us
Our king buried in black blood
We cannot climb the Port-Arthur mountains
Our heads given in this infidel Japan to the enemies

The sun shines on the ice in the Japanese mountains
Do not tell our story
They would weep a lot, to the girls in Karachay
The day we did not fight
Looks sweet as milk
Dispersed we went to the Chinese mountain

Many of us died there
Having missed Karachay mountains
Many of us died being riddled by Japanese bullets

We lived in Karachay villages
Ended up in Japanese lands, Ate dog meat
Girls in Karachay weep thus:
—If this river runs through Japan
Let us dive in the river
Let us sleep with the letters in our bosoms
Sent by the young soldiers
The stones of the Japanese mountain are shining
Youth of Karachay are dying

---

10 The Russian-Japanese war, also a topic which is depicted in Kumyk literature, has been reflected in the works of literary figures such as *Nuhay Batırmurzayev*. See Çetin Pekacar, "Kumuk Türkleri Edebiyatı." *Türk Dünyası El Kitabı*, Cilt: 4, (Ankara, 1998), 319–340.

Like other soldiers
The Japanese are not chasing us

Swings his sword, young Mirzay
Attacking the Japanese soldiers
Mothers rarely give birth to such valiant men.[11]

The first issue that attracts our attention in this epic is the statements of the speaker that imply that the poet does not exactly know where the war took place. Statements like "Japanese mountains," "Japanese lands," and "the river that runs through Japan" refer to the fact that the poet thinks that the war took place in Japan. However, the Russo-Japanese War took place in Chinese lands, in Manchuria. On the other hand, there is only one statement in the poem that says "Chinese Mountain." The lyrics of a folk song that is concerned about how the Karachay people participated in the Russo-Japanese War is as follows:

On the day the papers for Japan arrived at the mountain villages
They are gathering the poor young people at the administrative building
To raise their morale by drinking
They are preparing the horses to go to Russia

We had travelled for forty days by train
On we went and ended up in a big city
Looked at the Japanese mountains day and night
Watched the Japanese like deer
Although we watched, we did not see them
We did not know ourselves back then
One night while we were resting
A bitter piece of news was announced at one point:
Valiant men of the Caucasian mountains
Japanese soldiers got the infantry regiment in the afternoon
The prayers of the Muslims were accepted

We started running
Climbed the Japanese mountains at dawn
Crimson blood started to spill before sun rise
We could not see one another because of the cannon fire

---

11 Tavkul, *Karaçay*, 517–529. See Appendix I.

We cannot find any water for funeral prayers
Japanese cannons do not let us stay at one place
The seriously wounded are the ones in better health
Our clothes filled with crimson blood

We are dying in the Japanese mountains trembling
We wish we died in our mountains free.
We are dying in the Japanese mountains suffering.[12]

When the entire poem is considered it is possible to understand how the Karachay people were taken from their homes and their route that lead them to the battlefield, and their sentiments about their position in the war. On the other hand, this poem also includes the reference to "Japanese mountains." Although one can infer that this may refer to the mountains occupied by the Japanese, we think that the poet takes it for granted that the war took place in Japanese lands.

Japan in Crimean Tatar Literature

Another Turkic people victimized by the Russo-Japanese War were the Crimean Tatars (Karaş 2008). The story of a young man recruited for war on the day he was supposed to get married is narrated in the lines of a Crimean Tatar folk song as follows:

PORT ARTHUR
Spring has gone away, came the fall, eyes have swollen of crying
Off we go to Port Arthur, you take care.
Do not weep mother, do not weep father,
Maybe a remedy will be found.
Is this a glass full of water, is this the road to Japan?
Oh you God's tyrant, is this all you will do?
Do not weep mother, do not weep father,
Maybe a remedy will be found.
Neighborhood of Port Arthur, what a large castle it has,
It gathered and took the sons, his mother could only cry.
Do not weep mother, do not weep father,
Maybe a remedy will be found.

12 Tavkul, *Karaçay*, 525–529. See Appendix 11.

Carriages were greased, tied to one another,
On arriving at Port Arthur swords and knives were sharpened.
Do not weep mother, do not weep father,
Maybe a remedy will be found.
Tall we are, our families could only cry,
On returning from Port Arthur maybe we will have our wedding.
Do not weep mother, do not weep father,
Maybe a remedy will be found.
They secretly raided a newspaper, hang that on to Port Arthur,
Reserve troops retreated on reading this.
Do not weep mother, do not weep father,
Maybe a remedy will be found.
Kuropatkin is our head, horse meat is our food,
Remain in Port Arthur our heads.
Do not weep mother, do not weep father,
Maybe a remedy will be found.[13]

We believe that the speaker also implies that the soldiers went to Japan to fight, taking the "road to Japan" into consideration just as with the examples we have provided above. Alongside the subject of war, there are also references to the diligence of the Japanese in Crimean Tatar poetry. A Crimean Tatar poet, Numan Çelebicihan, refers to the diligence of the Japanese:[14]

THAT TATAR YOUTH
That Tatar youth! They do not read!
If they did they would not lag behind anyone!
They come first in İstanbul, in Paris,
The Japanese cannot keep up with them[15]

13 TDTEA, C. 13 (1999), 172–173. TDTEA is the short for Nevzat Kösoğlu, Proje Yöneticisi (Proje director), *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye Dışındaki Türk Edebiyatları Antolojisi*, (Anthology of Past and Present Turkish literature outside Turkey) Cilt 3 (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993). The letter C, that follows TDTEA indicates *Cilt*, (volume) of the anthology. See Appendix III.

14 We thank Nariman Seyit Yahya from Crimea who acquainted us with this poem by Numan Çelebicihan.

15 TDTEA, C. 13 (1999), 415. See Appendix IV.

Japan in Idil-Ural Tatar Literature

Another Turkic people who had to fight with the Russian army against the Japanese in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War were the Tatars of the Idil-Ural region. It will be appropriate to analyze the perception of Japan in Tatar poetry under two headings: those that talk directly about the war and those that include references to Japan. Suffering brought about by the war was expressed in Verses of War[16] (Russian—Verses of Yapun Sugışı) and in folk songs while critical poems were composed about the activities of some activists who thought that the salvation of Russian Turks and Muslims laid in Japan. The poems of the famous Tatar poet Gabdulla Tukay's (1886–1913) criticizing Abdürreşit İbrahim who was in a close political cooperation with the Japanese provide us with the best examples of this kind. The ones that are about the Russo-Japanese War among the current material are the following:

VERSES OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR
In God's name and for God I started writing verses,
I left my city and country when I am young.
The date was 1904,
We left our city at the beginning of the tenth month.
The door of our house opens on the inside,
See God's predestination; where subsistence spreads.
Our village is a large village, people gathered in the middle street,
When they said the reserves were to leave, it was hard on everyone.
We went to the barracks, put on belts,
Has God put it in their fate to return home?
I left through the door, two bay horses on wheat,
I have hope from God to return to my country.
When the south wind blows various plants bloom,
If it is meant to be, we return happy, if the rulers agree.
Leaving my city was harder,
All the villagers gathered to say goodbye to the soldiers.
The governor came to send the soldiers of our Turay,
Nothing can stop the bloody tears rolling from the eyes.
I stepped into the backyard, various birds are singing,

16 Ebrar Kerimullin, "Kazak Türkçesinde Yayınlar." *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi,* Cilt: V, Sayı 2, İzmir, (2005): 375–389. Some of these couplets have also been translated into the Kazakh language as "Soguş Couplet". See p. 375.

When to war is uttered, my heart and chest cracked open.
Apple grows different on the apple tree in the backyard,
Oh God has separated me from the places I was born and raised.
Is this predestination, is this precaution?
Is this known to parents who passed away?
The tips of our mountain, its small and large stones,
My tears are gone now, bloody flows are rolling now.
I woke up early and went out, looked up to the heavens,
There is no use in crying, let us leave all to God.
After our harvest its snows remain till summer,
Let the elderly pray to save us from this torment.
The distance between us is great to let us talk,
If you miss our humble souls, just read these lines.
I started saying God is great as I left Turay,
I left my homeland when I was twenty-six.
When I left my village, I turned and looked back,
We left cities called Turay.
When I arrived at Teteş I became sleepy,
I could not utter my words when I left my homeland.
The clothes the Japanese wore were yellow and red,
Do not protect worldly treasures, everyone leaves some.
The shawl in my hand got caught on the shelf,
That we would go to war was in nobody's mind.
It gets caught in the wind after us, rolls out and in when the wind blows,
It becomes a day of happiness and festivity, we would not be present then.
While I was wandering about my homeland I have not seen any heavy services,
If the rulers do not agree, I have not gone for a rapid return.
The elder and younger brothers have waited for us for five, six days,
They left on the seventh, the eighth having lost all hope.
When the elder brothers said goodbye, we gathered and cried,
Six of us out of thirteen went and got lost.
Seven out of thirteen remained, they had luck;
Six soldiers went to war, it was meant to be.
They said goodbye to the soldiers, from the cities on Thursday night,
When will the tight military clothes be taken off of our backs?
We arrived at Simbir on Monday night,
We will not cease hoping, with your dreaming.
There is a fish hook along our water,
Leaving home became hell's torture.

My wheat spread around at the top of the holy mountain,
Let us be saved from this trouble of war by God.
When the night came they put us into trains in Simbir,
They counted us and put forty of us in each wagon.
The imam of Keleş village put on his turban and said God is great,
This longing of war made my white face yellow.
Coal is free of charge in the city called Tetiş,
Sorrow filled the hearts while the prayers of repentance were uttered.
There are lakes after us in the hollow ground with ducks,
We went to foreign lands, there are days of fire.
I did not take off the cardigan on me and hung it on the nail,
I did not know what to do when the attack was ordered.
The upper side of the Irkutsk barracks is full of trees, the beneath full of stones,
Plenty is reserved to see in these barracks for us.
The soldier goes out to play, listed like wild geese,
Who cries for us, being sad like little kids.
The waters of Turab run along our harvest,
Our heads go along our destinies.
Hang the clothes remaining from me from nail to nail,
When acquaintances gather around, say he has no kin.
My brothers, pray, when comes the Greater Eid,
I will write the couplets of the soldiers on this paper.
You know what to do, pray for us too,
The news arrived telling us you were going for war.
Take these couplets, take them and read,
Pray for the good of men at war.[17]

In these couplets it is not only what the soldiers saw, lived, and felt on their way to the battle front that is told, but also the route through which they were transferred is also clearly seen. The war was also a subject of folk songs. Among these the one known as *Ballad of a Soldier's Mother* (*Asker Anası Türküsü*) is as follows:

JAPANESE WARS ARE VIOLENT
If I feel anxious, I go out
To the garden where the roses bloom;
The sunflower blooms in yellow petals
Ending violent Japanese wars,

17 TDTEA, C17 (2001), 370–372. See Appendix V.

When will joy be born for us?
The apple of my eye, my only son
Went to Tsar becoming a soldier
The sunflower blooms in yellow petals
Ending violent Japanese wars,
When will joy be born for us?
To the far away Port-Arthur
Extends the railroads;
The sunflower blooms in yellow petals
Ending violent Japanese wars,
When will joy be born for us?
Japanese wars are violent,
Let the piece of my heart return safe and sound
The sunflower blooms in yellow petals
Ending violent Japanese wars,
When will joy be born for us?[18]

Another folk song about the Port-Arthur front where the bloodiest clashes took place is as follows:

PORT-ARTHUR
When I arrived at Port-Arthur,
I was fascinated with its stones
Cannon balls fall like rain
On to poor soldiers' heads.
Oh Port-Arthur
You were beautiful
To the city called Port-Arthur
The Japanese fire with cannon balls
Ruthless the enemy is, ruthless it is
Tears apart the city of stone.
Oh Port-Arthur
You were beautiful.
The cannons of the Japanese
Breaks down large stones;
Kuropatkin the black face
Causes the loss of our heads.
Oh Port-Arthur

18 TDTEA, C.17 (2001), 410. See Appendiv VI.

You were beautiful.
On the mountains of Manchurya
Either acırga or plant
My homeland, my country
Maybe I will see, maybe I will die.
Oh Port-Arthur
You were beautiful[19]

As we have stated before, the Tatar poet Gabdulla Tukay talks about Japan and the Japanese in his poems too. Tukay rather mentions the Japanese in his poems criticizing Kadi Abdürreşit İbrahim, who thought that Japan would be the savior of the Muslims of Russia and who carried out his propaganda activities in this direction. On the other hand, Japan occupies a place in his poems in order to underline development or distance. We first come across with Japan in his poem entitled *On Liberty* (*Hürriyet Hakkında*):

ON LIBERTY
Where have censorship,
Servitude, evil, contempt gone?
If we look back,
They are kadis far away.
Became equals before law,
The Tatars, Russians, and the Japanese;
White apron, petticoat too;
Got full liberty.[20]

In another poem, Tukay stresses the importance attached to education and science in Japan and he lists the country among the developed European countries.

The Japanese, Germans and the French got hold of the world by science;
Let us, the inconsiderate, not extinguish by ignorance and negligence.[21]

Tukay puts forward his reaction to news articles published in Turkey by *Ülfet* newspaper and in other newspapers published in Egypt citing Abdürreşit

19 TDTEA, C.17 (2001), 417. See Appendiv VII.

20 Fatma Özkan, *Abdullah Tukay'ın Şiirleri* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1994), 121. See Appendix VIII.

21 Özkan, *Abdullah*, 133. See Appendix IX.

İbrahim's words, which argued that the Japanese Emperor had invited Muslim religious scholars to Japan or that the Japanese had an inclination to convert to Islam, in a poem entitled *Where are the Scholars Who Would Convert Japan to Islam?* Tukay explains why he wrote this poem as such:

> *Many of the lies have been brought out into the open since the creation of the world. Poor Kadi Reşat misinformed Tatar scholars by saying 'Mikado' would be Muslim. However, Tercüman's reporter condemns him by telling Reşid that 'The father himself ate the grease on the spoon that would make the moustache shine.' And poor me, since I am a person who says 'The fly will not eat you up but disturbs you' about issues on Tatar people and Islam, wrote a poem called Where are the Religous Scholars Who Would Convert Japan to Islam?*[22]

The lines of the poem on Japan are as follows:

> *You, the ones with turbans, you have raped us till now,*
> *Ignored education and training thoroughly.*
>
> *Centuries have passed, by blowing, spitting on disease;*
> *You wrote fake prayers or told fortunes.*
> *People say: His Royal Highness Mikado would like to convert to Islam,*
> *He invited you to his convent, just go!*
>
> *See Japanese people, what tendencies they have,*
> *Are they inclined to your kaftans or to religion?*
>
> *Come, do you have the shadow of strength to accomplish this good deed?*
> *Will the science of logic or telling fortunes help you out.*
>
> *Would you be suggesting that they become bald heads there again?*
> *Would you say that they shave their moustaches to the point of near non-existence.*
>
> *Buhari of the Buharis, would you like to have a ruler there too?*
> *Would you say that the symbol of Islam be Buharism?*

---

22 G. Halit, *Eserler, Gabdullah Tukay*. Cilt V (Kazan: Tataristan Kitap Neşriyatı, 1986), 53. See Appendix X.

Enough, take pity, now we need pity, you shameless!
Do not cause trouble by saying let the Japanese wear kaftans too![23]

Tukay wrote this poem twice. Although there are differences between the tw poems, the message remains the same. The poem was first published in tl June 3, 1906 issue of *Fikir* newspaper and subsequently published in the 3ı book in 1907. In the additional couplet to the original poem Tukay says th he himself once believed that the Japanese Emperor would convert to Islam;

Once I too believed that Mikado would have faith in God.[24]

The propaganda claiming that the Japanese Emperor would convert to Islar also disturbed some Tatar intellectuals. A short article published in the Octobe 15, 1906 issue of *Fikir* newspaper summarizes the situation.[25]

What is the use of hearing about news which talks about the possibility of th Japanese to convert to Islam? Brothers, do not be glad that the Japanese wi be Muslims. Japanese people's conversion to Islam is not like our Tatar re porters deforming their jobs. Maksudi becomes a member of the Beyazido İşhanlar Party and they start to include the goals of İşhans to their politicc ideas.[26]

Another short poem by Tukay by which he criticizes Abdürreşit İbrahim wa published under the title *Village Ballads* (Fourth Chapter).

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23 Özkan, *Abdullah*, 175–177. See Appendix XI.

24 Halit, *Eserler*, C.II, 339. See Appendix XII.

25 Halit, *Eserler*, C.II, 18. Dated February 1, 1906, *Azad Halk Gazetesi*, quoting the news iı *Hayat* newspaper published in Baku, wrote that the Japanese Emperor would convert tı Islam. Later, Abdürreşit Ibrahim's trip to Japan and his publication of this trip become an issue of debate in Tatar press. Tukay and Emirhan wrote sarcastically on this. In 190ç Tukay dealt with this topic once again and composed a poem in two lines:
Reşid set off a second time (Kalkıp gitti seyahate Reşid ikinci defa,).
With a bucket of black oil on his face (Reşid suratında bir kova kara yağ ile gitti); Haliı *Eserler*, C.II, 346–347. This short poem was published in the periodical *Yeşin* (Yıldırım) 29 April 1909, Vol. 8. It is not included in the works published while Tukay was alive However, the idea of the Japanese Emperor converting to Islam was totally a matter o propaganda. The activists such as Abdürreşit Ibrahim tried to spread these pieces of gos sip deliberately.

26 Halit, *Eserler*, C.II, 339–340. See Appendix XIII.

Brown crow, black raven eats with impudence;
When "Indian" builds a madrasa, Reşit too builds a mosque in Tokyo.[27]

Gabdulla Tukay has also translated a poem on Japan. The poem written by *Viktor Petrovich Burenin (1841–1926)* is titled *Japanese Story.*[28] Tukay refers to the Japanese as *foxy* in a poem entitled *Great News* mentioning Japan.

Great news to you, oh Petersburgians!
Great news to you too, oh New Yorkers!
Also great news to you, oh the people of Berlin
Joy to you too, the people of London!
Great news to you too, you foxy Japanese!
Great news to you, the Chinese and the Finnish!
Do you know that you will not be in the fire forever,
You will be saved by Musa Efendi.[29]

Tukay also mentions Japan in his *Folk Songs from the Village* (*Köy Türküleri*, 4th Section).[30]

SONGS FROM THE VILLAGE
The Japanese do not fire cannon balls; their smoke does not go about;
It is a slander, do not believe in that: "Sabah" does not sell soaps.[31]

One of the most interesting examples of Japan in Idil-Ural Tatar literature is found in Turkey. The verses I have compiled (on 22th May 2012) in Böğrüdelik Village (Cihanbeyli, Konya), where Abdürreşit İbrahim had lived for about a decade before leaving for Japan, are being alluded to here in this study for the first time.

I am the one who blows gently,
The one who wears a silk waistcoat.

---

27 See Appendix XIV.

28 Even though this poem is not written by Tukay himself, it is included in this study. However, it is surprising that Tukay is interested in a poem about the Japanese and translates it into his language. For the complete poem please see Özkan, *Abdullah*, 561–567. We owe a debt of gratitude to Ramil Sabirov for this information and his other help, and to Dr. İlyas Kamalov for the translations from books in the Tatar language.

29 See Appendix XV.

30 Özkan, *Abdullah*, 507, 583.

31 See Appendix XVI.

The one who stays in Japan,
My beloved with the black eyes.[32]

As we have learnt, this poem was composed by Abdürreşit İbrahim's wife Ayan Hanim, who stayed in Turkey after Abdürreşit İbrahim went to Japan in 1933 for good.

Japan in Azerbaijani Literature

Japan was also referred to in Azerbaijani poetry and in articles by Azerbaijani intellectuals. Japan was mentioned for various reasons in Hüseyin Câvid's article titled *Hesbihal*[33] and Celil Memmedquluzade's article titled *Biz Neyik?* (What Are We?).[34]

In the epic *Deli Ali Destanı* (Epic of Mad Ali), which was written after the Russo-Japanese War, Japan was mentioned in the following way:

I saw it hanging on the wall
The rifle from Japan
Its crag shakes mountains.[35]

The reference to the power of Japanese rifle here is in fact a praise of this piece of arms and at the same time a praise of Japanese technology. One other example of the expectation that the Japanese would convert to Islam is seen in Necefbey Vezirov's work titled *Tebriknâme:*

—Dervish Aga! If I give you a great piece of news
That would make you happy and content, what would you give me,
Tell me and I will see?
—What is the reason for your joy?

---

32 We would like to thank Prof. Dr. Abdullah Gündoğdu for the translation from the Tatar language.
Yilpir yilpir yilpirtegen,
Yipek yilek kiygenim.
Yaponya'da kalqan minim,
Kara küzlü süygenim.

33 TDTEA, C. 4 (1993), 292.

34 TDTEA, C. 4 (1993), 164.

35 Selim Refik, "Azeri Halk Edebiyatında Deli Ali Destanı." *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, Yıl: 2, sayı: 23, İstanbul, (1933): 415–419. See Appendix XVII.

Oh Kerbelâyî, come and look at my eyes.
—If that is so just take it out, quick! Hmmm....
—Oh Kerbelâyi! I wonder if the road to Mecca is completed?
—No, not that.
—Is there a festivity, a festival of law in Iran?
—A festival of law in Iran? Aga Dervish! What are you talking about?
—Have the Japanese converted to Islam?
—I wish, but it is not that.[36]

Mirze Elekber Sâbir praises the rapid Japanese success in development and offers this experience as an example in his poem titled *Desire* (Arzu):

I wish the day the word newspaper never happened,
I wish the idle person (bugger) who made up the business of newspapers be cursed.
I wish neither the East, nor the Far East, nor Japan nor their skill be an example, a lesson for the people.[37]

Abbas Sehhet, on the other hand, used the term Japan meaning "the most faraway place":

Drink liquor, dedicate yourself to pipes.
Sir, what is the use in looking at the pipe.
If your business goes wrong, get on a ferry,
Flee to Japan on your own.
Do not think about your acquaintances, friends who are left behind.[38]

Southern Azerbaijani poet Mirze Elihan Le'lî praises the Japanese in the following way in his work titled *Serqi-Rus Qezetine:*

Regard the nation with a clean posterity with admiration.
See how the Zoroastrian Japanese got to high levels.[39]

36 TDTEA, C.3 (1993), 299. See Appendix XVIII.
37 TDTEA, C. 4 (1993), 99. See Appendix XIX.
38 TDTEA, C. 4 (1993), 224. See Appendix XX.
39 TDTEA, C. 4 (1993), 55. See Appendix XXI.

Conclusion

One may argue that the image of the Japanese and Japan was intensively used in the poetry of the Turkic world following the Russo-Japanese War. In the elegies and the poems of the immediate period following the war the sufferings of the war were mostly mentioned and Japan was describes as "a faraway mountainous country that separates lovers and that becomes a grave for young people." Port Arthur, where the bloodiest clashes had taken place, is the most frequently used common image. When the elegies and the poems written after the Russo-Japanese War are analyzed one can see that the war was referred to as if it took place in Japanese lands, or in other words, on the Japanese mainland. We can conclude that Japan was identified with China within the collective memory and understanding and that Japan was perceived within the framework of a cold and frightening geography with its barren mountains. When the North of the country is exempted, however, Japan that mainly has a temperate climate and flora is very different from what was narrated. This geographical perception thought of and referred to within this context does not match Japan.

While there are complaints of the "Japanese bullets," "the merciless Japanese cannoneer" in lines where the Japanese are mentioned as the enemy at war, interestingly there are no curses or defamatory comments about the Japanese, excluding "infidel" (gâvur) which we came across once. It is interesting to see that there is no anger or bitterness towards the Japanese in spite of the losses. We think that, in the collective consciousness, the blame for the war was put on the Russians rather than the Japanese. On the other hand, when the poets talk about "Japanese rifles," "bullets," "cannons," and "cannoneers" they might as well be implicitly stressing the Japanese technology and mastery.

In examples where the immediate memories of the war began to be forgotten there are more references to the education, development, and industry of the Japanese. But there are also sarcastic and critical stances towards the people who attempted to create a public opinion in favor of the Japanese, as in the Tukay case, by over-praising Japan or, in other words, by being "more royalist than the king," though these also appreciated the abovementioned characteristics of the Japanese. Doubtless Tukay was also impressed by and appreciated the success and progress of the Japanese. But as is understood, he objected to those who spread propaganda in favor of the Japanese to weaken Russian cultural imperialism. This can also be explained by the fact that Tukay was a Tatar nationalist. Within this context the people whom Tukay criticized the most are Abdürreşit İbrahim and the conservative intellectuals he represents. İbrahim's talks and writings praising the Japanese, and even the pieces of news he published in his newspaper that said that the Japanese Emperor would convert to Islam caused Tukay's rage. Tukay must have observed the direct or indirect Japanese propaganda and the insincerity of the Japanese in Asia and especially in the Turkic geography. He exposed this cunning in his poem titled "Great News" through the use of the term "foxy Japanese." The reflections of the positive opinion about the Japanese during and after the war in oral and written literature have been a facilitator factor in the affiliation of Turkic peoples, who were victimized by Russia, China, and European countries, by the penetration of the Japanese into the collective memory of Turkic peoples. Oral culture elements like epics, elegies, and folk songs, and alongside these, other elements like prose and poetry must have had an important place in the perception of Japan by the villagers and the nomads in the country and the urban elements respectively.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Japon Savaş Ina Gidenler

Biz yola çıktık Karaçay'dan
Japon savaşına satılıp
Japon savaşında başladı
Üzerimize kara toplar atılıp
Kralımız kara kana gömülüp
Biz çıkamıyoruz Port-Artur dağlarına
Başımız kaldı bu gâvur Japonya'da düşmanlara

Güneş vurmuş Japon dağlarında buzlara
Hikâyemizi anlatmayın
Çok ağlarlar, Karaçay'da kızlara
Savaşmadığımız gün
Tatlı görünüyor süt gibi
Dağılarak gittik Çin dağına

Çoklarımız öldü orada
Karaçay dağlarını özleyip
Çoklarımız öldü Japon kurşunları delik deşik edip

Karaçay köylerinde yaşadık
Gele gele Japon ellerinde Köpek etleri yedik
Karaçay'da kızlar öyle ağlıyorlar:
– Bu ırmak Japonya'ya gidiyorsa
Kendimizi ırmağa atalım
Asker gençlerden gelen

Koynumuza koyup yatalım
Parlıyor Japon dağının taşları
Ölüyorlar Karaçay'ın akıl-baliğ olamaya gençleri
Diğer askerler gibi
Japon bizi kovalayamıyor

Kılıç vuruyor genç Mırzay
Japon askerlerine saldırıp
Öyle yiğit analara çok doğmuyor.

Appendix II: Halk Türküsü

Dağ köylerine Japon kâğıtlarının geldiği gün
Zavallı gençleri idare binasına topluyorlar
İçki içirip morallerini yükseltmek için
Atlar koşuyorlar Rusya'ya girip gitmek için

Trenlerle kırk gün gitmiştik
Gide gide bir büyük şehirde atılıp kalmıştık
Sabah akşam Japon dağlarına bakıyorduk
Japonları geyik gibi gözlüyorduk
Gözlesek de biz onları görmüyorduk
O günlerde kendimizi bilmiyorduk

Bir gece yatıp dururken
Bir zamanda bir acı haber seslendi:
Kafkas'dan gelen dağlı yiğitler
Akşamüzeri piyade alayını Japon askeri aldı
Müslümanların duası kabul oldu

Biz koşturmaya başladık
Şafak sökerken Japon dağlarına tırmandık
Güneş doğmadan kızıl kanlar dökmeye başladı
Top dumanlarından birbirimizi göremedik

Su bulamıyoruz cenaze namazı kılmaya
Japon topları bırakmıyorlar bizi bir yerde durmaya
İyilerimiz ağır yaralı oldu
Giyimlerimiz kızıl kanla doldu

Can veriyoruz Japon dağlarında titreyerek
Ölseydik dağlarımızda gerilip
Can veriyoruz Japon dağlarında eziyet çekip.

Appendix III: Port Artur

Geçti bahar, geldi güz, ağlamaktan şişti göz,
Port Artur'a gidiyoruz sağlıkla kalın siz.
Ağlama anne, ağlama baba,
Belki çaresi bulunur.
Bardak dolu su mudur, Japon yolu bu mudur?
Hey Allah'ın zalimi, yapacağın bu mudur?
Ağlama anne, ağlama baba,
Belki çaresi bulunur.
Port Artur'un Mahallesi, ne büyüktür kalesi,
Topladı aldı evlâtları, ağlayıp kaldı annesi.
Ağlama anne, ağlama baba,
Belki çaresi bulunur.
Arabalar yağlandı, birbirine bağlandı,
Port Artur'a vardıktan sonra kılıç bıçak bilendi.
Ağlama anne, ağlama baba,
Belki çaresi bulunur.
Selvi gibi boyumuz, ağlayıp kaldı sülâlemiz,
Port Artur'dan döndükten sonra belki olur düğünümüz.
Ağlama anne, ağlama baba,
Belki çaresi bulunur.
Gizlice gazete bastılar, Port Artur'a astılar,
Bunu okuyan ihtiyat kuvvetleri geri çekildiler.
Ağlama anne, ağlama baba,
Belki çaresi bulunur.
Kuropatkin başımız, at etidir aşımız,

Port Artur'un içinde de kalır bizim başımız.
Ağlama anne, ağlama baba,
Belki çaresi bulunur.

Appendix IV: Hey Gidi Tatar Gençleri

Hey gidi Tatar gençleri! Okumuyorlar!
Okursa kimseden geri kalmazlar!
İstanbul'da Pariste birinci oluyor,
Japonlar arkalarından yetişemiyorlar.

Appendix V: Rus—Japon Savaş Beyitleri

Bismillah ve billâh, beyit yazmaya başladım,
Erkek yansıyken ilimi ülkemi bıraktım.
Tarih bin dokuz yüz dört yılı içinde,
İlimizden çıkıp gittik Şevval ayı başında.
Bizim evin kapısı iç tarafa açılır,
Görün Hakk'ın takdirini; nafaka nereye saçılır.
Bizim köy büyük köy, orta sokağa toplandı,
Yedek askerler gönderiliyor denince, pek zor geldi.
Gelip girdik kışlaya, kayış doladık bellere,
Hak teala acep yazmış mı geri dönmelerini sılaya?
Çıktım kapıdan, iki doru at buğdayda,
Memleketime dönmeye ümidim var Huda 'dan.
Türlü otlar çiçek açar kıbleden yel esse,
Nasip olursa, mutlu döneriz, hükümdarlar anlaşsa.
Ben ilimden çıkınca daha zor geldi,
Askerleri uğurlamaya bütün köy toplandı.
Bizim Turay'in askerlerini vali gelmiş göndermeye,
Gözden akan kanlı yaşı imkân yok durdurmaya.
Çıktım avluya, türlü kuşlar cıvıldıyor,
Savaşa diye söyleyince, yüreğim bağrım yarıldı.
Avludaki elma ağacında başka büyür bir elma,
Doğup büyüdüğüm yerlerden ayırdı ah bir Allah.
Takdir midir bu işler, tedbir midir bu işler?
Merhum olmuş ana babaya malum mu bu işler?
Bizim dağın başları, irili ufaklı taşları,
Gözyaşlarım bitti artık, akıyor kanlı yaşları.
Erkenden kalkıp dışarı çıktım, baktım havaya,
Ağlaşmakta yoktur fayda, bırakalım işi Allah 'a.
Bizim harman ardı, yaza ulaşır karları,

Bu cefadan kurtulmaya dua etsin ihtiyarları.
Gün görüp söyleşmeye uzak kaldı aramız,
Biz fakiri özleseniz, bu beyite bakınız.
Ben Turay'dan çıkarken tekbir getirmeye başladım,
Yaşım yirmi altıda memleketimden ayrıldım.
Çıkınca köyümden dışarı, bir baktım geri dönüp,
Turay adlı illerden gittik bizler ayrılıp.
Ben Teteş 'e ulaşınca uyku bastı gözüme,
Ben memleketimden ayrılınca diyemedim sözümü.
Japonların giysisi sarı ile al imiş,
Esirgemeyin dünya malını, her kişiden kalır imiş.
Elimdeki şalım takılıp kaldı rafta,
Bizim savaşa gideceğimiz yoktu hiç akılda.
Bizim ardımızda yele kapılır, açılır kapanır yel estiğinde,
Olur, sevinç bayram günü, biz olmayız o zaman.
Ben ilimde gezerken ağır hizmet görmedim,
Hükümdarlar anlaşmasa, çabuk dönmeye gitmedim.
Ağabey kardeş uzatınca bizi beş altı gün beklediler,
Yedinci gün sekizde ümit kesip gittiler.
Ağabeyler uğurlarken, toplanıp ağlaştık,
On üç kişi arasından altımız gidip kaybolduk.
On üç kişiden yedisi kaldı, şanslılar var imiş;
Altı asker savaşa gittik, göreceğimiz var imiş.
Askerleri uğurladılar, Perşembe akşamı illerden,
Daracık asker giysileri ne zaman çıkar sırtımızdan?
Simbir'e ulaştık Pazartesi günü geceleyin,
Bizim ümidimiz kesilmez, sizin gördüğünüz düş ile.
Bizim suyun boyunda vardır balık oltası,
Sılalardan ayrılmak oldu cehennem azabı.
Yüce dağın başında saçıldı buğdayım,
Bu savaş belasından kurtarsa idi Hûda 'm.
Gece olunca Simbir'de trene koydular,
Her vagon kırkar kişi sayıp dizip koydular.
Sarık giy ipi tekbir getirdi Keleş köyün imamı,
Ak yüzüme sarı vurdu bu savaş hasreti.
Tetiş adlı şehirde para almazlar kömüre,
Tövbe duası okunurken, elem doldu gönüle.
Bizim ardımızda çukurda, ördek gezen göller var,
Yâd ellere çıkıp gittik, ateşe girecek günler var.
Üstümdeki hırkayı alıp çiviye asmadım,
Taarruz emrolununca, ne yapacağımı bilemedim.

İrkutsk kışlasının üstü ağaç, altı taş,
Bu kışla içinde neler görmez bizim baş.
Asker çıkar oyuna, kır kazı gibi dizilip,
Bizim için kimler ağlar, küçük çocuk gibi üzülüp.
Turab suyu akar bizim harman boyunca,
Bizim başlar gider alın yazısı boyunca.
Benden kalan giysileri çividen çiviye asın,
Eş dost toplanınca, bir yakını yok deyin.
Kardeşlerim, dua edin, gelince Kurban Bayramı,
Bu kâğıda ben yazarım askerlerin beyitini.
Malumdur sizlere, dua edin bizlere,
Siz savaşa çıkıyorsunuz diye haber geldi bizlere.
Bu beyiti alın, alıp okuyun,
Savaştaki kullara hayır dua edin.

Appendix VI: Japon Savaşlari Yaman İmiş

İçim sıkılsa, ben çıkarım
Güllerin çiçek açtığı bahçeye;
Sarı çiçek açar günebakan
Yaman Japon savaşları bitip,
Ne zaman doğar bize sevinç?
İki gözümün nuru, tek evladım
Asker olup gitti Çar'a
Sarı çiçek açar günebakan
Yaman Japon savaşları bitip,
Ne zaman doğar bize sevinç?
Çok uzaktaki Port-Artur'a
Demir yolları gitmiş uzayıp;
Sarı çiçek açar günebakan
Yaman Japon savaşları bitip,
Ne zaman doğar bize sevinç?
Japon savaşları yaman imiş,
Yürek parem dönsün kurtulup
Sarı çiçek açar günebakan
Yaman Japon savaşları bitip,
Ne zaman doğar bize sevinç?

Appendix VII: Port-Artur

Port-Artur'a varınca,
Hayran kaldım taşına
Yağmur gibi gülle yağar

Biz zavallının başına.
Ley-ley Port-Artur
Olmuştun sen güzel.
Port-Artur denen şehre
Japonlar top atarlar
Acımaz düşman, acımaz
Taş şehri yıkarlar.
Ley-ley Port-Artur
Olmuştun sen güzel.
Japonların topları
Kırar koca koca taşları;
Kuropatkin yüzü kara
Yer bizim başları.
Ley-ley Port-Artur
Olmuştun sen güzel.
Mançurya dağlarında
Ya acırga ya ot
Memleketimi, vatanımı
Belki görürüm, belki ölürüm.
Ley-ley Port-Artur
Olmuştun sen güzel.

Appendix VIII: Hürriyet Hakkinda

Nereye gitti sansür,
Kulluk, yoluk, kemlik, horluk?
Geriye baksak dönüp,
Onlar uzakta kadı ya.
Eşit oldu kanun karşısında,
Tatar, Rus, Japon da;
Ak önlük, jüpon da,
Tam hürriyeti aldı ya.

Appendix IX

İlimle dünyayı tuttu, Japon, Alman ve Fransızlar;
Cehalet ve gafletle yok olmayalım biz anlayışsızlar.

Appendix X: Japonya'yı Müslüman Kılacak Âlimler Nerede?

"Dünya yaratıldığından beri yalanların çoğu açığa çıkmıştır. Zavallı Reşit Kadı "Mikado" Müslüman olacak deyip bütün Tatar âlimlerini yanlış bilgilendirdi. Lakin Tercüman'ın muharriri çıkıp Reşid'e "Baba kaşıktaki bıyığı parlatacak yağı, kendi yedi" diyerek onu ayıplıyor. Ben fakir de Tatar ve İslam'a dair işlerde "Sinek yemez ama mızıldar" şeklinde bir insan olduğumdan "Japonya'yı Müslüman Kılacak Âlimler Nerede?" diye bir şiir yazdım"

Appendix XI

Siz ey sarıklılar, bizi şimdiye kadar ettiniz iğfal,
Tahsili ve talimi baştanbaşa ettiniz ihmal.

Asırlar geçti, hastalığa üfürmekle, tükürmekle;
Yazdınız yalan duaları veya açtınız siz fal.
Derler: İslâm'a girmek istermiş hazret-i sultan Mikado,
Sizi davet eder dergâhına varın hemen!

Görün Japon halkını neye meyledermiş onlar,
Sizin kaftanınıza mı, yoksa dine mi meyyal?

Gelin, bu hayırlı işe zerre kadar kudret var mı sizde?
Bugün yardım eder mi mantık ilmi ya da fal.

Kel kafalı olmayı teklif eder misiniz yine orada?
Der misiniz, bıyıklar öyle kesilsin ki, yüz tutsun yok olmaya.

Buhariler Buharisi, orada da olsun mu hüküm verici?
Der misiniz, Buharilik olsun Müslümanlığa sembol?

Yeter, insaf edin, artık insaf gerek, utanmazlar!
Japonlar da kaftan giysin diyip çıkarmayın kavga!

Appendix XII

Bir vakit Mikado'nun iman getireceğine
Şular cümlesinde ben de inanmıştım.

Appendix XIII

"Japonların Müslüman olma ihtimaline dair çıkan haberleri bugün bile duymaktan ne fayda var? Ağabeyler, Japonlar Müslüman olacak diye sevinmeyin. Japonların Müslüman olması, bizim Tatar muharrirlerin meslek bozmaları gibi değildir. (Maksudi, Beyazidov İşhanlar Partisine giriyor ve siyasi fikirlerine işhanların maksadını katmaya başlıyorlar."

Appendix XIV

Ala karga, kara kuzgun, arsızlıkla karın doyurur;
"Hintli" medrese yaptırınca, Reşit de Tokyo'da cami yaptırır.

Appendix XV: Büyük Müjde

Müjdeler size, ey Petersburglular!
Size de müjdeler, New Yorklular!
Müjdeler size de, ey Berlin halkı
Size de sevinçler, Londra halkı!
Müjdeler size de tilki Japonlar!
Müjdeler size, Çinliler ve Finliler!
Biliyor musunuz kalmayacaksınız ateşte ebediyen,
Kurtaracak sizi Musa Efendi.

Appendix XVI: Köy Türküleri

Japonlar top atmazlar; dumanı etrafa yayılmaz;
İftiradır, inanmayınız: "Sabah" sabun satmaz.

Appendix XVII: Deli Ali Destani

Gördüm asmana dayandı
Yaponyadan tüfenk gelip
Zarbesinden dağlar titrer.

Appendix XVIII: Tebriknâme

Derviş Ağa! Sana bir gönül açan, ferahlık
veren müjde versem, bana ne verirsin, söyle de göreyim?
– Senin bu sevincinin sebebi nedir?
Ey Kerbelâyî, buyur, benim gözlerime bak.
– Peki öyle ise haydi çıkar, çabuk! Hımmm....
– Ey Kerbelâyi! Yoksa Mekke yolu mu tamamlandı?
– Hayır, o değil.
İran'da kanun bayramı, şenliği mi var? İran'da kanun şenliği mi? Ağa Derviş! Sen ne söylüyorsun? Japonlar İslâm'ı mı kabul etmişler?
Keşke öyle olsa, ama değil.

Appendix XIX

Gazete mazete sözünün ortaya çıktığı gün hiç olmayaydı,
gazete işini çıkaran işsize (haylaza) lanet olaydı.
Ne Doğu, ne Uzak Doğu ne Japonya ne de onların hüneri halka ibret ders olaydı.

Appendix XX

İçki iç kendini pipoya ver.
Efendim, pipoya bak-maya ne gerek var.
İşleriniz kötü gitse düzeltmek için vapura bin,
tek başına Japonya'ya kaç.
Geride kalan yakınlarını, dostlarını düşünme.

Appendix XXI

Soyu, sopu temiz olan millete ibret ile bakın.
Mecûsî Japonların, nasıl yüksek mertebelere ulaştığını görün.

CHAPTER 10

Some Notes on the Japanese Records and Information on the "Turks"

Katayama Akio

Introduction

In ancient Japan, Fujiwara no Sukeyo 藤原佐世, (847–897) recorded a book titled *Tokketsu go* 突厥語 ie. Tujue Turkic language 一巻, one volume in his *Nihonkoku Genzaisho Mokuroku* 日本国見在書目録 [ca. 891]. (for the photo image of the Kunaichō Shoryōbu text, see Fig. 10.1). His *Mokuroku* is a classified catalogue of the imported Chinese books, mainly by the missions to Tang China. In 1947 Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助 referred to this *Tokketsu go*,[1] and in Germany Liu Mau-tsai 劉茂才 also dealt with the book in his corpus of the *Tujue* historical source materials.[2] Japanese turcologist Mori Masao 護雅夫 introduced both of the works.[3]

I have recently come to know the description of "*Tokketsu*" in the *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 [720], vol. 27, as having been written in the year of 661, the reign of Tenchi / Tenji Ten'nō 天智天皇.[4] That may be well known because the index *Nihon Shoki Sakuin* has the proper noun 突厥 Tujue.[5] Unfortunately I do not know the related studies.

1 Ishida Mikinosuke, "Mukashi Chūgoku de dekita Gaikokugo Jisho ni tsuite," *Kokumin no Rekishi*, vol. 1, no. 7, 1947:15–16, also in Ishida, *Tōshi Sōshō* (Tōkyō: Kaname Shobō, 1948), 263–264. Tujue is the Chinese reading of the name for the Turkic nomads of the northwest frontier in Tang histories.

2 Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (Tu-küe)* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1958), I., II. 754 n. 610 & 611, 465–466.

3 Mori Masao, (Review) Liu Mau-Tsai (劉茂才), "Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (Tu-küe)", *Shigaku Zasshi*, vol. 72, no. 3, 1963: 76, also in Mori, *Kodai Toruko Minzokushi Kenkyū*, vol. I, (Tōkyō: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1967), 600.

4 The passage is '[斉明天皇七年七月] 是月蘇将軍与突厥王子契苾加力等, 水陸二路, 至于高麗城下'. The full name of general "蘇" is "蘇定方"; the personal name of the Tujue (Turk) prince is "契苾加力" is ordinarily written with the characters "契苾何力"; the national name "高麗" is equal to "高句麗." Kōchi Haruhito kindly notified me of the description via Akabame Masayoshi.

5 Ōno Tatsunosuke, ed. *Nihon Shoki Sakuin* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1969), 226.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004274310_012

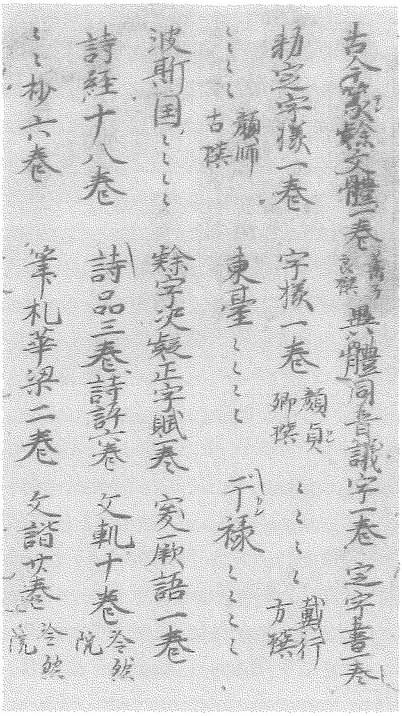

FIGURE 10.1
Entry showing the existence of a book in Turkish, ca. 891. The Imperial Household Agency Collection, Nihonkoku Genzaisho Mokuroku *(A Catalogue of Books in Japan) (Tōkyō: Meichokankōkai, 1996), 26.*

In *Nihonkoku Genzaisho Mokuroku*, there are some Chinese source materials including *Tujue* (Tokketsu): for example, *Zhoushu* 周書 / *Shūjo*), *Suishu* 隋書 / *Zuisho*, and *Datang* [*Chuangye*] *Qijuzhu* 大唐[創業] 起居注/ *Daitō* [*Sogyō*] *Kikyochū* [each of the three being from the 7th century]. Considering the description of the above in *Nihon Shoki*, some of the ancient Japanese already knew the *Tokketsu* Turk in the 7th century. In addition to these facts, the book *Zhenguan Zhengyao* 貞観政要 / *Jōgan Seiyō*) [706], which also was recorded in the *Mokuroku*, was widely known. It was a Tang political work, in which *Tujue* appeared 29 times and which was brought to Japan around 800. Thereafter it had been read and interpreted among the scholars and politicians in ancient and medieval times. It had been lectured to Emperor Ten'no 天皇 in 1006, read by the famous Buddhist monk Nichiren 日蓮, (1222–1282), and later even by the Tokugawa Shoguns.[6] Thus we clearly see that the *Tokketsu* Turk was recognized by the Japanese after the 10th century.

6 Though the author and accurate dating is not known, the *Shōmon ki* (将門記) is considered to have been written in the 10–11th century, and it cites the *Jōgan Seiyō*. In 1000, a copy of *Jōgan Seiyō* was borrowed from and returned to someone by Ōe no Masahira (大江匡衡).

Li Yan's 礼言 Sanskrit-Chinese work titled *Fanyuzaming* 梵語雑名 / *Bongo Zōmyō*) [the latter half of the 8th century], was brought into Japan by Jikaku Daishi (慈覚大師) = En'nin (円仁, 794–864) in the 9th century, and Japanese Kana characters were added to it, naming the work "*Bongo Zōmyō Jikaku Daishi Shōrai*." There too we come across the name *Tujue* / *Tokketsu*.[7]

Once, several copies existed of a draft map written in both Tibetan and Chinese characters, showing the Asian nations in the Tang period. The original in Japan was considered to have been brought in the 9th century by the "Nittō" 入唐; i.e. "one who traveled to Tang China": the Buddhist monk Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 = Kūkai (空海, 774–835), or Chishō Daishi 智証大師 = Enchin 円珍, (814–891), and probably the latter. The *Da Tujue* 大突厥 or the Great Turk was indicated on the map. Shin'en 真円, a Buddhist monk belonging to Enchin's school, had made a copy, which thereafter was finished by Zenkaku 禅覚 of the same school in the early Kamakura period (1200). In the 1920's Matsumoto Bunzaburō once had a copy bearing Enjō's 円浄 postscript and dated 1220, but this important copy was burned in the Great Tōkyō Earthquake of 1923 while it was being lent to Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎. Takakusu later returned a photo of the 1890's manuscript of another copy to Matsumoto. Then Teramoto Enga 寺本婉雅 introduced the photo including the designation of the *Da Tujue*.[8] Although one of the original Kamakura map manuscripts was burned, Matsuda Fukuichirō (松田福一郎 [often mistaken as Gen'ichirō / 源一郎] had a similar map manuscript, which was exhibited on the occasion of the 28th Daizō-e at the Tōyō Bunko in 1942. Then the map appeared in a thin catalogue, where we can clearly see the word *Da Tujue*.[9] Based on this catalogue, Mibu Taishun 壬生台舜 introduced the map.[10] I neither know if Matsuda's map contained Enjō's postscript, nor if Matsuda's Kamakura period map manuscript really existed, but "Matsuda's Collection" deserves to be recognized. Each manuscript within the collection awaits being tracked and studied.

He lectured on the *Jōgan Seiyō* to Ichijō Ten'no (一条天皇) in 1006. See Harada Taneshige, *Jōgan Seiyō no Kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965), 15, 21 ff.

7 The image can be seen in a book without a date by Zeniya Shōbei (Kyoto), within the Collection of Ashikaga Atsuuji, Tōkai University Library. Also see Moriyasu Takao, "Tōdai ni okeru Ko (胡) to Bukkyō teki Sekai Chiri," *Tōyōshi Kenkyū*, vol. 66, no. 3, (2007): 3–4.

8 Teramoto Enga, "Waga kokushi to Toban tono kankei," *Ōtani Gakuhō*, vol. 12, no. 4, frontispiece 2, (1931): 70–83. Also see Moriyasu, op. cit., 7–18.

9 *Dai Nijūhachikai Daizō e Tenkan Mokuroku* (Tōkyō: Daizō e, 1942), Plate 2, 9 (No.16: '蓮華台蔵世界図').

10 Mibu Taishun, "Wagakuni ni tsutawaru Saiko no Chibetto go Monjo," in *Iwai Hakase Koki Kinen Tenseki Ronshū*, (Tōkyō: Iwai Hakase Koki Kinen Jigyōkai, 1963), 679–684.

At the beginning of the 17th century—the end of the Ming period—*Tujue* disappears from history, but in Wangqi's 王圻 *Sancaituhui* 三才図会, the famous illustrated encyclopedia [printed version, with a preface in 1607], and within the 26th section on birds and beasts, there is a reference to a particular bird that flies from Turkic regions in the north to the Tang areas. The bird is the Turkic sparrow, *Tujue qiao* 突厥雀. *Sancaituhui* was imported to Japan and at the beginning of the 18th century Terajima Ryōan 寺島良安 had compiled it as *Wakan Sansaizue* 和漢三才図絵. This Sino-Japanese illustrated encyclopedia was completed in 1712 and published probably in 1713.[11] Terajima had given the entry on "突厥雀" with an illustration, and had also given an explanation based on *Bencaogangmu* 本草綱目. So it is clear that he did recognize the *Tujue* as the northern power, but I doubt if he knew of the Turkic people. In vol. 64, *Seiiki Gotenjiku no Zu* 西域五天竺之図 there appears not only the ancient *Tokketsu* or the "Turk" and *Nishi Tokketsu*, or the "Western Turk," but to my surprise also "丁呵児 / トルコ" Toruko, indicating the Ottoman Turks in Asia Minor of the day.[12] Also in *Hokuchi Shoteki no Zu* 北地諸狄之図, there were both *Tujue* and *Toruko* 丁呵児 / トルコ. The map publicized in a website does not yield itself for closer scrutiny, but a better version can be viewed in a publication of Heibonsha.[13]

In the section above, I have introduced the source material from 1712–1713—the Edo Era[14]—which denotes both the ancient *Tokketsu* Turk and the contemporary Ottoman Turks. Watanabe Hiroshi 渡辺宏 considered that the first record or initial information on the Ottoman Turks was in Arai Hakuseki's 新井白石, (1657–1725) classical Chinese-like version *Sairan igen* 采覧異言 (Collected Views and Strange Words) [1713]; the earliest work on world geography in Japan that described the geography, history, peoples, cultures, customs, and biological organisms of the world in five volumes, and its Japanese version *Seiyōkibun* 西洋紀聞 (Record of Things heard from the West), [1715], were both based on interviews with the missionary Giovanni Battista Sidotti and the map

11 Terajima Ryōan ed., *Wakan Sansaizue*, vol. 1, (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1970), (Higuchi Hideo's commentary) 1–3.).

12 See http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/898185, also Terajima, op. cit. (Tōkyō: Bijutsu, 1970), but the characters in both editions are a bit difficult to read.

13 Shimada Isao, Takeshima Atsuo, Higuchi Motomi tr. *Wakan Sansaizue*, 9 (Tōyō bunko no.481) (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1988), 258.

14 The author Terajima Ryōan uses the old-fashioned transliteration for Japanese names such as Yedo for Edo, Inoyue for Inoue.

of the Jesuit scholar Matteo Ricci (1552–1610).[15] The Ottoman Turk was written as *Toruka* (トルカ) in both books.[16]

In fact in 1710, a few years earlier than Arai's initial book, *Naniwashi* 浪華子 had made up a map titled *Nansenbushū Bankoku Shōka no Zu* 南瞻部洲万国掌菓之図. The description on it was the same as that of *Wakan Sansaizue*'s, *Toruko* '丁呵児 / トルコ' is clearly readable.[17] (Fig. 10.2) This map contains the Western Turks, "*Nishi Tokketsu*" in the Central Asian area; therefore it might be regarded as the earliest map of its kind.

In sum, I have pointed out that the Japanese had knowledge of the records and information on the Turks—from the ancient *Tokketsu* Turk to the Ottoman Turks (Toruko or Toruka) as shown above, up until the end of the Edo Era. Thereafter in the Meiji Era, the *Tujue* Turk was to be studied from a historical point of view and Ottoman Turkey was a contemporary country with which Japan cooperated and that generated a lot of historical materials in Japanese.[18] On the other hand, one of the early Turkish records and sources of information on Japan was in the works of Kātip Çelebi (1609–1657) on world geography, and referred to by Selçuk Esenbel.[19] The map of Japan in Çelebi's *Cihannüma* (type printing, 1732–1733) was once exhibited in Japan.[20]

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15 Watanabe Hiroshi. "Nihon no Isurāmu Kenkyūshi Shōkai: Meiji Matsunen made," *Oriento*, vol. 5, no. 3–4, (1963): 33–34.

16 The image including " トルカ " (Toruka) can be accessed from the National Diet Library's collections, see below.
http://dl.ndl.go.jp/view/jpegOutput?itemId=info%3Andljp%2Fpid%2F761118&contentNo=26&outputScale=1.

17 For the image trimmed from Tsukuba University's map, see below.
http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/exhibition/kochizu/gazou/lime/1-7.html.
There are several '丁呵児(トルコ)' descriptions on the maps in the websites, see below.
http://record.museum.kyushu-u.ac.jp/nansen/nansen-top.htm (Kyūshū University).
http://www.lib.kobe-u.ac.jp/directory/sumita/5A-181/lime/5A-181_0.html (Kōbe University).
http://servi.lib.meiji.ac.jp:9001/StyleServer/calcrgn?cat=Ashida&item=/004/004-072-00-00.sid&wid=950&hei=700&lang=en&style=simple/ashida_view.xsl&applet=true&plugin=false&browser=win_ie (Meiji University).

18 Shiraiwa Kazuhiko, "Meijiki no Bunken ni miru Nihonjin no Toruko Kan", in Ikei Masaru and Sakamoto Tsutomu ed., *Kindai Nihon to TorukoSekai* (Tōkyō: Keisō Shobō, 1999), 3–41, and several related articles in the volume.

19 Selçuk Esenbel, "Seiki matsu Isutanburu no Nihonjin", in Ikei and Sakamoto ed., op. cit., 73, 96 n.4 (Orhan Saik Gökyay's article).

20 Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan and Tōyō Bunko ed. *Sekai no naka no Edo Tōkyō* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Hakubutsukan, 1994), 61 fig. 100.

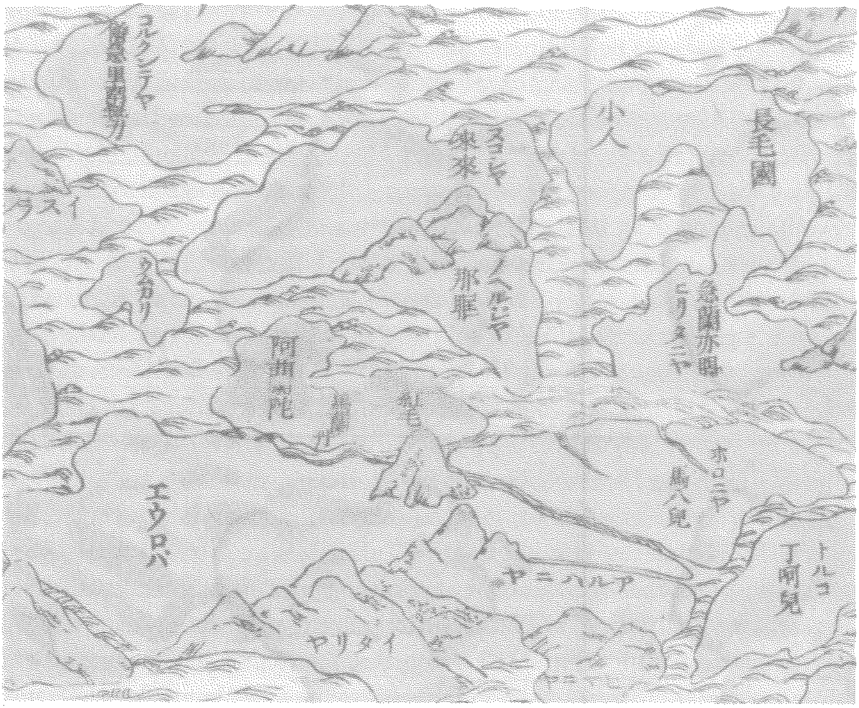

FIGURE 10.2 *Land of the Turks shown as Toruko* (丁呵児). Nansenbushū Bankoku Shōka no Zu (*Map of All the Countries of the Terrestial World*). *University of Tsukuba Collection.*

Ōtani Kōzui and the Turk: Related Records and Information

Ōtani Kōzui (大谷光瑞, 1876–1948), the 22nd lord abbot of the Nishi Honganji, was a well-known Japanese figure in the exploration of Central Asia who also ran a farm and a factory in the 1920's Turkey. Erdal Küçükyalçın, one of the authors in this volume, has studied his activities in Turkey.[21] Ōtani Kōzui's first visit to Turkey was in 1901. He went to Vienna with Hori Masuo / Ken'yu 堀賢雄 to meet Sonoda Shūe 薗田宗恵 on June 2, 1901. The three men must have been staying in Constantinople (Istanbul) on the 4th according to Sonoda's card, which was posted from there.[22] Moreover, Ōtani Kōzui's letter commenting on

21 Erdal Küçükyalçın, "Ōtani Kōzui to Toruko", in Shibata Mikio ed. *Ōtani Kōzui to Ajia* (Tōkyō: Bensei shuppan, 2010), 270–314.

22 Katayama Akio, "Yōroppa no Ōtani Kōzui", *Tōkai Daigaku Kiyō Bungakubu*, no. 78, (2003): 126.

staying there was also published.[23] It was to be sent to "Kyle" Kaeru, 蛙= frog, a nickname Ōtani gave to Watanabe Tesshin 渡辺哲信, who was in London and had to send them the money for traveling. Their stay in the capital of Turkey began from June 3rd or the 4th, and trips to Asia Minor and Greece were planned. Because of the delay in sending the money, the plan was changed and they went to Hungary via Serbia around the 10th. But they could not receive the money from Watanabe even there, so Ōtani Kōzui posted a letter from Budapest to London. The beginning of the letter stated, "I didn't receive the money from you. When we were staying in Constantinople, the delay of your sending the money forced us to miss the ship, it caused serious damage. I didn't receive the money even here." 予ハ汝ノ送金ヲ受領セス Constantinople ノ時モ送金遅着ノ為船便ヲ逸ス大損害ヲ蒙リ今度モ送金未着. Although Ōtani Kōzui's trips in and around Turkey were shortened, he surely stayed in Istanbul for a week from the day cited above as June 3 or 4.

Ōtani Kōzui was interested in not only staying in 20th century Turkey, but was also keenly interested in the ancient Turkic tribe—*Tokketsu* Turk—from the viewpoints of the Classical Chinese source materials. We can learn about the nickname *Kaeru* (frog) of Watanabe in 1901, a member of the 1902 Central Asian exploration. In addition to the nickname "Kuri" (栗 = chestnut) of Hori—a member of the same team in 1901—we also can know the nickname *Tokketsu* or the "Turk" of Inouye Kōen 井上弘円, which was given by Ōtani Kōzui. Actually Inouye arrived in London in August, 1901, his nickname was firstly *Ban* (蛮 = barbarian) in 1901, and then secondly *Tokketsu*, probably in 1902 at the time of the departure of the expedition from London. The nickname *Tokketsu* needed the knowledge of Chinese classical source materials. After the departure of the expedition, and while staying in India, Inouye wrote of himself as *Tokketsu* in his letter dated 31st Dec., 1902. The name appeared in his colleague Shimizu Mokuji's 清水黙爾 posthumous works and memorial volume. The description was as follows: "天生大突厥莫駕莫駕毘利苾莉大可汗・・・弘円拝."[24] The phrase "*Moga moga biri biri*" 莫駕莫駕毘利苾莉 [モガモガビリビリ] was nonsense and funny, but it was humorously based on the title of the Turk, or, Tujue Qaghan 可汗: "従天生天下賢聖天子伊利俱盧設莫何始波羅可汗" as seen in the *Suishu* 隋書—the History of the Sui dynasty, vol. 84, Tujue. Moreover Inouye's notebook that he used for keeping his diary from the time of their departure in 1902 till the end of the same year or the beginning of the next year, have the terms *Banhei* 蛮兵 "barbarian soldier" and *Tokketsu*

23 Honda Takashige. *Ōtani Tankentai to Honda Yeryū* (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1994), 71.
24 Shimaji Raimu ed., *Shifū Zenshū* (Tōkyō: Keiseidō, 1907), 390.

Kaghan 突厥可汗 the "Turkic Kaghan."[25] The two persons who gave and who received the nicknames—both Ōtani Kōzui and Inouye Kōen—had considerable understanding of the Chinese classical source materials. Apart from Inouye, there seems to be some other Japanese person or persons who were given the same nickname by Ōtani Kōzui among those who lived in the Ōtani Kōzui factory in the city of Bursa in 1920's Turkey.[26]

Ōtani Kōzui did not only raise the topic of *Tokketsu* Turk as a mere nickname. He sent Tachibana Zuichō 橘瑞超 and Nomura Eizaburō 野村栄三郎 to Mongolia via Beijing as members of the 1908 exploration. Already in the autumn of that year, they had surveyed the Tujue Turk's writings, ie. Orkhon Turkic inscriptions (including the famous Köl Tegin 闕特勤 inscription).[27] They sketched, and sent the rubbings they prepared out to Japan. Ōtani Kōzui was a scholar and a collector of source materials, mainly of Buddhist texts and their fragments, but also other paper and wooden documents as well as rubbings, contents of which ranged from Buddhist literature to Oriental history. Among his contemporaries, there were only a few persons who had the rubbings of old Turkic inscriptions in their collections. He was one of them which shows that he had a good knowledge of the Tujue Turk.

In the end of Sept. 1911, the Turkish-Italian War broke out. Ōtani Kōzui at his villa Niraku-sō was asked by the correspondent of *Kokumin Shinbun* to comment on the war. The news of his comments appeared in the paper on Oct. 5th with a title: "The Lord Abbot Kōzui Comments on the Italo-Turkish War from the Rokkō Mountain" 光瑞法主六甲山上に伊土の戦争を語る). On Nov. 2nd and 3rd in the following year, 1912—he had opened the villa Niraku-sō to the public, where he exhibited the "Modern Turkish caps" among lots of other artifacts from Central Asia and India.

It is now confirmed that Ōtani Kōzui's interest in or his relations with the Turks, or Turkey began in 1901, but already in 1896 he had sent three men to Russia, one of whom was Watanabe Tesshin. The Chronological table containing entries of his deeds, states that in March of the same year, Itō Dōgetsu 伊藤洞月, Ashikaga Gizō 足利義蔵, and Watanabe Tesshin had gone to Europe

25 I express my thanks to the Rev. Inouye Takao (Shinshū ji [真宗寺] in Iiyama City, Nagano Prefecture) for scanning and publishing of Inouye Kōen's notebook.

26 Erdal Küçükyalçın, op. cit., 293, 312 n. 44), 313 n. 45.

27 The Orkhon inscriptions are monumental stones with old Turkic alphabet from the 8th century in Orkhon valley of Mongolia that the Tujue authorities built in commemoration of the brothers Bilgä Qaγan (683–734) and Köl tegin (684–731). They were discovered in 1889 by Nikolai Yadrintsev. The inscriptions were deciphered by the Danish philologist Vilhelm Thomsen in 1893.

by the ship *Tosa maru* via Turkey and Russia.[28] Watanabe's diary is a handwritten diary with no title and is kept in the Ryūkoku University Library. When it was discovered, it was initially misunderstood as being that of Honda Yeryū's but following my report stating it to be Watanabe's, it has recently been titled as *Roshia Ryūgaku Nikki* ロシア留学日記,[29] (The Diary of Studies in Russia) with a new label. In the introduction is written: "I bought this notebook in Bombay 此帖面ハ Bombay ニテ求ム).[30] Then the next p. 1 begins with a date "明治廿九年三月十九日 (1896.3.19)," and the numbering exists still on p. 4, but p.5 ff. has no number, so I indicated the page by counting the pages. The whole diary has 258 pages, within which the word *Toruko* appears in the forms "土ルコ," "トルコ," and "土耳古." I would like to introduce here some related passages.

According to Watanabe they had started from Kōbe (神戸) on March the 22nd[31] of 1896, reached Moji (門司) and left there on the 25th (p. 8) via Hong Kong 香港 and Colombo コロンボ, and reached Bombay on April 18th.[32] After they had toured in India, they left Bombay on June the 1st,[33] via Aden (アデン) and Port Said (ポートサイド), and reached Beirut (ベイルート) on June the 18th.[34] Here they stayed on the ship for several days, and saw a Turkish military transport ship "土ルコの軍隊運輸船" on June the 24th.[35] Also on the 25th and 28th he wrote about the arrivals of soldier transport ships "兵士運輸船".[36] They left Beirut on June the 29th, and the next day reached Jaffa ジャッファ, where they landed.[37] Then they went to Jerusalem (イェルサレム), returned and left Jaffa on July the 7th, the next day reaching Beirut (p. 83). They reached Cyprus (キプロス) on the 9th, Rhodes ロードス on the 10th, Chios キオス on the 11th and Smyrna スミルナ on the same day,[38] and the Dardanelles ダーダネルス on the 12th, finally on the same day "土帝都ニ投錨ス (the ship reached the capital of the Turkish Empire)" ie. They reached Istanbul イスタンブル.[39]

28 Uehara Yoshitarō. *Myōnyo Shōnin Ryaku Nenpyō*. (Kyoto: Shinshū Honganji ha Gojikai Zaidan, 1935), 72–73.

29 Watanabe Tenshin 渡辺哲信, "Roshia Ryūgaku Nikki" ロシア留学日記, 1896, unpublished manuscript, Ryūkoku University Library.

30 Watanabe, "Roshia", 4.

31 Watanabe, "Roshia", 4.

32 Watanabe, "Roshia", 17.

33 Watanabe, "Roshia", 66.

34 Watanabe, "Roshia", 69.

35 Watanabe, "Roshia", 71–72.

36 Watanabe, "Roshia", 72.

37 Watanabe, "Roshia", 73–74.

38 Watanabe, "Roshia", 83.

39 Watanabe, "Roshia", 83–84.

After reaching Istanbul on July 12th, they—i.e., Watanabe, Itō and Ashikaga, accompanied by Kawakami Teishin (who later returned alone,[40]), all monks of Honganji temple—had contacts with several Japanese until they left on August the 10th.[41] Moreover Watanabe tells us that on the day of landing, July 13th, Watanabe had visited Yamada Torajirō 山田俙二郎, precisely "寅次郎",[42] and on the 15th went to the hotel to meet Mochizuki Kotarō 望月小太郎 and Asahina Chisen 朝比奈知泉. Watanabe heard about their plans for departure from Turkey,[43] and on the 16th he met those three persons, while on the 17th he met the two, and on the 18th met the three again. Then Watanabe saw the two (Mochizuki and Asahina) off on the 24th, welcomed the two on the 31st, and again saw the two off on the 1st of August.[44] Moreover Watanabe welcomed Den Kenjirō 田健二郎, exactly '健治郎', Tanaka [Kenshi] 田中[健士], and Matsunaga [Takeyoshi] 松永[武吉] on the 5th, again met them on the 6th. On the day of the departure of Watanabe's group, Tanaka visited him.[45] These passages invite further research, as also indicated in the studies of Merthan Dündar and Misawa Nobuo.[46]

Within a letter (which vanished during a fire in the mid-1990's) to Watanabe Tesshin that was written by Ōtani Kōzui on July 12th 1901, there is a passage which asks, "Have you sent the money to Nakamura and.... in Turkey? or not yet?" 土耳古ノ中村及.....ノ送金等ハスミシヤ否ヤ. "Nakamura" probably refers to the Nakamura store where Yamada Torajirō was working. Ōtani Kōzui had possibly known or heard of the store and about Yamada by way of Watanabe, and he might have visited the store during his 1901 stay in Istanbul.

Ōtani Kōzui's interest in the "Turk" was now extending from the ancient *Tujue* Turks to modern Turkey, and his activities in Turkey of the 1920's must be understood within that context.

40 Watanabe, "Roshia", 86.
41 Watanabe, "Roshia", 88.
42 Watanabe, "Roshia", 84.
43 Watanabe, "Roshia", 84–85.
44 Watanabe, "Roshia", 85–87.
45 Watanabe, "Roshia", 87–88.
46 Merthan Dündar and Misawa Nobuo, "Isutanburu no Nakamura Shōten wo meguru Ningen Kankei no Jirei Kenkyū," *Tōyō Daigaku Shakai Gakubu Kiyō*, no. 46–2 (2009): 181–220.

Japanese Studies on the Old Turkic Characters: Nakanome Akira and His Travel to Turkey

The famous orientalist Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, 1865–1942 might have been the pioneer of Japanese studies on Tujue Turkic history.[47] It was in the second half of the 1890's, that Shiratori had already become aware of the discoveries, reports, deciphering, and translations of the ancient Turkic characters of the Orkhon inscriptions in the Yenissey and Orkhon areas in Mongolia between the end of 1880's and the first half of 1890's. Vilhelm Ludvig Peter Thomsen's (1842–1927) deciphering of the old Turkic text was in 1893; W. Radloff's translation in 1895; and Shiratori's several articles were published in 1897 almost immediately after the discovery and publications of the texts.[48]

Apart from the Tujue or Turkic inscription studies, there were some curious drawings or characters that were discovered on the wall in the Temiya Cave 手宮洞窟 at Otaru 小樽 in Hokkaido 北海道. They were discovered in 1866 and John Milne (1850–1913), who was a well-known seismologist who had come to Japan during the Meiji Era, had visited the cave in 1879 and regarded them as runic characters. He wrote as follows, "several of the characters are like the ancient Turkic runic m."[49]

In the 1890's Japanese scholars paid considerable attention to the Euro-Russian research and decipherment of ancient Turkic runic inscriptions. Besides Shiratori, several other Japanese scholars became interested in runic writings. Torii Ryūzō (鳥居龍蔵, 1870–1953), a well-known anthropologist who

47 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Tokketsu Ketsu Tokukin Himei kō," *Shigaku Zasshi*, vol. 8, no. 11, (1897): 46–76. In the same year, he discussed on the '*Tengri*' among the northern tribes *Hsiungnu* and *Tujue*. See Shiratori, "Nihonshoki ni mietaru Kango no Kaishaku," *Shigaku Zasshi*, vol. 8, no. 3 (1897): 61. See Stephan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), for study of Shiratori's perspective on oriental history and foundation of tōyōshi or oriental history, as a branch of historical studies in Japan. See footnote 27 in this paper for brief introduction to the discovery of the Orkhon inscriptions.

48 Shiratori, tracing N. Yadrintsev (spelled Jadrintzeff there) and others' discoveries of the Old Turkic Tujue inscriptions from A. Heikel et al., *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon* (Helsingfors: 1892), 1 ff., referred to newly appeared works, G. Schlegel's monograph, W. Radloff's 1895 translation, see Shiratori, op. cit., 46–51.

49 John Milne, "Notes on Stone Implements from Otaru and Hakodate, with a Few General Remarks on the Prehistoric Remains of Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. 8 (1880): 61–87. Lots of related materials, plates, and research history, see Kikuchi Toshihiko, "Hokutō Ajia to Temiya Dōkutsu", *Temiya dōkutsu shinpojiumu kiroku shū* (Otaru shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1997), 42–62 (including Sahara Makoto's commentary).

was five years younger than Shiratori, had a deep interest in the runic script. Using *Inscriptions de L'Iénissei* (1889) and *Inscriptions de L'Orkhon* (1892), he lectured on the Temiya cave characters in 1913. He then presumed the characters to be of Tujue origin and the language to be Tungus without decipherment.[50]

Then Nakanome Akira 中目覚, (1874–1959),[51] a geographer and philologist, read them as ancient Turkic runic characters of a Manchurian language text. He published an article in 1918, and there he read the sentence as follows: "... I had led my subordinate, crossing the ocean,... battled, and entered this cave ..." (... 私は部下を率ゐ、大海を渡り ... 闘ひ、此洞穴に入った ...).[52] His article was also in his book *Otaru no Kodai Moji* 小樽の古代文字 in 1919. This rare book was recently reprinted and has become easy to read.[53] The plate of 1919 is in better condition (Fig. 10.3). But now neither his theory nor reading is supported as being authentic.

We cannot understand the reason why Nakanome thought the characters to be Turkic runic while regarding the language to be Tungus. This conclusion might be derived from the shape of the characters, or their interpretation by Torii, but considering the shape of the characters it is not natural to presume those to be Turkic runic. It would be quite interesting to know the content of Nakanome's relation with the Turk, but the source of his interest in the ancient Turks has not yet been examined and it seems to remain a difficult task.

In 1903, before Nakanome's article was published, he was working in Hiroshima Normal Higher School. Thereafter he went to study in Europe, and studied under the famous geographer A. Penck at the University of Vienna. A. Penck was once visited by Ōtani Kōzui in Jan. 1901, and Nakanome was visited by the American scholar Ellsworth Huntington (1876–1947).[54] So A. Penck had once met Ōtani Kōzui while Nakanome had met E. Huntington, which then allows us to imagine that Nakanome was interested in the

50 Torii Ryūzō. "Hokkaidō Temiya no Chōkoku Moji ni tsuite", *Rekishi Chiri*, vol. 22, no. 4, (1913), frontispiece and 38--50.

51 Nakanome's given name Akira (覚) is often read as Satoru as a result of a misunderstanding. See Okada Toshihiro. *Nihon Chirigaku Jinbutsu Jiten* [*Kindai hen 1*] (Tōkyō: Hara Shobō, 2011) (Nakanome Akira).

52 Nakanome Akira,"Wagakuni ni Hozon seraretaru Kodai Toruko Moji," *Shōko*, no. 71, 1918, frontispiece and, 1–6.

53 Nakanome's *Otaru no Kodai Moji* is reprinted in Okada Toshihiro ed., *Nihon no Chirigaku Bunken Senshū, 2* (*Kindai Chirigaku no Keisei, 3, Nakanome Akira*). Tōkyō: Kuresu shuppan, 2007, 421–465.

54 Nakanome's career in the Hiroshima Higher Normal School, his study abroad, and his episodes with A. Penck and E. Huntington, see Okada, op. cit. (2011), p. 230. As to Ōtani Kōzui's visit to Penck, see Katayama, op. cit., 123.

FIGURE 10.3
Nakanome's book in which he claimed to discover Turkic Runic Characters at Temiya Cave, Otaru. From: Nakanome Akira, Otaru no Kodai Moji *(Ancient Letters of Otaru) (Hiroshima: Chiri-Rekishi Gakkai, 1919).*

explorations into Central Asia and the new source materials retrieved from there. In 1906 Nakanome travelled through Europe and the Balkans, his travel journals appeared in the periodicals in Hiroshima and elsewhere. In fact, he had also travelled in Turkey and his travel journal there had also appeared in a newspaper. Ten years later he published his journal in his *Barukan Ryokōdan* バルカン旅行談 [1916]. I will now introduce the descriptions of his stay in Turkey between 5th and 22nd Sept. 1906.

Nakanome's book, itself probably a private publication, has not yet been introduced or examined. His stay in Turkey was entitled "The Journal of Entering into Turkey" 土耳其に入るの記 and appeared on pages 42–56. Each of the passages were published in the newspaper *Tōhoku Shimbun* in 1906, dated Nov. 14 (p. 3), 15 (p. 3), 16 (p. 3), 17 (p. 3), and 18 (p. 6). His *Barukan ryokō dan* is reprinted together with his *Barukan ryokō dan furoku* (Sanseidō, 1917 [private publication]).[55] I will introduce the first newspaper version here.

55 Nakanome's *Barukan ryokō dan* is reprinted in Okada ed., op. cit. (2007), 35–98, *Barukan ryokō dan furoku* is in pages 99–161. The passages concerning Turkey in *Barukan ryokō dan*

Nakanome's journal began on Sep. the 4th in Odessa, where Haseba Sumitaka 長谷馬純孝 appears: a famous politician who, five years later, would become the Minister of Education. Haseba referred to Nakanome in his *Ōbei Rekiyū Nisshi* 欧米歴遊日誌, (Min'yūsha, 1907, 113), and his visit to Turkey was already dealt with.[56] Iijima [Kametarō] 飯島[亀太郎 the Consul General of Japan in Odessa had met Nakanome on the same day in a ship in Istanbul (Sept. 9th, 1906). Beside these two persons, Nakanome has not mentioned any personal names in his journal; thus there is no way for us to identify the reference to "a certain person" *nanigashi* 某氏 in it. Nakanome's records concerning Istanbul begin at the end of the 5th with the title: "I can see the land" 陸地は見える, and continue up to the 11th, where much of it is mere sightseeing.[57] I have introduced a few passages from the stay in Odessa and Istanbul in 1906 of Nakanome, who interpreted the inscription in the Temiya cave at Otaru as ancient Tujue Turkic characters. Nevertheless it is not possible to reveal the details of the connection between his interest in Turkey and in Turkic runic characters. However I would like to also refer here to the newspaper article, whose text was already introduced by Erdal Küçükyalçın,[58] and that reported the establishment of the Japan-Turkey *Trade* Association at the Ōsaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry on Feb. 3rd 1926. There Nakanome, as the principal of the Ōsaka School of Foreign Languages, can be seen attending the ceremony together with Ōtani Kōzui. The original article had appeared on the *Ōsaka Mainichi Shimbun* (Feb. 4th, page 3) including the photograph of the two (Fig. 10.4), which suggests his continued interest in Turkish matters.

Conclusion

The possibility that there still are many unknown records or citations concerning ancient *Tujue* Turks, as well as important information on modern Japan-Turkey relations means that the topic deserves further consideration. For thirty years, I have been interested in such records and information, and this article constitutes a modest attempt to introduce a few such materials.

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furoku are the followings: "2. Barukan mondai", 4–10; first appeared in *Tōhoku Shimbun* 1906.10.30, 3 & 10.31, 3, "6. Konketsu shuzoku", 28–35; *do.* 11.1, 3 & 11.2, 3), "8. Kaikyō", 35–40; *do.* 11.3, 3 & 11.7, 3), "9. Toruko no jakuten", 40–44; *do.* 11.5, 4 & 11.6, 3), "10. Gekkyū seiryaku" (44–47; *do.* 11.8, 3), "11. Chiisana Roshia" (47–50; *do.* 11.9, 3).

56 Merthan Dündar and Misawa Nobuo, op. cit., 193, 200 n. 60.

57 A year later, he recomposed his descriptions of Turkey in *Barukan ryokō dan furoku* (see above n. 36).

58 Erdal Küçükyalçın, op. cit., 280 fig.8.

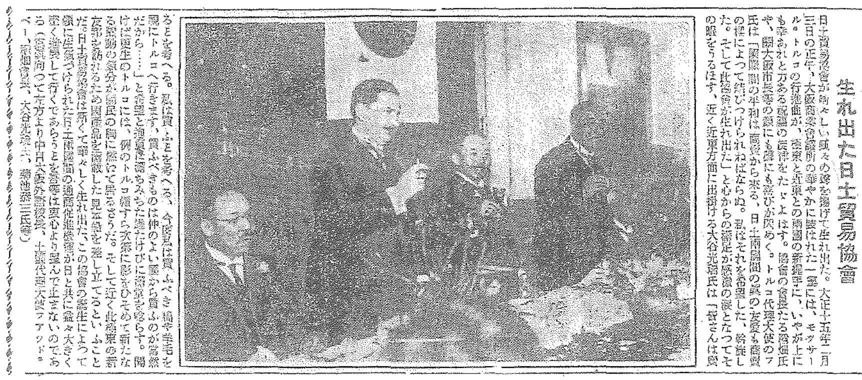

FIGURE 10.4 *"Japan-Turkey Trade Association is born"—Nakanome Akira and Ōtani Kōzui at the opening ceremony.* Osaka Mainichi Shimbun, *4 Feb. 1926.*

I strongly believe that in the future, scholars in Japan, Turkey and other countries will continue their efforts to scrutinize these and other related issues.

Addendum

On a last but important note, I have recently come across a new and significant piece of material: *Bankoku Sōzu* 万国総図 (A general map of countries in the world). This is a printed world-map within the collections of Shimonoseki City Chōfu Museum, dating back to 1645. The map bears the name Toruko (とるこ) in hiragana. A later reprint from 1671 can be accessed at the National Diet Library digital archives.

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CHAPTER 11

Tracing Origins Along the Silk Road: Japanese Architect Itō Chūta's Travel in the Ottoman Lands

Miyuki Aoki Girardelli

The first Japanese architectural historian Itō Chūta (1867–1954), noted for his introduction of the Western concept of architecture in Japan, traveled throughout the Ottoman Lands for eight and a half months during his world trip of 1902–05. His search for the origins of the *entasis* and *karakusa* (honeysuckle motifs) observed in the columns of the 7th century Japanese Buddhist temple, Hōryūji, was a part of the efforts of Meiji Japan to establish a certain status for Japanese architecture in a Euro-centric architectural discourse.

In this paper, I will discuss Chūta's struggle for constructing a critical notion of "Eastern architecture" in Japanese architectural discourse by focusing on his experiences in the Ottoman Empire.

Born in 1867 in Yonezawa, Itō Chūta was trained at Tokyo Imperial University as an architect. Besides his designs of numerous buildings including Tsukiji Hongan-ji Buddhist Temple (1934), Meiji Jingū Shinto Shrine in Tokyo (1920), Heian Jingū Shintor Shrine in Kyoto (1895), Yushima Seidō Confucius Shrine (1934), Ōkura Shūkokan Museum (1927), and Kanematsu Auditorium at Hitotsubashi University (1927) he became a leading scholar of Japanese architectural history with his "法隆寺建築論" (A Treatise on the Architecture of Hōryūji Temple) published in 1893 and followed by his discovery of Yungang Temple in 1902 during his travel in Shanxi province which was one of the major grottoes of Buddhist sculpture and temples of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534). In his treatise, Itō proposed the possible influence of Greek architecture on Hōryūji, a masterpiece of Japanese architecture from the 7th century.[1] Itō's ground for this argument was the *entasis* observed in the columns of the Middle Gate of Hōryūji Temple (Fig. 11.1) and the proportional similarity between Hōryūji and Etruscan temples. (Fig. 11.2) According to his argument, Itō stressed that *entasis*, the slight swellings at 1/3 of the column

1 Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, "Hōryūji kenchikuron" 法隆寺建築論 (The thesis on the architecture of the Hōryūji) *Kenchiku zasshi*, 建築雑誌 (Journal of Architecture and Building Science 1893, November): 330–331. Reprint Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, "Hōryūji kenchikuron" 法隆寺建築論 *Tōkyō teikokudaigaku kiyō* 東京帝国大学紀要, Dai 1 satsu Dai 1 go (1898): 56.

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FIGURE 11.1 *Columns with entasis, Hōryū-ji Temple.*
PHOTOGRAPHED BY THE AUTHOR.

of Greek architecture, has gradually expanded to the East via India, the heartland of Buddhism, where the traces of Hellenistic influence on the heritage of Gandhara had already been tracked to some extent by British scholars such as James Fergusson (1808–1886) and Sir Banister Fletcher (father: 1833–1899, son: 1866–1953). (Fig. 11.3)

The idea of connecting the origins of Japanese architecture to ancient Greece, regarded as the apex of the hierarchical system of classical Western architecture, would secure automatically a higher rank in the Western system. The thesis was also Itō's personal challenge to the marginality of Japanese architecture in the world architectural culture typically represented by James Fergusson's comment in his "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" published in 1891 stating that Japan lacked permanent buildings, a sense of magnificence and a connection with the building race of mankind.[2]

In his thesis on Hōryūji, Itō tried to reject this kind of preconception of Japanese architecture by using the Western paradigm of classical architecture itself to prove the orthodoxy and priority of Japanese architecture according

2 Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture* (London: B.T. Batsford 1905).

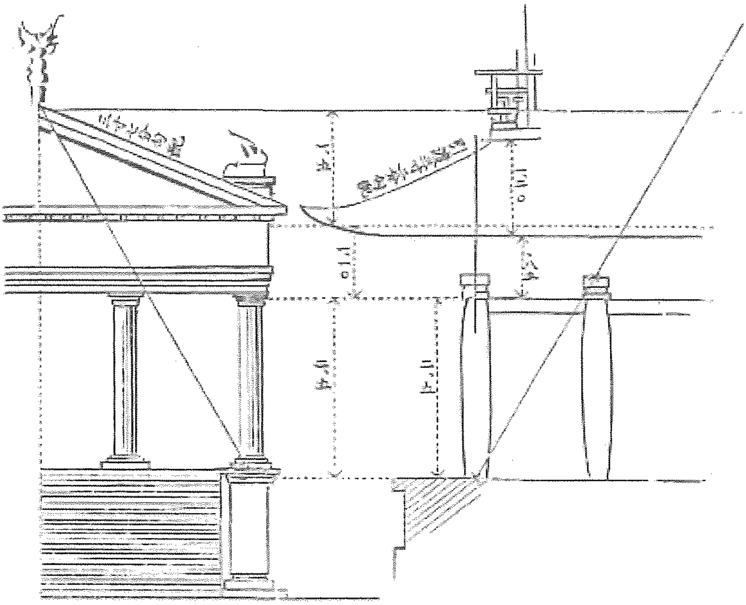

FIGURE 11.2 *Comparison of proportions between Etruscan temple and Hōryū-ji, Itō Chūta, "The Treaties on Hōryū-ji Architecture," (in Japanese),* Kenchiku Zasshi.

to the mainstream criteria. The attempt to "ennoble" Japanese architecture by appropriating Western criteria instead of looking for a supposed original paradigm should be noted as a first stage of Japan's self-representation. This cultural approach reflected Japan's struggle for international recognition.

Chūta's "discovery" of Yungang Temple in 1902, during his world trip, was really an achievement for him to prove his theory because of the surprising similarities between the architecture and sculpture of Yungang and that of Hōryūji. Doubtless both of them had *entasis*. He immediately sent a report to the Japan Architectural Society stating:

> Most of the Buddha statues (in Yungang), whose appearance is strange and in archaic manner, are very similar to those on the wall paintings in the Golden Hall at Hōryūji Temple in our country. The treatment of drapery is very similar to that in Hōryūji done by the master sculptor Tori Busshi, when it comes to decorative patterns they match entirely our Suiko style, that is naturally the style of Hōryūji.[3]

3 Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, "Hokushin kenchiku hōkoku" 北清建築調査報 (Report of the Researches on the Architecture of Northern China) *Kenchiku Zasshi* 建築雑誌 (Architectural

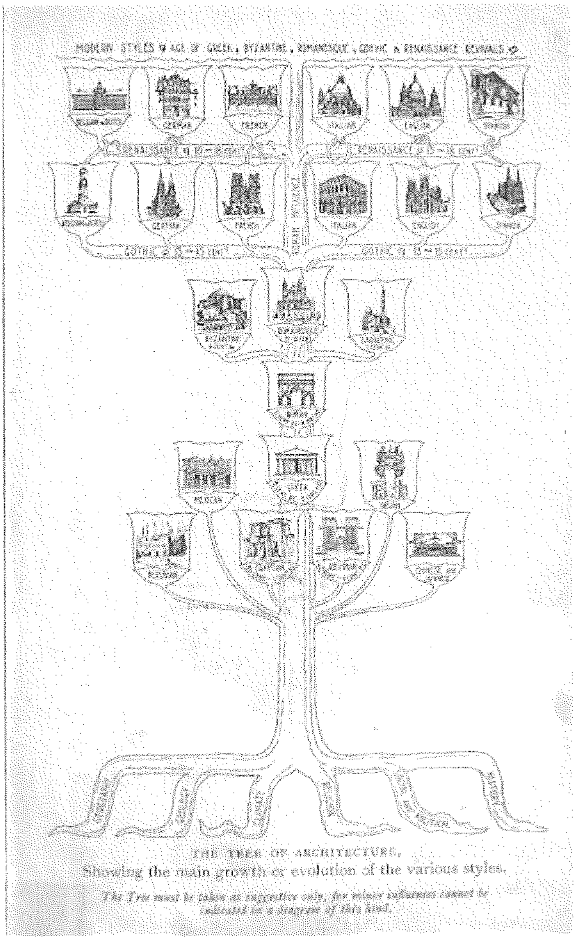

FIGURE 11.3 *"The Tree of Architecture," from Banister Fletcher,* A History of Architecture, on the Comparative Method, for the Student, Craftsman, and Amateur, *London, 1897.*

By the end of the 19th century, Central Asia was a largely unstudied area for Western scholarship. In 1893 the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin (1865–1952) started his excavation in the legendary capital of Loulan on the Silk Road, and Aurel Stein (1862–1943) started to explore Central Asia in 1900, "discovering" Dunhuang temple later. Itō's source of inspiration is surely from the Western

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Magazine) (September 1902: 273–274. Translation by the author. その容貌奇古にして我邦法隆寺金堂内の壁画に於けるものと酷似し、其衣紋は却て同所の鳥仏師作のものに酷似し、模様の如きは全然我が所謂推古式即ち法隆寺式と符号せり。

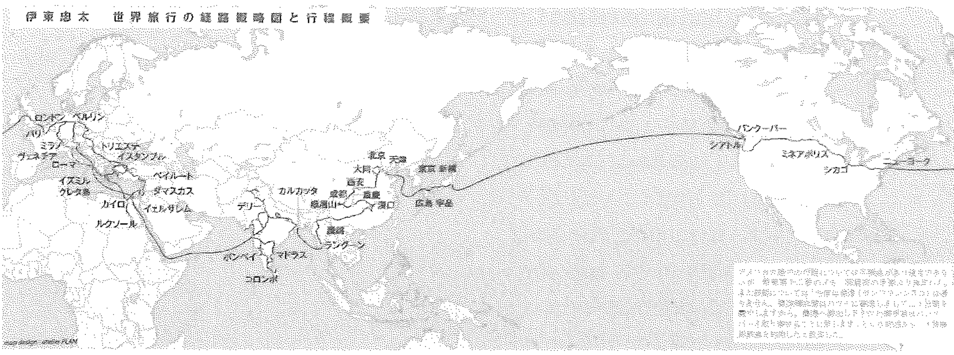

FIGURE 11. 4 *The route map of Itō Chūta's world trip, from Miyuki Aoki Girardelli,* Meiji Architect Itō Chūta's Travel Throughout the Ottoman Empire *(Tōkyō: Wedge, Inc., 2015) (in Japanese).*
COURTESY OF THE PUBLISHER.

teams that were active in the region and also the first Japanese explorers, Nishi Tokujirō 西徳二郎 (1947–1912) and Fukushima Yasumasa 福島安正 (1852–1919), who had recently returned from Central Asia and Siberia.

Leaving Japan for China on 29th March in 1902, he traveled around the world via Burma, Malaya, India, Sri Lanka (Ceylon, as it then was), Turkey, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Greece, Italy, Germany, France, Britain and the United States. His travel was financed by the Japanese Ministry of Education 文部省, and later while he was on the trip he succeed in receiving an additional budget from the Ministry of Agriculture 農務省, where his uncle Hirata Tōsuke平田東助 (1849–1925) was the Minister. During the trip, which lasted three years and three months, he varied his pace according his own interest: 15 months in China, nine months in and around India, five months in Europe and America and for the Ottoman Empire, including today's Egypt, eight and half months. (Fig. 11.4) Throughout his life, Chūta compiled and left 76 volumes of field notes, now preserved at the Architectural Institute of Japan. The first 12 volumes of this collection are dedicated to his world trip between 1902–1905 and four of them in total register the accounts of his stay in the Ottoman Empire.

Despite his initial plan to pass through Afghanistan from India to reach the Eastern end of the Ottoman Empire, he had to make a detour by an Austrian ship from Bombay to Trieste, as he couldn't get a visa to Afghanistan on the Eve of the Russo-Japanese War. Actually he was lucky to do so because the 1904 Russo-Japanese war broke out before his departure from India and he had the opportunity to observe the local reaction to the war in different areas of the Ottoman Empire, a long-standing enemy of Russia.

As soon as he had entered the Ottoman lands, Chūta faced the problem of the non-validity of his Japanese passport.[4] Chūta's correspondences with his parents suggest that since official diplomatic relations between Japan and the Ottoman Empire were not yet established, Chūta benefited from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance that had just been signed in 1902—a fact which worked in his favor.

It was Yamada Torajirō 山田寅次郎 (1866–1957), who had settled in Istanbul since the 1890's managing the trading company Nakamura Shōten in Beyoğlu, that assisted Chūta in his trip throughout the Ottoman Empire. Chūta's field notes and correspondences between them tell that two young Japanese became very good friends and Torajirō helped Chūta find a room to stay in Istanbul, handling his money which was operated from Shōkin Ginko Bank in Paris, forwarding the letters and packages from Japan for him to the British Consulates in the cities where Chūta stayed, and arranging a visit to the Sultan.

According to Chūta's correspondence with his parents, which is preserved at Yamagata Prefectural Library, Fukushima Yasumasa emerges as the key-person who introduced Chūta to Torajirō. While he was in India he had contacts with Torajirō and Chūta gave Yamada Torajirō's name to his parents as the contact address in Istanbul.

The Ottoman Archives has nine entries of documents concerning Chūta's travels, in which he asks permission to take photographs, make drawings, and to do research on the monuments throughout the Ottoman Lands.[5] It was not only Yamada Torajirō, but also the British Embassy to the Sublime Port that helped this application. Although he was planning to leave Istanbul after one month for the inland trip, it took three months for the official permission to be granted directly from Sultan Abdülhamit II. (Fig. 11.5) Recent findings from the Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum, and the archival sources from the National Archives of Japan, prove that Itō even received a third class Mecidi Medal from the Sultan.[6] (Fig. 11.6) While waiting, Chūta started to examine

4 Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, "Toruko. Ejiputo ryokōsawa" 土耳其・埃及旅行茶話 (Talk on the Travels in Turkey and Egypt) *Itō Chūta Kenchiku Monjō 5* 伊東忠太建築文献 5 (Itō Chūta Writings on Architecture 5) (Tokyo: Ryūginsha, Showa 12 /1937), 515.

5 (1) BOA, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Ottoman State Archives of the Prime Minister's Office). (1) BOA, İ. HUS 123 1322 N 085 1322 N 281 (2) BOA Y. EE. KP 22 2111 1322 R 20 1, (3) BOA Y. PRK. ASK 224 57 1322 N 18 1, (4) BOA BEO 2350 176245 29 Ra 1322, (5) İ, HUS 117 1322 Ra 096, (6) İ HR 389 1322 R-10, (7) İ HUS 119 1322 / Ca 016, (8) BEO 2372 177885, (9) BOA DH. MKT 863 17 1322 R 077.

6 Kokuritsu Komonjokan, Kun 00172100, rikugun chūjō Inoue Hikaru hoka jūyon mei gaikoku kunshō narabini kishō juryō oyobi hairyō no ken. 国立公文書館, 勲00172100 陸軍中将井上光外十四名外国勲章並記章受領及佩用ノ件.

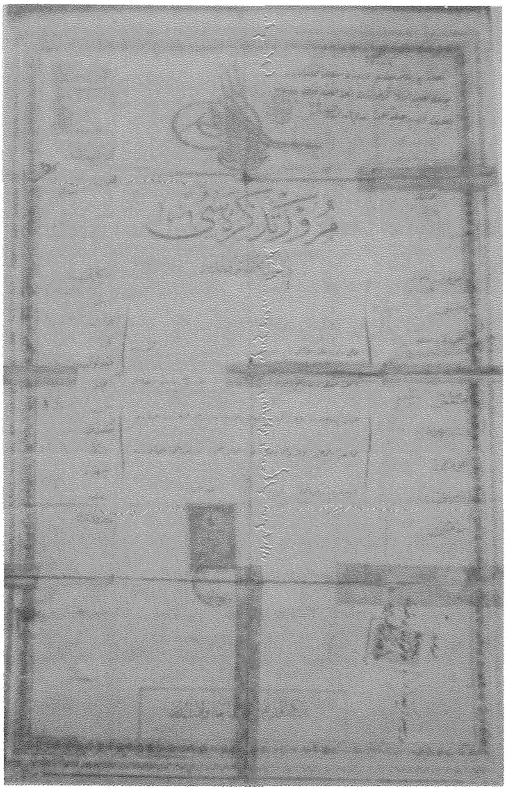

FIGURE 11.5
Traveling permit obtained by Chūta from the Ottoman Authorities. Itō Chūta, Itō Chūta Writings on Architecture, *vol. 5, Tokyo, 1937 (in Japanese). The location of the original document is presently unknown.*

the architectural heritage of this historical capital of three Empires, and also to examine Bursa, the former capital of the Ottoman Empire where foreigners were allowed to visit without requiring permission.

Chūta's obvious interest was concentrated more on Byzantine architecture than that of the Ottomans, evaluating Byzantine architecture as "something in between the East and the West." Only once throughout his travel accounts does Chūta mention the name of Mimar Sinan, in referring to the Piyale Paşa Camii, an exceptional example of Sinan's career. Chūta's focus was going to be on Seljukid architecture in Anatolia and then to earlier examples of Islamic architecture in Cairo and Jerusalem, roughly contemporary to 7th century Hōryūji architecture.

Hiring a servant called Ismail from Istanbul for carrying photographic equipment, Chūta left for Ankara on 30th July, where he found a group of people excited to see an example of a real Japanese person, evoking the victories in the War held in North-Eastern China. Unlike Fukushima Yasumasa's adventurous

FIGURE 11.6 *Mecidi Medal given to Itō Chūta, Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum.* COURTESY OF THE MUSEUM.

travel, Chūta took advantage of railways when available in order to save time and budget, although some parts of the rail network were still under construction. Travelling on horseback cost a lot more in the Ottoman Lands because the local governments used to send the accompanying guards for the travellers up to the border to another region, and all the expenses for them were charged to the travellers. More than once Chūta calculated the budget to go to Baghdad via Armenia, but in the end because of the delay in his schedule and because of the severe climate he had to give up. Lasting 137 days, his route touched the following: Ankara, Kütahya, Ayzanoi, Afyon Karahisar, Aksehir and Konya, Bergama, Efes, Priene, Miletos, Didim, Izmir to Crete, Alexandria, Cairo, Upper Egypt, Palestine, Jerusalem, the Dead Sea and Jordan, Damascus, Beirut, Baalbeck, Aleppo, Antakya and Iskenderun, Tarsus, Adana, Konya and Istanbul. (Fig. 11.7) According to Chūta's account, in all the major cities of the Ottoman Empire, travellers were required to visit the regional *valis* (governors) upon arrival, and to get a stamp on the visa documents. He complains that in order to go from Jerusalem to Aleppo passing through the inner land, they grant a visa just to Damascus instead of Aleppo directly and it is only in Damascus that he can obtain a visa to continue to Aleppo. Chūta observed that the tax for every visa made an income for the Ottoman government.

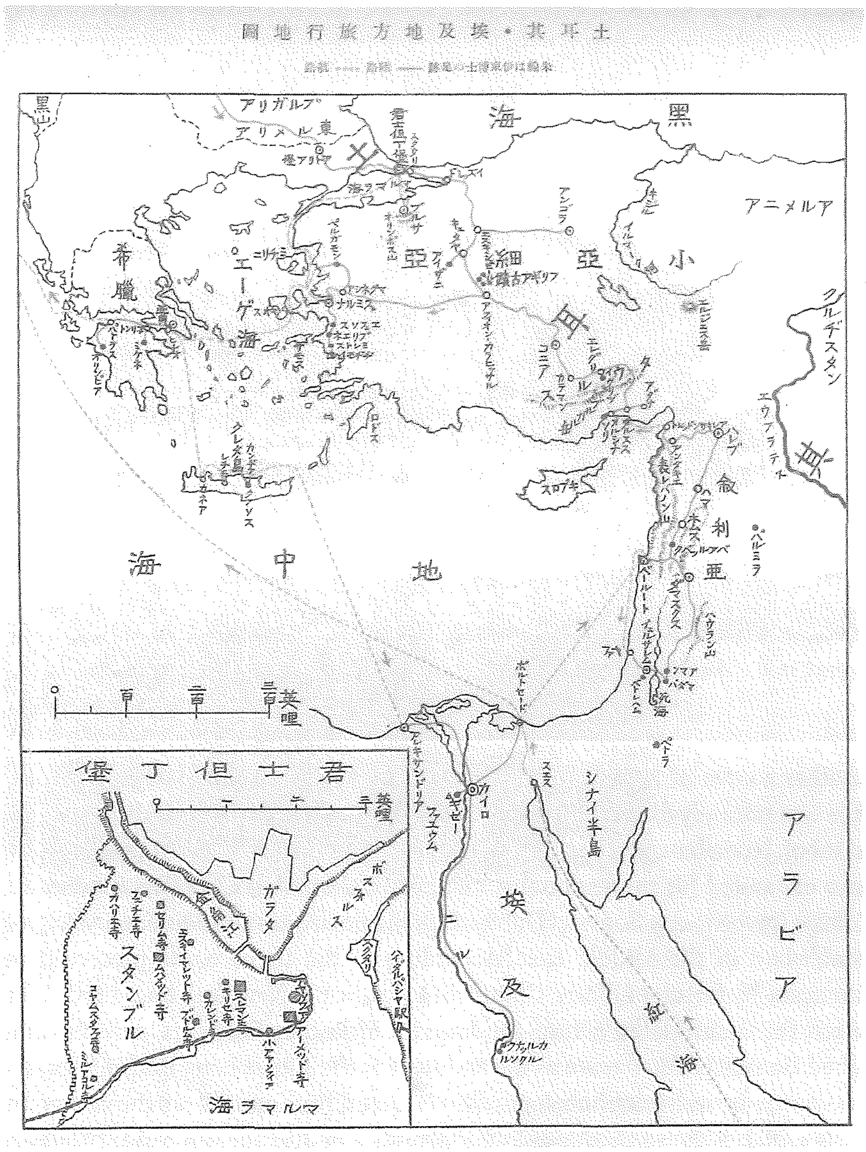

FIGURE 11.7 *Itō Chūta's route map throughout the Ottoman Empire, drawn by himself.*

British Consulates in major cities were contact points during the trip. This was not only for Chūta to receive correspondences from Japan, but also for him to get letters of recommendation to the Consulate of the next city on his schedule.

FIGURE 11.8 *The Mosque of Sultan Hassan, Cairo.*

Another source of benefit for Chūta was the Protestant Missionary network. This was not only for getting information useful for travel in the cities such as Istanbul, Jerusalem, and Tarsus, but also because, through this, Chūta seems to have expanded his professional connection. In Istanbul Chūta visited Robert College (present-day Boğaziçi University), the first American Missionary school established in the Middle East. According to the name cards preserved at Yamagata Prefectural Library, Chūta got to know the New York based architect Alfred D.F. Hamlin, the son of the founder of Robert College, Cyrus Hamlin. Alfred Hamlin is also known as the architect of the Albert Long Hall at Boğaziçi University. In many archaeological sites that Chūta visited in the Ottoman lands—places such as Ephesus and Bergama—he had the opportunity to witness the excavations that were going on and to get to know the directors.

In the first stage of his travels, in order to express the layered and rich complex of architectural elements in the Ottoman Lands, Chūta used to apply the ethnic categories typically proposed by Owen Jones and that were current in contemporary Western architectural discourses—categories such as "Arab," "Persian" or "Turkish." It was in Cairo that Chūta had a question in his mind for the first time about the validity of these notions, asking questions such as, "What is Arab? Where is the Origin of Arabian Art? What is the relationship

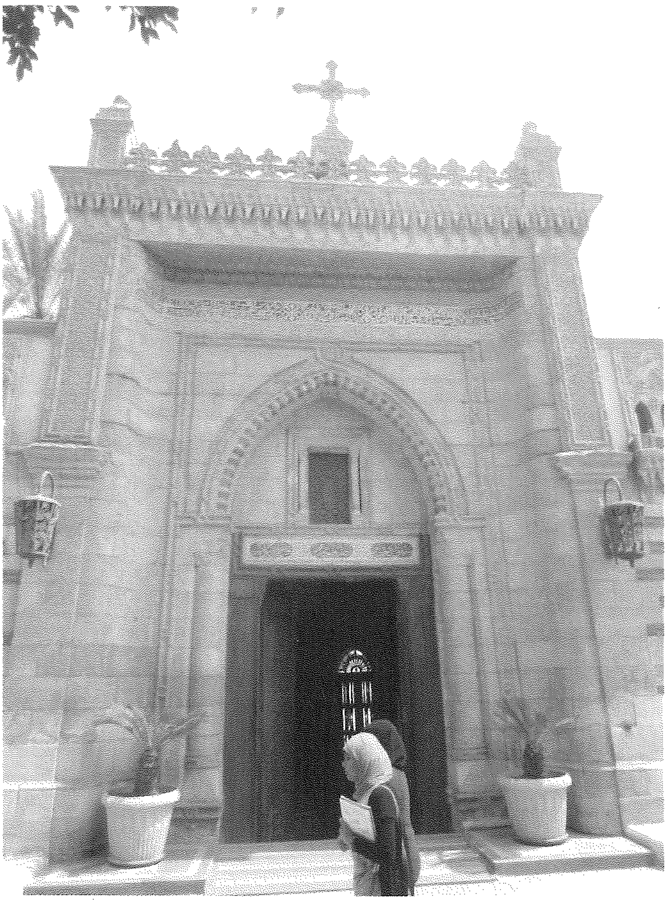

FIGURE 11.9 *The Church of Virgin Mary, Cairo.*

between Arab and Greco-Roman? And how about Persia and the East (tōyō 東洋)?"[7]

Looking at the Mosque of Sultan Hassan, a 14th century masterpiece of Mamluk architecture, he noted "It doesn't look like a mosque (モスクとは見えず)." (Fig. 11.8) In turn, and he wrote "It is not similar to the Christian Churches (教会とは思へず)" when he visited Coptic Church of St. Virgin Mary in Cairo.[8] (Fig. 11.9)

7 Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, *Yachō* 野帳 (Field Notes), Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai 日本建築学会 Architectural Institute of Japan, vol. 10.
8 Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, *Yachō* 野帳 (Field Notes), Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai 日本建築学会 Architectural Institute of Japan, vol. 10.

Examining the architectural examples in Cairo, Chūta slowly started to form his understanding that there was no exact border between the East and the West, but rather a continuum of forms. He surmised that styles emerge not as determined sets of forms and rules. Nor were they linear and hierarchical developments as argued in Sir Banister Fletcher's paradigm that he illustrated in the tree-like image with a trunk and branches. He thought that a true history of architecture should be something different from that: less structured and more interconnected. These experiences became the basis of Chūta's thoughts on world architecture, typically demonstrated in the diagram of layered circles with porous borders between East and West, called "Architectural Evolutionalism 建築進化論," which was published in 1909, after he came back to Japan (Fig. 11.10).

As for the origins of Hōryūji's *entasis*, he found similar examples in some places in Anatolia such as Pompeiopolis near Tarsus. Pointing out that the column became widest at the point of 1/3 of its total height, Chūta stated that "the way of becoming thinner toward the upper and lower edges of the column resembles very much the columns of our Hōryūji Temple. It is really an extraordinary sight."[9] But actually after having examined the temples in Athens as well as the treatment of columns in Renaissance and Mannerism architecture by Brunelleschi, Palladio, Scamozzi, Vignola and so on, Chūta reached the conclusion that an *entasis* in columns is essential for architecture and somehow universal. He states that a building without *entasis* is a result of the inability of the architect or some financial problem.[10]

Leaving aside the *entasis* as one of the bases of his argument, Chūta shifted his interest more to the transformation of decorative motifs represented by honey-suckle/*karakusa*. This kind of inquiry was in line with the famous researches on the migration of decorative motifs promoted by Alois Riegl (1858–1905) and the Viennese school of art history.

It was during the visit to the Al-Aqsa Mosque (705) in Jerusalem that Chūta had an inspiration with regard to the transformation of the honey-suckle motif, from the supposed original Persian into a so-called "Arab" motif. Chūta states as follows:

9 Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, *Yachō* 野帳 (Field Notes), Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai 日本建築学会 Architectural Institute of Japan, vol. 11. The original text in Japanese is as follows: 「上下ニ向ッテ細クナル工合我ガ法隆寺ノ柱ニサモ似タリ、実ニ一奇観ナリ」.

10 Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, *Yachō* 野帳 (Field Notes), Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai 日本建築学会 Architectural Institute of Japan, vol. 12.

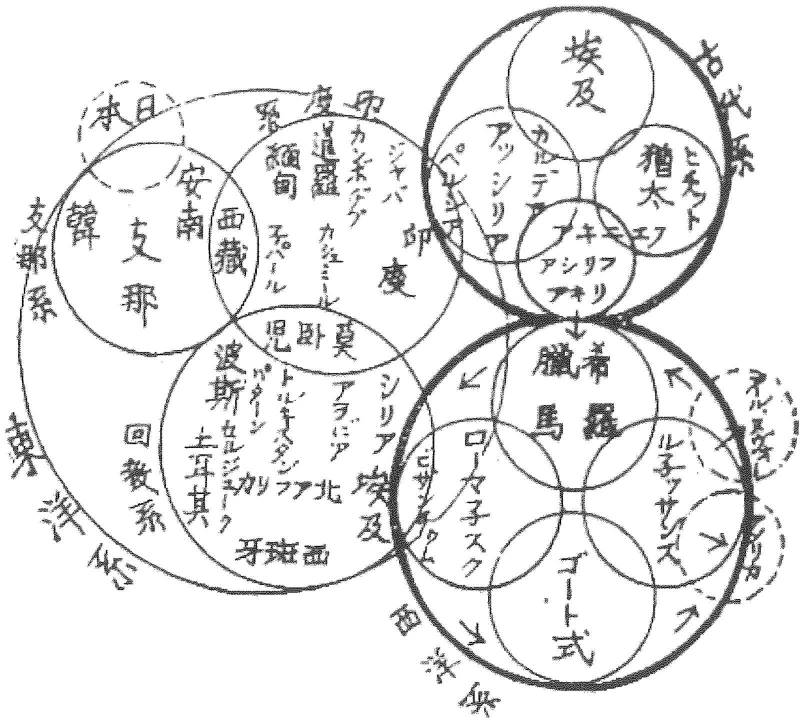

FIGURE 11.10 *Diagram of Itō Chūta's "Architectural Evolutionism" drawn by himself.*

> I saw an interesting ornament in the panel at the Eastern wall (of the Aqsa Mosque). There is a *karakusa* showing the changing process from honeysuckle to Arabian foliage. The Capital with ornament of birds and animals, its method resembles that of Tempyo period. I think this is Byzantine style."[11]

In a small, handmade booklet entitled *Suikazura to Budō* 忍冬と葡萄 (The Honeysuckle and The Grape), prepared in later years, Chūta tried to show the process through which a vegetal naturalistic form transformed into stylized decorative motifs in the Arab world, Persia, Turkey and Japan. Here, Chūta

11 Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, *Yachō* 野帳 (Field Notes), Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai 日本建築学会 Architectural Institute of Japan, vol. 11. The original text in Japanese is as follows: 「東部ノ壁ノ panel ニ面白キ ornament ヲ見ル、honeysuckle ヨリ arabian foliage ニ変ズル順序ヲ示セルから草アリ、(…) 鳥獣ノ Capital ヲ冠ス、ソノ手法天平時代ニ似タリ蓋シ Byzantine 式ナリ」

seems to suppose a link between the Aqsa mosque and Japanese *karakusa*, as well as Yeşil Cami in Bursa, Turkey.

The first task after his return to Japan in June 1905 was to examine the archeological and architectural heritage in the former battlefield of the Russo-Japanese War as an expert in October 1905, only three months after his return. It was in December that Chūta started at Tokyo Imperial University a course entitled "History of Eastern Architecture 東洋建築史." This was the first time such a course had been taught in Japan. The course was co-taught with his colleague Sekino Tadashi 関野貞 (1868–1935), an expert on Chinese and Korean architecture and it was Chūta who took responsibility for Indian, Persian, Central Asian and so-called Islamic architecture 回教建築. Chūta included Egypt in this course, as a result of his travels throughout the Ottoman Empire. His new vision of world architecture and of the shifting boundaries between East and West had been largely shaped by that experience, and he continued his career as an architectural historian contributing to the first discourse on Islamic architecture in Japan.

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Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, "Hōryūji kenchikuron" 法隆寺建築論 (The thesis on the architecture of the Hōryūji) *Kenchiku zasshi*, 建築雑誌 (Architectural Magazine) 1893, November): 330–331. Reprint Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, "Hōryūji kenchikuron" 法隆寺建築論 *Tōkyō teikokudaigaku kiyō* 東京帝国大学紀要, Dai 1 satsu Dai 1 go (1898): 56.

Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, "Toruko. Ejiputo ryokōsawa" 土耳其・埃及旅行茶話 (Talk on the Travels in Turkey and Egypt) *Itō Chūta Kenchiku Monjō 5* 伊東忠太建築文献 5 (Itō Chūta Writings on Architecture 5) (Tokyo: Ryūginsha, 1937).

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Itō Chūta, *Yachō* 野帳 (Field Notes), Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai 日本建築学会 Architectural Institute of Japan, Volumes 10, 11, 12.

CHAPTER 12

The Beginning of Turkish Philology and Linguistics in Japan

Klaus Röhrborn

Introduction

Turkology, in the narrow sense of the word, is the comparative study of numerous Turkic languages in an academic manner. It should be no surprise that Turkology, defined as such, developed in Japan only after the Second World War and under European influence.

If the linguistic study of Turkish had already existed in the 19th century in Europe and especially in Germany, then this was the result of a rapid development of the comparative Indo-Germanic linguistics of the era, which for its part should be understood as a consequence of the social estimation of the study of the "classical languages," Greek and Latin.[1] The so called "agglutinating languages," i.e., especially the "Ural-Altaic languages" and therewith Turkish, had already attracted special interest during the first half of the 19th century as the typological antipole of the Indo-Germanic "inflecting language class." At the very end of the 19th century Turkology research was closely associated with language typology and one was expecting from the study of "Altaic languages" to acquire information about the prehistory of Indo-Germanic languages. On this matter, Friedrich Müller wrote in 1882 that, "with regard to language history, the Altaic languages are indisputably the most important ones, since they comprise the whole developmental process of these language classes ... By looking at these languages we can track the so-called ascending development (the development from insulation to agglutination), which was already finalized millennia ago within the Indo-Germanic language family, and comprehend to a certain extent the impetus behind the language-creating human intellect."[2] Willi Bang, the founder of comparative Turkology in Germany, saw

1 For a science-sociological outline of this development, see T.H. Wilbur, *The Lautgesetz-controversy, a documentation.* 2nd Edition, Amsterdam 1977. (Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science. 1. Amsterdam classics in linguistics. 9.), XIII ff.

2 Friedrich Müller, *Grundriß der Sprachwissenschaft.* Vol. 2: *Die Sprachen der schlichthaarigen Rassen.* Pt. 2: *Die Sprachen der malayischen und der hochasiatischen (mongolischen) Rasse* (Wien: A. Hölder, 1882), 258f.

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in these sentences "one of the biggest truths…, which since the foundation o comparative linguistic studies has ever been declared."[3] At the beginning o his scientific career, Bang was ranked among the "Ural-altaists," and before h started to occupy himself with comparative Turkology, he did research on th "Ural-altaic" or "Altaic" field, as can be seen in his writings from the 90's i the 19th century.[4]

An equivalent stimulus did not exist in Japan. Japan's "classic language" wa Chinese and its study had been flourishing since the 8th century, independent from the advent of a comparative linguistics that would be engrossed in Turkish language. In Japan, the Turks were a matter of interest specifically for historians as they were one of the "border nations" of China, and therefore the status of being one of the "historical schools" (Geschichte Richtung) that it represents even today is probably the strongest pillar of Turkish philology in Japan. Undoubtedly, very little knowledge existed about the language of the eastern Turks until the beginning of the 20th century. It was only after the Old Turkish manuscripts had come to Japan through the Japanese expeditions in Central Asia that the study of the Turkish literary heritage would be instigated.

Nonetheless, these expeditions do not trace back to historians, but to the initiative of a Kyōto based Buddhist confession. The Japanese Buddhists to this day, continue to have a special interest in Central Asia since the path of Buddhism that has led to China and Japan originated in that topography. This is why one can still talk about a "buddhological school" of Turkish philology in Japan today, which will be presented, due to practical reasons, at the very beginning of our review.

The Japanese Expeditions in Central Asia

The author of the first publications made in the field of Turkish philology was Tachibana Zuichō (1890–1968), who had travelled in Central Asia on behalf of Count Ōtani. Count Ōtani Kōzui (1876–1946) was at that time the abbot (*jūshoku*) of the "Western Hongan-Temple" (*Nishi Honganji*) in Kyōto and the head (*monshu*) of the so-called Ōtani-branch of the Jōdo-shin-Sect; a figure

3 Willi Bang, "Beiträge zur Kunde der asiatischen Sprachen," *T'oung pao* 2, 3 (1891): 7–8.

4 *Uralaltaische Forschungen*, Leipzig 1890 (Einzelbeiträge zur allgemeinen vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft. 10.); "Études ouraloaltaiques," *Le Muséon* 4 (1891), pp. 1–15; "Les Langues ouralo-altaiques et l'importance de leur étude pour celle des langues indo-germaniques," *Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publ. par l'Académie Royale de Belgique* 49 (1893): 1–19; "Zur vergleichenden Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen," *WZKM* 9 (1895): 267–276; "Zum auslautenden n im Altaischen," *T'oung pao* 6 (1895): 216–221.

with far-reaching interests and vast political influence.[5] While Count Ōtani was lingering in London in the year of 1902, he made the decision to travel back to Japan by passing through Central Asia. Although the Count writes that for a very long time it has been his desire to explore this region,[6] we may assume that this decision was also triggered by the sensational manuscripts, discovered by H. Bower,[7] which must have attracted the Count's attention. We may also consider that the news about the Russian Central Asia expedition carried out in 1898 by D. Klementz, and the soon-to-begin Prussian expeditions of 1902 prompted him in realizing his objectives immediately. As a result of his journey through Central Asia, the Count decided to send additional expeditions, and so Tachibana Zuichō, who had not participated in the first journey, was sent there in 1908 with another student of Ōtani Kōzui.[8] They left Beijing on 16th of June, and traveled to Turfan via Outer Mongolia and Urumqi, where they arrived in November. After having visited various sites of ruins here, they set off on the 6th of January and continued with their journey to Karashahr. While his companion moved further in the western direction, Tachibana went alone to the south and visited Lop-nor and Loulan. Thereafter he turned again to the west and reached the oasis of Khotan via Niya and Keriya. He left this place on the 21st of June to move on to Kashgar where he and his companion met up once more. Together then, they travelled via Maralbasi to Yarkend and from there they passed the Karakorum in October 1909 and finally arrived in England via Kashmir. The next year Tachibana was charged once again with further research in Sinkiang, together with another student of the Count. They travelled through Russia and arrived at the Tarim-Valley from the north-east in October 1910. After a renewed stay in Turfan and Loulan, Tachibana crossed the Taklamakan Desert and arrived at Kuca and Kashgar. Once he went missing in the uplands of Tibet for a while, so Count Ōtani had to charge another student to search for him. After having met each other, they travelled back together via Tun-huang (Dunhuang), where they stayed a while at the beginning of the year 1912 in order to acquire, among other things, manuscripts from the temple grottos.[9]

5 Cf. the biography of Ōtani Kōzui in: Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō daijiten*. Suppl.-Vol. 8. 8. Ed. (Tōkyō: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1973), 35.

6 In the Preface of *Seiiki kōko zufu*, 1 (see below, fn. 15).

7 H. Bower could buy some sheets in Sanskrit script in the region of Kutscha in 1890.

8 Unless noted differently, our statements about the expeditions derive from the *Shinseiikigi* (New report on the Western Countries), Kyōto Shōwa 12/1937. This anthology contains the itineraries of the participants of Ōtani-Expeditions. Unfortunately Tachibana's itineraries were burned before the release of this work (cf. *Shinseiikigi*, 6). Yet, Tachibana had already published a bit of that content before, which was reprinted in *Shinseiikigi* (Nr. 27, 28).

9 See also, Umemura Hiroshi, *Tonkō tanken, kenkyūshi* (The Research on Tun-huang and the History of Research), *Kōza tonkō* (Seminar on Tun-huang). Vol. 1: Enoki Kazuo, *Tonkō no shi*

This short sketch should suffice to exemplify the way in which the Japanese expeditions had a somewhat different character than the Prussian Turfan-expeditions which, after all, were usually carried out for longer terms at one specific site so that single monasteries and temple structures could be excavated more extensively. In addition to collecting antiquities, Count Ōtani's students were also charged with undertaking geographic, geologic and meteorological explorations. In addition, they had the opportunity to make various important acquisitions of handwritings, paintings, sculptures, textiles, mints, etc. through purchase.[10]

Tachibana Zuichō and the Beginning of Turkish Philology in Japan

At first sight it seemed that those findings would give rise to the development of new disciplines within Central Asia studies, similar to what could be observed in Berlin throughout the early decades of the 20th century. And indeed, Tachibana Zuichō started immediately after he returned from the third expedition, in the years 1912 and 1913, with the transcription and publication of the handwritings he had discovered. These editions have appeared in the journal *Niraku sōsho* that was titled after the Villa of Ōtani Kōzui, and four of its issues were published in Kōbe. The first issue (1912) contained, among others, a fragment of a Uyghur translation of the 觀無量壽經 *Guan wuliang shoujing* (*ōAmitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra).[11] In Issue 4 (1913) a fragment of the Uyghur translation of the 妙法蓮華經 *Miaofa lianhua jing* (Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra) was published. An assessment of these transcriptions should take into consideration that Tachibana (born in 1890) was very young at that time and the only available equipment with regard to Turkology he possessed were his new Uyghur skills, which he seems to have had mastery of.[12] Apparently he had at hand only the texts from "Uigurica (I)" by F.W.K. Müller[13] as material with

zen to genjō (The natural site and contemporary situation of Tun-huang) (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daitō, 1980), 162.

10 See below, fn. 15.

11 Meanwhile a new edition of this piece by Kōgi Kudara appeared. "Kanmuryōjukyō—Uiguruyaku danpen shūtei–." [Engl. subtitle: "Guan Jing—Critique of an Uyghur fragment of the Guan wu-liang-shou jing—."] In: *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (Buddhological Studies) 35 (1979): 33–56.

12 Tachibana used to travel in customary clothes so that he could easily establish contact with the local population.

13 In *Niraku sōsho* 1 (1912), p. 30f., a certain "Dr. Müller" and his translation of the [Uigur] Golden Light Sutra are quoted. This is a reference to F.W.K. Müller: *Uigurica* [1]. Berlin

which to compare, and which also forms the source of the transcription system that Tachibana had used. The "Berlin Transcription Method"—a tradition which was already substantiated at that time and needless to say, underwent modifications in the meantime—is still being followed almost exclusively in Japan. Maybe Tachibana was also acquainted with the work of Stönner, which might be the reason behind his transcription of the letter *w* often as *o* also in non-first syllables.[14] Yet it should not be left unspoken that Tachibana managed to track down the Chinese versions of both Uyghur texts that he published.

Whoever, after such a promising start, estimated that the utilization of the Uyghur finds obtained during the Ōtani-Expeditions would have made rapid progress would indeed be mistaken. Admittedly another edited volume[15] was published which is comprised of various images of the findings in which also facsimiles of Uyghur manuscripts can be found. Apart from that, the "Ōtani-Collection" was ill-fated. Immediately after the publication of the above-mentioned collected volume, Ōtani Kōzui was coerced to resign from both of his offices.[16] Due to this incident and the painful ending of the Second World War for Japan, the findings of the Ōtani-Expeditions ended up being scattered to the four winds. In an essay he wrote in 1978, Akira Fujieda mentions that the collection was over time partitioned in to nine different funds or groups and that the lion's share of the findings were kept in museums which are outside the borders of contemporary Japan, namely in the Museum of Port Arthur (People's Republic of China) and Seoul (Korea).[17]

1908. (Abhandlungen der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Cl. 1908, 2.).

14 H. Stönner, *Zentralasiatische Sanskrittexte in Brāhmīschrift aus Idikutšahri, Chinesisch-Turkistan.* 1. With Appendix: *Uigurische Fragmente in Brāhmīschrift.* In: Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1904, 44. Appendix, 1288–1290.

15 M. Kagawa (ed.), *Seiiki kōko zufu* (Album of Central Asian Antiquities). Vol. 1–2.(Tōkyō: Kokkasha, 1915). The First Volume includes illustrations of effigies, sculptures, textiles, coins, etc. The second one comprises facsimiles of manuscripts in the old languages of Central Asia (cf. also here, fn. 23).

16 What brought about the resignation was the accusation that Count Ōtani had spent public funds abundantly for his "private undertakings," such as the Central Asia expeditions.

17 Fujieda, Akira, "Ōtani korekushon no genjō" (Contemporary Situation of the Ōtani-Collection), *Ryūkoku. Shūkyō buhō* (Ryūkoku, Bulletin of the Office for Religion) 19 (1978): 6–9.

Collections and Research Institutes

Today, only the smaller part of the material excavated during the Ōtani-Expeditions is accessible for research in Japan. Firstly, there is a group of manuscripts, which from the Villa Niraku of Count Ōtani—before the Villa was sold to a businessman—passed to the custody of the former Imperial Museum in Kyōto through a not yet clarified way, and was bought there by the Oriental Section of the National Museum (Kokuritsu hakubutsukan) in Tōkyō.[18]

Further, there were two wooden boxes of artifacts stemming from the third Ōtani-Expedition deposited and forgotten in a Kyōto warehouse. It was only in the year 1948 that they were rediscovered and delivered to the Ryūkoku University in Kyōto. Hence, the findings in those boxes are not included in the edited volume, which was published in 1914. They constitute the basis of the collection at the Ryūkoku University, which in the course of time expanded with further pieces that came in as donations from participants of previous "expeditions.[19]

Besides these two collections that have just been mentioned, today there are three smaller collections available for research in other museums of Japan: (1) The collection of Nakamura Fusetsu in the "Museum for Calligraphy" (Shodō hakubutsukan) in Tōkyō,[20] (2) the collection of the Tenri-Library (Tenri toshokan) in Nara[21] and (3) the very small collection of the "Fujii-Yūrin-House" (Fujii Yūrinkan or Yūrinkan) in Kyōto.[22] These named institutions bought those col-

18 Fujieda, "Ōtani", o.c., 7.

19 Fujieda, "Ōtani", sup., 8 (those manuscripts which were labeled by Fujieda as "D 1–5"). It was especially Tachibana who donated manuscripts to the Ryūkoku University in his lifetime.

20 Cf. Shōgaito Masahiro, "Nakamura fusetsushi kyūzō uigurugo monjo danpen no kenkyū" (Study on Uyghur documents from Fusetsu Nakamura's library). In: *Tōyō gakuhō* (Oriental Journal) 61, 1–2 (Dec. 1979): 254(01)-226(029), 254.

21 Cf. Kudara Kōgi, "Tenri toshokanzō uigurugo bunken" (The Uyghur texts of the Tenri Library). In *Biblia* (Journal of the Tenri Central Library) 86 (1986): 178 f.

22 Cf. Kudara Kōgi, "Uiguruyaku 'Abidatsumajunshōriron' shōhon." [Engl. subtitle: "An Uyghur text of extracts from the Abhidharmanyāyānusāraśāstra]." In: *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (Buddhological Studies) 38 (1982): 4f., and Kudara Kōgi, "Uiguruyaku 'Abidatsumakusharon' shotan, fujii yūrinkan shozō danpen" (Preliminary studies on the research of the Uyghur Abhidharmakośabhāsya: a fragment of the Fujii-Yūrin-Museum). In: *Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū* (Journal of the Ryūkoku-University) 425 (1984), 65–90. [The preliminary and shorter English version of this essay from the early 80s, in: *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 24/25 (1980–1986): 305–323.], 65f.

lections either during or after the war from Chinese collectors. The Deguchi-Collection mentioned below is apparently still inaccessible.

With regard to Turkology, however, the collection at the Ryūkoku University is undeniably the most distinguished, and it is here that one feels himself indebted particularly to the legacy of Count Ōtani. In 1952, a "Society for the Study of Central Asia's Civilization" (Seiiki bunka kenkyūkai) was founded here. Its associates were not exclusively members of the university's staff, but also foreign scholars.[23] Between 1958 and 1963, the Society has published a total of six volumes of the series *Seiiki bunka kenkyū* ("Studies on the Civilization of Central Asia"), which have become known here as the "Monumenta Serindica." But an essential relation to Turkology is only to be found in the fourth volume of the series, which was published in 1961 in Kyōto under the title *Chūōajia kodaigo bunken* ("Documents in Old languages of Central Asia"[24]). It includes two special studies about the formula of Uyghur legal documents by Mori Masao[25] and Yamada Nobuo,[26] but most notably a sort of catalog of the Uigurica of the collection at the Ryūkoku University, which is accompanied by various facsimiles, and being associated with Haneda Akira and Yamada Nobuo.[27] Volume six (Kyōto, 1963) should also be mentioned, because it comprises a further research by Yamada on Uyghur legal documents.[28]

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23 Cf. Inokuchi Taijun, *Seiiki shutsudo butten. 'Seiiki kōki zufu' no kanbun butten. Kenkyūsatsu.* [English Subtitle:] *A Study on the Buddhist texts unearthed at Central Asia, based upon Chinese Buddhist texts in the Archaeological albums of the Otani collection.* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1980. *Ryūkoku daigaku zenpon sōsho.* [English Subtitle:] *Facsimile series of rare texts in the library of Ryūkoku University.* 1, 2–3.

24 English Subtitle: *Buddhist manuscripts and secular documents of the ancient languages in Central Asia.*

25 Mori Masao, "Uigurubun shōhi taishaku monjo" (Uyghur legal documents on loans for purposes of consumption). In: *Chūōajia kodaigo bunken,* (1961): 221–254, English version Mori Masao, "A Study on Uygur documents of loans for consumption" In: *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (the Oriental Library)* 20 (1961): 111–148.

26 Yamada, Nobuo, "Ōtani tankentai shōrai uigurubun baibai taishaku monjo" (Uyghur sale and loan documents from the funds of the Ōtani-Expeditions). In: *Chūōajia kodaigo bunken,* (1961): 207–220. [Engl. version: Yamada 1964.].

27 Haneda, Akira and Nobuo Yamada, "Ōtani tankentai shōrai uiguruji shiryō mokuroku" (Catalog of the material in Uyghur script found in the Ōtani-Expeditions) In: *Chūōajia kodaigo bunken,* (1961): 171–206.

28 Yamada Nobuo, "Uigurubun baibai keiyakusho no shoshiki." [Engl. subtitle: "Forms of contract note in Uyghur documents."] In: *Rekishi to bijutsu no shomondai. Miscellaneous essays on the art and history of Central Asia and Tun-huang.* Kyōto (1963): *Seiiki bunka kenkyū. Monumenta Serindica.* 6. Appendix, 27–62. [Engl. version: Yamada 1964.].

When the Seiiki bunka kenkyūkai dissolved during the mid-60s, the tasks of this society were partially taken over by the "Research Institute for Studies in Humanities" (Zinbun kagaku kenkyūsho) at the Kyōto University.[29] Annemarie von Gabain might have taught at this institute when she instructed in Kyōto for a year in 1961.[30] Besides the historian and sinologist Fujieda Akira (born in 1911),[31] who had worked with Annemarie v. Gabain already at the beginning of the 50s in Hamburg,[32] her students were specifically members of the younger generation, such as Juten Oda, Kūgi Kudara, and Shōgaito Masahiro to name a few.[33] Apart from that, it seems that there were no other activities with regard to Turkology conducted here.

It was only within the "Research Institute for Buddhist Civilization" (Bukkyō bunka kenkyūsho), which was founded at the Ryūkoku University in the 70s, that Turkish philology was cherished anew.[34] Within the institute, an album containing the facsimiles of the Turfan-collection of the Buddhist Priest Jōjun Deguchi (Ōsaka) was collocated. It appeared in 1978 in Kyōto under the main title *Kōshō zanei* ("Relicts from Kotscho") and the subtitle *Fragmenta Buddhica Turfanica*,[35] yet it is not available for purchase. Though it is known that Uigurica are also contained, it is still undisclosed what sort of texts are included and how they have come under the possession of Deguchi.

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29 An anonymously written history of this institute covering the time up to 1954 was prepended to the memorial volume prepared for its 25th anniversary: Silver jubilee volume of the *Zinbun-kagaku-kenkyūsho*, Kyōto University. Kyōto 1954, V–XII.

30 In a letter she wrote on 11.3.1987 A. v. Gabain notified that she was in Kyōto from autumn 1962 to autumn 1963, without however being able to recall the institution.

31 Short biography in: 嚴紹璗 *Zhuang Shaodang*: 日本的中國學家 *riben di zhongguo xuejia* ["Japan Sinologist"]. 2. Edition. (Beijing 1981), 446f.

32 According to the letter cited in fn. 30. This must be explaining why he was entrusted with the edition of the Old Turkish version of the inscription at the gate of Chū-yung-kuan, which was released in 1957 (cf. K. Röhrborn-O. Sertkaya, *Die alttürkische Inschrift am Tor-Stūpa von Chü-yung-kuan*. In: ZDMG 130 (1980), 305.

33 According to information from her received viva voce.

34 Cf. Inokuchi, *Seiiki*, sup., p. 3. Accordingly, the essential task of this institute is the edition of buddhistic documents among the Ōtani-Funds, which belong to the Ryūkoku-University. Kudara-Oda (1983) is a Turkological publication of this institute.

35 Fujieda, "Ōtani" sup., 9, wrote in 1978, that the volume has appeared "recently" (*kono hodo*). After all, according to the information given by A. v. Gabain (cf. the letter mentioned in fn. 30) Deguchi stayed for a long period of time in Berlin during the early 30s. He went back when the Stūpa of his temple (Shitennōji in Ōsaka) was demolished by an earthquake, in order to take over from his old father who had been the chief-priest (kanchō).

The Research Institute in Tōkyō, Tōyō bunko, which has been another site for Turkology studies, will be discussed below.[36]

The Buddhological School

Within the afore-mentioned Research Institute for Buddhist Civilization, it is primarily Buddhologists or better said—*sit venia verbo*—Buddhist theologians that are working in the first line, and this is why we cannot expect to distinguish specific philological-linguistic interests herein. With regard to Turkish, only Buddhist texts have been dealt with up to this time. A fact that is probably also worth mentioning is that among the Uyghur texts, translations of Chinese works (淨土三部經 *Jing-tu-san-bu-jing*), which are precisely of great significance for the Jōdo-shin-sect, the sponsor of the Ryūkoku University do exist.

While in Europe it was and still is possible to dare to edit old Turkish texts without knowing the Chinese versions, the Japanese Buddhologists would not take that as admissible. Rather, on the contrary, they perceive the identification of the Chinese versions of old Turkish texts as one of their major duties. Accordingly, in text editions bibliographical and biographical problems are commented on, while on linguistic matters one behaves rather in a somewhat diffident manner. That the latter occasionally appears to be the case in the annotation of content related to doctrinal problems, may be related to the fact that some of what a European may desire to know more precisely would count as a truism for the Japanese Buddhologist.

We have already brought up Tachibana Zuichō[37] and will now mention two younger scholars, namely Oda Juten and Kudara Kōgi. Oda Juten (born in 1935) does not belong to the faculty of the Ryūkoku University, since he avows himself a Zen-Buddhist. He is a professor at the private Toyōhashi University in the Aichi Prefecture, but at the same time a member of the "Research Institute for Buddhist Civilisation" (Bukkyō bunka kenkyūsho) at the Ryūkoku University. Oda has worked on numerous Uyghur pieces of various lengths—for instance on a text of the Vajrayāna[38] which was translated from Tibetan into Uyghur,

36 See below, 13.

37 See above, Part 2.

38 Oda Juten, "Uigurubun monjushirijōjuhō no danpen ichiyō" (A fragmentary sheet of the Uyghur Mañjuśrī-sādhana). In: *Tōyōshi kenkyū* (Studies on the history of the Orient) 33 (1974), 86–109. [Turkish version in: *Türkiyat mecmuası* 19 (1980): 183–202.].

and the Uyghur fragments of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.[39] The majority of his work constitutes the hitherto unpublished Uyghur pieces[40] of the apocryphal 天地八陽神呪経断片 *Tiandi ba yang shenzhou jıng duanpian*, which is known among Turkologists as the *Säkiz yükmäk*. Oda perceives the study of this remarkable Old Turkish text as his exceptional mission. While Bang et al. brought forward a "normalized" edition of the London Rolle of *Säkiz yükmäk* in 1934,[41] Oda prepares now a diplomatic edition of the whole handwritten material, which has been dispersed around various collections in Europe and Asia. As early as 1978, an essay was written on the transmission history of this text,[42] and as Oda in 1981 on the occasion of the Central Asia Symposium in Hamburg has shown,[43] it is now obviously discernable that some manuscripts represent an older version of the text. Here Oda succeeded for the first time to draw a perspectival picture of a Uyghur text, an attempt which was fortunately proceeded through the newest study of Jens Peter Laut.[44]

39 Kudara Kōgi and Oda Juten, "Uiguruyaku hachijū kegon zankan. Fu: Anzō to shijū kegon" (Uyghur fragments of the 80-volume Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra. Appendix: An-ts'ang and the 40-volume Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra) In: *Bukkyō bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* (Journal of the Research Institute for Buddhist Civilisation) 22 (1983): 176–205.

40 Oda Juten, "Ryūkoku daigaku toshokanzō uigurubun hachiyōkyō no danpen shūi" (Fragments of the Uyghur 'Sūtra of the Eight Lights' in the Ryūkoku University Library, afterthoughts). In: Mori, Masao (ed.): *Nairiku ajia nishi ajia no shakai to bunka* (Society and culture of Central and West Asia). Tōkyō, (1983): 161–184; Oda Juten, "New fragments of the Buddhist Uighur text Säkiz yükmäk yaruq." In: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 10 (1983): 125–142; Oda Juten, "Uigurubun hachiyōkyō 'Ōtani shi shozō danpen' tsuikō" (Fragments of the Uyghur 'Sūtra of the Eight Lights' from the property of Count Ōtani, afterthoughts). In: *Toyohashi tanki daigaku kenkyū kiyō* (Study Reports of the Junior College of Toyohashi) 1 (1984): 91–100; Oda Juten, "Uighur fragments of the block-printed text 'Säkiz törlügin yarumïš yaltrïmïš nom bitig.'" In: *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 24–25 (1980–1986): 325–346.

41 W. Bang-A. v. Gabain-G.R. Rachmati: *Türkische Turfantexte*. 6: *Das buddhistische Sūtra Säkiz yükmäk* (Berlin 1934). In: *Sitzungsberichte der Preuß. Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Phil.-hist. Kl. (1934, 10.): 93–192.

42 Oda Juten, "Torukogobon hachiyōkyō shahon no keifu to shūkyōshisōteki mondai" (Problems of the transmission history and the religious ideas of the Turkish 'Sūtra of the Eight Lights'). In: *Tōhōgaku* (Oriental Studies) 55 (1978): 104–118.

43 Oda Juten, "Remarks on the Indic 'lehngut' of the Säkiz yükmäk yaruq sūtra." In: Klaus Röhrborn-Wolfgang Veenker: *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien, Vorträge des Hamburger Symposions vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981*. (Wiesbaden: 1983a): (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica. 16.) 65–72.

44 Jens Peter Laut: *Der frühe türkische Buddhismus und seine literarischen Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Harrassowitz, 1986) (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica. 21.).

Kudara Kōgi (born in 1945) was professor of Buddhology at the Ryūkoku University, yet he almost exclusively dealt with Turkish material. At the center of his interest lay the Uyghur Abhidharma-Texts. In the first Turkological publication he made in 1978, he edited a hitherto unidentified Uyghur fragment from the Ryūkoku University's collection, which included a (partial) list of the 52 Citta-saṃprayukta-saṃskāra.[45] Since then further editions of Uyghur Abhidharma-fragments were published in rapid succession.[46] In his comments on those fragments, Kudara cites frequently from the Uyghur translation of the Abhidharmakośa-commentary by Sthira-mati,[47] whose edition and transcription he prepared. Another priority of Kudara's work was the Pure Land Buddhism, and also in this area, partially with other colleagues, he edited one[48] and reedited two further texts.[49] Moreover, he published the Stockholm

45 Kudara Kōgi, "Gojūni shinjo o toku uiguruyaku abidaruma ronsho danpen" (Fragment of an Uyghur Abhidharma-text about the 52 Citta-saṃprayukta-saṃskāras). In: *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū. Journal of Indian and Buddhist studies* 26,2 (March, 1978), 1003 (81)–1000 (84).

46 Kudara Kōgi, "Uiguruyaku 'Kusharonjuchū' ichiyō" (A sheet of an Uyghur translation of a commentary on Abhidharmakośakārikā). In: *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū.* (Journal of Indian and Buddhist studies) 28,2(March 1980a): 944(44)–940(48);

Kudara Kōgi, "Nyūabidatsumaron no chūshakusho ni tsuite" (About a commentary on Abhidharma-avatāra-prakaraṇa). In: *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū.* (Journal of Indian and Buddhist studies) 29,1 (Dec., 1980): 411(72)-406(77);

Kudara Kōgi, "A Fragment of an Uyghur version of the Abhidharmakośakārikā." In: *Journal Asiatique* 269 (1981): 325–346;

Kudara Kōgi, "Uiguruyaku 'Abidatsumajunshōriron' shōhon." [Engl. subtitle: "An Uyghur text of extracts from the Abhidharmanyāyānusāraśāstra]." In: *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (Buddhological Studies) 38 (1982): 1–27;

Kudara Kōgi, "Kusharonchū 'Kinkashō' ni tsuite" (On the Chin-hua-ch'ao called commentary of the Abhidharmakośa-śāstra). In: *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (Journal of Indian and Buddhist studies) 30,2 (March, 1982): 994(48)–989(53);

Kudara Kōgi, "Uiguruyaku 'Abidatsumakusharon' shotan, fujii yūrinkan shozō danpen" (Preliminary studies on the research of the Uyghur Abhidharmakośabhāsya: a fragment of the Fujii-Yūrin-Museum). In: *Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū* (Journal of the Ryūkoku-University) 425 (1984), 65–90;

Kudara Kōgi, "Tenri toshokanzō uigurugo bunken" (The Uyghur texts of the Tenri Library). In *Biblia* (Journal of the Tenri Central Library) 86 (1986): 127–180.

47 The facsimile was publicized by Şinasi Tekin, *Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya-ṭīkā-tattvār-tha-nāma, Vasubandhu'nun Abhidharmakośaśāstra adlı eserine Sthiramati'nin yazdığı tefsirin Uygurca çevirisi: Abidarim koşavardi şastr.* 1. New York 1970.

48 Ahmet Temir, and Kudara Kōgi and Klaus Röhrborn, "Die alttürkischen Abitaki-Fragmente des Etnografya Müzesi, Ankara." In: *Turcica. Revue d'études turques* 16 (1984): 13–28.

49 Kudara Kōgi, "Kanmuryōjukyō—Uiguruyaku danpen shūtei–." [Engl. subtitle: "Guan Jing—Critique of an Uyghur fragment of the Guan wu-liang-shou jing—."] In: *Bukkyōgaku*

manuscripts of the Old Turkish Golden Light Sutra[50] in collaboration with Klaus Röhrborn; a longer piece from the Uyghur version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*[51] together with Oda Juten; as well as the Berliner Fragments from the Uyghur Āgama-Translations[52] and from the Uyghur Hsüan-tsang-Biography[53] with Peter Zieme. Mention must also be made of the re-edition of a Uyghur text[54] by Prajñāśrī who belonged to the Chinese T'ien-t'ai—Sect. Kudara identified the Chinese version of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Commentary,[55] which was edited by Bang/v. Gabain in "Türkische Turfantexte V" (Text B), and edited two further parts of this commentary from the Stockholm Collection as well as from Tōru Haneda's photograph collection.[56] Lastly, there is an unpublished paper[57] on the subject of Old Turkish equivalents of Sanskrit grammatical terms, which Kudara presented in 1981 at the Central Asia Symposium in Hamburg and his paper[58] from the German-Turkish Cooperation Conference in Rauischholzhausen near Gießen (September, 1986), alongside a list of the Uigurica of Sven v. Hedin's collection in Stockholm.[59]

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kenkyū (Buddhological Studies) 35 (1979): 33–56; Zieme, Peter, and Kudara Kōgi, *Uigurugo no kanmuryōjukyō.* [Engl. subtitle: *Guanwuliangshoujing in Uigur*]. Kyōto, 1985.

50 Kudara Kōgi, and Klaus Röhrborn, "Zwei verirrte Blätter des uigurischen Goldglanz-Sūtras im Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm." In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 132 (1982): 336–347.

51 Kudara Kōgi, and Oda Juten, "Uiguruyaku hachijū kegon zankan. Fu: Anzō to shijū kegon" (Uyghur fragments of the 80-volume Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra. Appendix: An-ts'ang and the 40-volume Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra) In: *Bukkyō bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* (Journal of the Research Institute for Buddhist Civilisation) 22 (1983): 176–205 (cf. Notice in: *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher* NF.5 (1985), 299–300.

52 Kudara Kōgi, and Peter Zieme, "Uigurische Āgama-Fragmente (1)." In: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 10 (1983): 269–318.

53 Kudara Kōgi, and Peter Zieme, "Fragmente zweier unbekannter Handschriften der uigurischen Xuanzang-Biographie." In: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 11 (1984): 136–148.

54 Kudara Kōgi, "Prajñāśrī to uigurugo upālipariprcchā" (Prajñāśrī and the Uyghur Upālipariprcchā). In: *Nihon bukkyō gakkai nenpō* (Almanac of Japan's Buddhist Academy) 50 (1985): 67–89.

55 Kudara Kōgi, "Uiguruyaku 'Myōhōrengekyō genzan'" (1). [Engl. subtitle: "Uyghur translation of the Miao-fa-lian-hua-jing Xuan-zan"] (1). In: *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (Buddhological Studies) 36 (1980): 49–65.

56 Kudara Kōgi, "Myōhōrengekyō genzan no uiguruyaku danpen" (Uyghur fragments of the Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching hsüan-tsan). In: Mori, Masao (ed.): *Nairiku ajia nishi ajia no shakai to bunka* (Society and Culture of Central—and West Asia). Tōkyō, (1983): 185–207.

57 "On the Uigur translation of the eight cases and the six compounds in Sanskrit grammar."

58 "On the etymology of Uigur *nizang.*"

59 "A Provisional catalogue of Uigur manuscripts preserved at the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden." The date on the manuscript is 1980.

The Historical School

The old history of Central Asia is especially cherished in Japan, due to the sense of cultural attachment that is maintained to the region here. It therefore does not sound astonishing that Japanese historians have also participated in the philological interpretation of Old Turkish manuscripts.[60] Yet, let me underline once again that we leave pure historical works out of consideration here and deal exclusively with philological studies carried out by historians.

Also here did the Ōtani expeditions provide the initial spark, along with the historian Haneda Tōru (1882–1955), who taught finally at the "Imperial (later State) University Kyōto," started his activities in Turkology with a critique of Tachibana's earliest publication that we have mentioned earlier.[61] Haneda Tōru worked on a number of Buddhist texts of the Uyghurs: a longer fragment of *Säkiz yükmäk* from the Ōtani-findings,[62] fragments of the Uyghur *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*[63] and of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*[64] as well as several short excerpts from the Uyghur translation of the Abhidharmakośa-Commentary of Sthiramati[65]—a work which he was the first to identify correctly. Besides this, he also edited and annotated a sales document[66] and a Manichean fragment.[67] Another study that is of significant importance with regards to Turkish

60 See also p. 2 above.

61 Haneda 1912. For Tachibana's study see p. 4 above.

62 Haneda Tōru, "Kaikotsubun no tenchi hachi yōshin jukyō" (On the Uyghur Dhāraṇī-Sūtra *Yerli t(ä)ŋrili säkiz yükmäk yarok*). In: Haneda 1958, 64–142. [Essay from the year 1915].

63 Haneda Tōru, "Kaikotsubun hokekyō fumonbon no dampen" (Fragments of the Samantamukha-Chapter of the Uyghur Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra). In: Haneda, 1958, 143–147. [Essay from the year 1915].

64 Haneda Tōru, "Torukobun kegonkyō no dankan" (Fragments of the Turkish Avataṃsaka-sūtra). In: Haneda, 1958, 183–205. [Essay from the year 1953].

65 Haneda Tōru, "Kaikotsu yakuhon anne no kusharon jitsugisō" (Uyghur translation of the Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṭīkā-tattvārtha-nāma by Sthiramati). In: Haneda, 1958, 148–182. [Essay from the year 1925.].

66 Haneda, Tōru, "Niraku sōsho daiichigo o yomu" (Reading the first number of Niraku sōsho). In: Haneda, Tōru, *Haneda hakushi shigaku ronbunshū* (Collection of historical essays by Professor Haneda) 2: *Gengo shūkyōhen* (Volume Language and Religion) (Kyōto: 1958), contains pp. 1–38 the first publication: *Kaikotsu monjikō* (Studies on the Uyghur Alphabet), a section of Haneda's Dissertation from the year 1916(?).], 546–552. From now on Haneda, 1958; Mori, Masao, "Uigurubun budōen uriwatashi monjo" (Uyghur legal document about the sale of a vineyard). In: *Tōyō gakuhō* (Oriental Journal) 42,4 (1960): 22–50. [Reedition of Haneda, 1916.].

67 Haneda, Tōru, "Toruban shutsudo kaikotsubun manikyōto kiganmon no dankan" (Fragment of an Uyghur Manichean prayer). In: Haneda 1958, 325–347. [Essay from the year 1930].

philology is that on the Uyghur Alphabet,[68] which initially constituted a part of Haneda Tōru's PhD thesis.[69] Haneda Tōru has left behind a large collection of photographs of Uyghur texts whose originals have mostly gone missing. The photographs that are left are currently preserved at the library of the Kyōto University (Kyōto daigaku)[70] and at the Haneda-memorial site (Haneda kinenkan)[71] in Kyōto.

Until he became emeritus, Mori Masao (born in 1921)[72] worked—from 1955 as assistant and from 1970 as professor—at the State University Tōkyō (Tōkyō Daigaku), which, together with the Kyōto University may be regarded as the heartland of historically oriented Central Asian studies. Mori was already dealing with the history of the Göktürk Khanate by the end of the 1940s and this constituted the core theme of his studies. Only from the early 1960s did he also deal more intensively with philological questions. Masao Mori also worked together in the Winter semester of 1962/63 and the Summer semester of 1963 with Annemarie v. Gabain in Hamburg,[73] just as several other colleagues before and after him did. Given our context, it is especially his numerous studies[74] regarding the formula of Uyghur legal documents that are of

68 Haneda, Tōru "Niraku sōsho daiichigo o yomu" (Reading the first number of Niraku sōsho). In: Haneda, Tōru, *Haneda hakushi shigaku ronbunshū* (Collection of historical essays by Professor Haneda). 2: *Gengo shūkyōhen* (Volume 'Language and Religion) (Kyōto: 1958), contains pages 1–38 the first publication: *Kaikotsu monjikō* (Studies on the Uyghur Alphabet), a section of Haneda's Dissertation from the year 1916(?).], 546–552. From now on Haneda, 1958. The first-time publication of this study occurred obviously after the death of its author.

69 This study constituted Part III of Haneda's Dissertation, *Tōdai no kaikotsu ni kansuru kenkyū* (Explorations about the Uyghurs of the T'ang-Period), which must have been finalized either in 1916 or shortly afterwards.

70 The facsimiles at the library of the Faculty of Literature of the Kyōto University, which Shōgaito (Shōgaito 1979a, 254) refers to, are obviously part of this collection.

71 According to viva voce information given by Kōgi Kudara, the Genzan-Fragments (Kudara 1983) published by him, stem from these fonds.

72 Short biography in *Chuang Shao-T'ang*, sup., 180f.

73 Back then the author had the chance to be a student of A. v. Gabain himself.

74 Mori Masao, "Uigurubun shōhi taishaku monjo" (Uyghur legal documents on loans for purposes of consumption). In: *Chūōajia kodaigo bunken, (1961a)*: 221–254; Mori Masao, "A Study on Uygur documents of loans for consumption." In: *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (the Oriental Library)* 20 (1961b): 111–148;

Mori Masao, "Uigurubun baibai monjo, tokuni sono urinushi to kainushi to ni tsuite" (The Uyghur sales-documents, specifically about the seller and buyer). In: *Yūboku shakaishi tankyū* (Studies on the history of Nomad societies) 9 (1961c), 1–18;

fundamental significance and need to be pointed out here. In connection with those studies, Mori also re-edited some documents in an improved manner.[75]

In his later years Mori devoted himself also to the philological interpretation of texts written in Turkish runic script,[76] and he counts today as the prevailing Japanese runic-expert. The last study that will be cited here has been dedicated to the colophons and chapter headings of the Uyghur Golden Light Sutra.[77]

Historian Moriyasu Takao (born in 1948)—who, since 1973 has been dealing with questions on the history of Turkish people from old Central Asia—is another member of the University of Tōkyō. He made his mark in 1974 when

Mori Masao, "Uigurubun baibai monjo ni okeru baibai tanpo bunden" (Security Clause in the Uyghur Sales-Documents). In: *Tōyō Gakuhō* (Oriental Journal) 44, 2 (1961d): 1–23;

Mori Masao, "Sïčï to shishi" [Uig. *Sïčï* and chin. *ssŭ chih*]. In: *Wada hakushi koki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* (Anthology of essays on oriental history in memory of the 70th birthday of Professor Wada). (Tōkyō: 1961e), 959–970;

Mori Masao, "Futatabi uigurubun shōhi taishaku monjo ni tsuite" (Once more on the Uyghur documents about loan for consumption purposes). In: *Zenkindai ajia no hō to shakai. Niida Noboru hakushi tsuitō ronbunshū* (Law and society in pre-modern Asia. Essay collection in memory of Professor Noboru Niida) (Tōkyō: 1967): 235–266.

75 Mori Masao, "Uigurubun budōen uriwatashi monjo" (Uyghur legal document about the sale of a vineyard). In: *Tōyō gakuhō* (Oriental Journal) 42,4 (1960): 22–50. [Reedition of Haneda, 1916.];

Mori Masao, "Uigurubun baibai monjo, tokuni sono urinushi to kainushi to ni tsuite" (The Uyghur sales-documents, specifically about the seller and buyer). In: *Yūboku shakaishi tankyū* (Studies on the history of Nomad societies) 9 (1961c): 1–18. [Re-published in: *Nairiku ajiashi ronshū* (Anthology of essays about the history of Central Asia) (Tōkyō: 1964). This is a re-edition of a document (No. 16) from Radloff's "Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler", partially revised by Yamada, 1972;

Mori Masao, "Gendai uigurubun tochi baibai monjo ittsū" (An Uyghur land sale document from the time of Yüan). In: *Iwai hakushi koki kinen tenseki ronshū* (Essay collection in memory of the 70th birthday of Professor Iwai). Tōkyō, (1963): 712–727. Re-edition of a document first edited by Fêng Chia-Shêng, then subsequently edited by Umemura 1977.

76 Mori Masao, "Mongoria shutsudo goshusen no tokkutsu monji meibunkō" (Study on the runic-Turkish legend of Wu-shu coins from Mongolia). In: *Kōkogaku jānaru* (Archeological Journal) 92 (1974): 2–5.

Mori Masao, "Sūji hibun no ichi kaishaku, tokuni saisho no sangyō ni tsuite" (An interpretation of the inscription of Sudji, especially of the first three lines). In: *Enoki hakushi kanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* (Anthology of essays about the Oriental history in memory of the 60th birthday of Professor Enoki) (Tōkyō: 1975), 322–329.

77 Mori Masao, "Uigurugoyaku konkōmyōsaishōōkyō" (The Uyghur translation of the Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra). In: *Shigaku zasshi* (Historical Journal) 71, 9 (1962): 343 (66)–358 (81).

he re-edited a stake-inscription from Berlin (with a remarkable new dating).[78] Following his stay in Paris where he had studied and conducted research between 1978 and 1980, Moriyasu's philological edition of a letter fragment in Uyghur[79] and a Uyghur "Catechism" in Tibetan script[80] also became known. Very important is his hand list of the Parisian Uigurica from the Pelliot collection, which is accompanied by the edition of some Uyghur fragments of that collection.[81] Moriyasu's transcription, or rather his transliteration, reveals the impact of James Hamilton. Since the spring of 1984, Moriyasu has been working as Professor at the Ōsaka University, where he has succeeded Nobuo Yamada.[82]

The historians at Tōkyō University—insofar as they are interested in East Asia—keep a close connection to the Research Institute Tōyō bunko ("Oriental Library"). This collaboration is manifested, for example, in an encyclopedic work about Tun-huang (Dunhuang), edited especially by the professors of the University and the executive director of the Tōyō bunko.[83] That part of the work which is relevant for Turkology has been prepared by Moriyasu Takao.[84]

Umemura Hiroshi (born in 1946) who recently became professor at the private Risshō-University (Risshō daigaku) in Tōkyō is also an avocational

78 Moriyasu Takao, "Uiguru bukkyōshi shiryō to shite no bōgui monjo" (Pole inscriptions as material for the history of Uyghur Buddhism). In: *Shigaku zasshi* (Historical Journal) 83,4 (1974): 392 (38)-408(54).

79 Moriyasu Takao, "An Uyghur Buddhist's letter of the Yüan dynasty from Tun-huang (Supplement to 'Uigurica from Tun-huang')." In: *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 40 (1982), 1–18. [Title of the Japanese version: "Gendai uiguru bukkyōto no ichi shokan.") In: *Nairiku ajia nishi ajia no shakai to bunka* (Society and culture of Central and West Asia). Tōkyō, (1983): 209–231..

80 Moriyasu Takao, "Chibetto monji de kakareta uigurubun bukkyō kyōri mondō (P.t. 1292) no kenkyū" (Studies on a Buddhist Uyghur catechism in Tibetan script). In: *Ōsaka daigaku bungakubu kiyō. Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters, Ōsaka University* 25 (1985a): 1–85, without knowing about the one year before published work of Maue-Röhrborn in *ZDMG* 134 [1984], 286–313.

81 Moriyasu Takao, "Uigurugo bunken" (Uyghur literature). In: *Kōza tonkō* (Seminar on Tun-huang). Vol. 6: Yamaguchi, Zuihō (ed.): *Tonkō kogo bunken* (The non-Chinese literature of Tun-huang). Tōkyō (1985b): 1–98, cf. notice in: Ural-altaische Jahrbücher NF.6 [1986], 313.

82 According to an announcement of Moriyasu made by letter on 11.3.1984.

83 *Kōza tonkō* (Seminar about Tun-huang). Vol. 1–9 Tōkyō 1980 ff. Until 1985, the Volumes No. 1–4, 6 and 8 were released. Volume 1 and 2 were published by Enoki Kazuo, who, at that time was the director of Tōyō bunko, and Volume 3, 5 and 6 by professors of the University of Tōkyō. For the content of single Volumes compare the notice in: *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher* NF.6 (1986), 312.

84 Moriyasu Takao, "Uigurugo bunken" (Uyghur literature). In: *Kōza tonkō* (Seminar on Tun-huang). Vol. 6: Yamaguchi, Zuihō (ed.): *Tonkō kogo bunken* (The non-Chinese literature of Tun-huang). Tōkyō (1985b): 1–98, cf. notice in: Ural-altaische Jahrbücher NF.6 [1986], 313.

historian. His scientific activity takes place within the frame of Tōyō Bunko, which has—except for the director—no professorship positions. Umemura has become renowned as an expert for Uyghur legal documents. He was the first person to analyze the forfeit-clauses of the Uyghur contracts in detail, and showed that those clauses contain leads that could be used in the age determination of the certificates.[85] In 1979 he made a journey to Sinkiang and returned with information about the status of the local Turfan-research and the Uigurica in the museum of Urumqi, and in the so-called "exhibition hall" of Turfan. The major part of his report[86] concerning the journey is made up of five Uyghur legal documents, which Umemura could copy at the "exhibition hall" in Turfan. Among his newest studies we can count a transcription of a Uyghur stake-inscription stemming from the findings of the Ōtani-expeditions,[87] as well as the revision of the Uyghur "Family-Archive" from the Leningrad Collection.

Historian Yamada Nobuo (born in 1920)[88] worked between 1959 and 1984 at the University of Ōsaka (Ōsaka daigaku), first as assistant, and then as professor. Starting in the year 1951 he made a name for himself through his publications about the history of the Göktürks and Uyghurs. His first work featuring philological concern was the edition of the fragments of *Säkiz-yükmäk-Sūtra* from the collection of the Ryūkoku University.[89] Yamada regularly edited the

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85 Umemura Hiroshi, "Iyakubatsu nōkan mongon no aru uiguru monjo, tokuni sono sakusei chiiki to nendai no kettei ni tsuite" (Uyghur documents with forfeit-clauses, especially on the determination of the time and place of their composition). In: *Tōyō gakuhō* (Oriental Journal) 58, 3–4 (1977): 502 (01)-463 (040).

86 Umemura Hiroshi, "Torubanken tenrankan tenji kaikotsubun kōmonjo" (Official Uyghur Documents of an exhibition in the exhibition hall of Turfan). In: *Nakajima Satoshi sensei koki kinen ronshū* (Festschrift for the 70th birthday of Prof. Nakajima Satoshi). Vol. 2. Tōkyō, (1981): 45–66.

87 Umemura Hiroshi, "Ōtani tankentai shōrai uiguru meibun mokuhen" (A wooden piece with Uyghur inscription from the funds of the Ōtani-Expeditions). In: Mori Masao, (ed.): *Nairiku ajia nishi ajia no shakai to bunka* (Society and culture of Central and West Asia) Tōkyō: 1983), 133–159. [Title of the English version: "A Wooden fragment with Uighur inscription preserved in the Tōkyō National Museum." In: *Memoirs of the research department of the Toyo Bunko* 41 (1983): 63–82.];

Umemura, Hiroshi, "Uiguru monjo 'SJ Kr. 4/638': Konrei, sōgi hiyō no kiroku." [Engl. subtitle: "A Re-examination of the Uyghur document 'SJ Kr. 4/638': an account book concerning weddings and funerals."] In: *Risshō daigaku kyōyōbu kiyō* (Journal of the Faculty of Arts of the Risshō University) 20 (March 1987): 35–87.

88 Short biography in *Chuang Shao-T'ang*, sup., 369.

89 Yamada Nobuo, "Uigurubun tenchihachiyōshinjukyō danpen, ryūkoku daigaku shozō ōtani tankentai shōrai monjo. Fu: Seihoku kagaku kōsadan shōrai monjo" (Fragments of the Uigur Dhāraṇī-Sūtra *Yerli t(ä)ŋrili säkiz yükmäk yarok;* pieces from the funds of the Ōtani-Expeditions belonging to the Ryūkoku University. Appendix: Documents from the

Uigurica catalog of the Ryūkoku University[90] with Haneda Akira in 1961, and since that time he has published a number of articles on the formula of Uyghur legal documents.[91] In those articles or in other separate studies of him,[92] there are also Uyghur documents edited or reedited. In this regard, his studies about

findings of the Scientific Research Group North-West). In: *Tōyō gakuhō* (Oriental Journal) 40,4 (1958): 79–97.

90 Haneda Akira and Nobuo Yamada, "Ōtani tankentai shōrai uiguruji shiryō mokuroku" (Catalog of the material in Uyghur script found in the Ōtani-Expeditions) In: *Chūōajia kodaigo bunken*, (1961): 171–206.

91 Yamada Nobuo, "Ōtani tankentai shōrai uigurubun baibai taishaku monjo" (Uyghur sale and loan documents from the funds of the Ōtani-Expeditions). In: *Chūōajia kodaigo bunken*, (1961b): 207–220. [Engl. version: Yamada 1964.];

Yamada Nobuo, "Uigurubun baibai keiyakusho no shoshiki." [Engl. subtitle: "Forms of contract note in Uyghur documents."] In: *Rekishi to bijutsu no shomondai. Miscellaneous essays on the art and history of Central Asia and Tun-huang* (Kyōto: 1963a): *Seiiki bunka kenkyū. Monumenta Serindica*. 6. Appendix, 27–62. [Engl. version: Yamada 1964.];

Yamada Nobuo, "Uigurubun taishaku keiyakusho no shoshiki." [Engl. subtitle: "The Forms of the Uighur documents of loan contracts."] In: *Ōsaka daigaku bungakubu kiyō. Memoirs of the Faculty of letters, Ōsaka University* 11 (1965): 89–216;

Yamada Nobuo, "Uigurubun nuhi monjo oyobi yōshi monjo." [Engl. subtitle: "Uighur documents of slaves and adopted sons."] In: *Ōsaka daigaku bungakubu kiyō. Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters, Ōsaka University* 16 (1972a): 163–268;

Yamada Nobuo, "Uigurubun hitojichi monjo" (Uyghur documents about the pledging of people). In: *Yamamoto tatsurō hakushi kanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* (Collection of essays on the history of the Orient in memory of the 60th birthday of Professor Tatsurō Yamamoto). Tōkyō (1972b): 495–508;

Yamada Nobuo, "Uiguru monjo, shiryō to kenkyū" (The Uyghur documents, the material and the research). In: Yamada, Nobuo (ed.): *Chūō yūrashia bunka kenkyū no kadai to hōhō* (Problems and methodology in the study of Central Asian culture). Ōsaka (1975a): 30–39.

92 Yamada Nobuo, "Kaikotsu hintsū (zenhin) baishinkei sanshu" (Three Uyghur documents about the sale of (the slave) Pin-t'ung (Shan-pin)). In: *Tōyōshi kenkyū* (Studies on the history of the Orient) 27.2 (1968a): 199(79)–224(104);

Yamada Nobuo, "Isutanbūru daigaku toshokan shozō higashi torukisutan shutsudo monjo-rui, tokuni uiguru monjo ni tsuite." [Engl. subtitle: "On the manuscripts from East Turkestan preserved in the library of Istanbul University; especially on Uighur documents."] In: *Seinan ajia kenkyū* (South-west Asiatic Studies) 20 (1968b): 11–32;

Yamada Nobuo, "Borumishu monjo" (Documents on Bolmıš). In: *Matsuda hakushi koki kinen ronshū: 'Tōzai bunka kōryūshi'* (Anthology of essays in memory of the 70th birthday of Professor Matsuda: 'History of cultural exchange between east and west') (Tōkyō: 1975b): 421–432;

Yamada Nobuo, "Kaiimutu monjo no koto" (The Problem of the Kayımtu documents). In: *Tōyōshi kenkyū* (Studies in the history of the Orient) 34,4 (1976): 514 (32)–539 (57).

Turkish sigillography,[93] and Uyghur weights and measures[94] as well as his hand list of the Istanbul collection Uigurica[95] are also important.

The Linguistic School

A linguistically oriented Turkology in Japan developed just after the Second World War and Hattori Shirō reported on this in 1973–1974.[96] We shall not repeat his remarks here, but confine ourselves to pointing out the most outstanding names once more: firstly, there is Hattori (born in 1908)[97] himself, who was proficient in a number of Altaic languages and earned a reputation within the realm of Turkology by his studies about the Tatars.[98] Shibata Takeshi has dealt with the Salar language, and further with the phonology of the Turkish runic Texts. He has written about the declination of New Uyghur as well as about the language reform in Turkey, whereas Kobayashi Takashirō and Satō Makoto have devoted themselves to the study of Turkish stories and epics. We owe the philological transcription of Turkish stone inscriptions to the Mongolist and Altaist Shichirō Murayama, who carried out studies about Nestorian-Turkish gravestone inscriptions.[99]

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93 Yamada Nobuo, "Tamuga (inshō) zakkō" (Studies on tamga (seal)). In: Wada hakushi koki kinen tōyōshi ronsō (Anthology of essays on Oriental history in memory of the 70th birthday of Professor Wada). Tōkyō (1961a): 1017–1025; Yamada Nobuo, "Tamgha—and nishan-form of Uighurian contract discovered in East Turkestan." In: *Trudy dvadcat' pjatogo meždunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov, Moskva 9–16 avgusta 1960.* T. 3: *Zasedanija sekcij* X, XI, XIII. Moscow (1963b): 321–323. [Preliminary edition of Yamada 1978.];

Yamada Nobuo, "The Private seal and mark on the Uigur documents." In: Sinor, Denis (ed.): Aspects of Altaic civilisation. (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1963c) (Indiana University publications. Uralic and Altaic series. 23.), 253–259. [Preliminary edition of Yamada 1978.].

94 Yamada Nobuo, "Four notes on several names for weights and measures in Uighur documents." In: L. Ligeti (ed.): *Studia Turcica.* Budapest 1971: (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica. 17.) 491–498.

95 Yamada Nobuo, "Isutanbūru daigaku toshokan shozō higashi torukisutan shutsudo monjo-rui, tokuni uiguru monjo ni tsuite." [Engl. subtitle: "On the manuscripts from East Turkestan preserved in the library of Istanbul University; especially on Uighur documents."] In: *Seinan ajia kenkyū* (South-west Asiatic Studies) 20 (1968b): 11–32.

96 Shirō Hattori, "The Studies of the Turkic languages in Japan after world war II," *Türk dili araştırmaları yıllığı—Belleten* 1973–1974, p. 25–39. Re-published in: *Sciences of language. The Journal of the Tokyo Institute for Advanced Studies of Language* 6 (Dec. 1975), 187–195.

97 Short biography in Chuang Shao-T'ang, sup., 123.

98 Hattori's wife is a Tatar.

99 For bibliographical notes see the essay cited in fn. 96.

Two further names shall be quoted here, which Hattori does not refer to: Ishihama Juntarō (1888–1968) and Shōgaito Masahiro (born in 1942). The former was actually a Sinologist, who however also occupied himself with Mongolian and with the Tangut languages.[100] He was able to identify the text in Radloff's *Kuan-ši-im Pusar* imprinted as "Appendix III" as the Uyghur translation of the *Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna*, and prepare a translation of this text, after having placed the sheets in the right order.[101]

Up to 1980, Shōgaito Masahiro was active at the state University of Kyōto (Kyōto daigaku) and has been teaching since then at the "High School for Foreign Languages at Kōbe" (Kōbeshi gaikokugo daigaku), for the last few years as professor. The main emphasis of his studies centers on the field of Old Turkish and he has worked on various Uyghur texts with different literary forms.[102] A special mention is due to his editions[103] of Uyghur Āgama-Texts, through which this particular text genre became known for the first time. In

100 Short biography in Chuang Shao-T'ang, sup., p. 387f.

101 Ishihama, Juntarō. "Kaikotsubun fugen gyōganbon zankan." In: *Haneda hakushi shōju kinen tōyōshi ronsō.* [Engl. subtitle: *Asiatic studies in honour of Tōru Haneda, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, May 15. 1942.*] (1950): 63–73.

102 Shōgaito Masahiro, "Uigurugo shahon daiei hakubutsukanzō Or. 8212(109) ni tsuite" (On the Uyghur manuscript Or. 8212 (109) of the British Museum). In: *Tōyō gakuhō* (Oriental Journal) 56,1 (1974): 044–057.Thoroughly revised edition of the complete works by Kara-Zieme, meanwhile reedited by Kara-Zieme;

Shōgaito Masahiro, "Uigurugo shahon daiei hakubutsukanzō Or. 8212(108) ni tsuite" (On the Uyghur manuskript Or. 8212(108) of the British Museum). In: *Tōyō gakuhō* (Oriental Journal) 57, 1–2 (Dec. 1976a): 272 (017)–254 (035). [Thoroughly revised edition of the complete works by Şinasi Tekin.]; Shōgaito Masahiro, "Uigurugo shahon 'Kannonkyōsōō,' Kannonkyō ni kansuru '*avadāna*'" (The Uyghur work *Kuan-yin-ching-hsiang-ying,* an Avadāna, which refers to the *Kuan-yin-Sūtra*). In: *Tōyō gakuhō* (Oriental Journal) 58, 1–2 (1976b): 258 (01)–222 (037) [Thoroughly revised in Shōgaito, 1982, Part 1.] meanwhile revised by Shōgaito 1982b, Part 1;

Shōgaito Masahiro, "Ein uigurisches Fragment eines Beichttextes." In: Klaus Röhrborn and Horst Wilfried Brands (ed.): *Scholia. Beiträge zur Turkologie und Zentralasienkunde, Annemarie von Gabain zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Juli 1981.* (Wiesbaden: 1981b): (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica. 14.) 163–169.

103 Shōgaito Masahiro, "Uigurugo bunken 'Agonkyō' bassui butten ni tsuite" (On the excerpt texts from the Uyghur *Āgama-sūtra*). In: *Kōbe gaidai ronsō* (Treatises of the Academy of Foreign Languages in Kōbe) 31,1 (1980a): 1–22. [Revised by Shōgaito 1982 b, Part 2; Facsimile only in Shōgaito, 1980.];

Shōgaito Masahiro, "Uigurubun 'Chūagonkyō' danpen shiyō ni tsuite" (On four fragmentary sheets of the Uyghur *Madhyamāgama-sūtra*). In: *Kōbe gaidai ronsō* (Treatises of the Academy of Foreign Languages in Kōbe) 32,1 (1981a): 87–105. [Revised by Shōgaito, 1982b, Part 2.].

his last publication[104] on this issue, he also discussed in detail the question of the use of Chinese Ideograms in Uyghur texts as well as the problem of the "sinicized Syntax" in late Uyghur. Beyond that, Shōgaito concerned himself with the Indian calques in Old Turkish[105] and with the history of the Old Turkish vowel system.[106] Within this realm, he is the one to indicate for the first time that in certain Buddhist texts, which, due to particular orthographic or phonetic features, do show a resemblance to Manichean texts, a relatively high proportion of Sogdian mediated loanwords from the Sanskrit can be noticed. It is exactly this phenomenon that has been systematically analyzed—independent of Shōgaito—by Jens Peter Laut in his latest book.[107] A second point of emphasis laid in Shōgaito's work is the Turkish of the Islamized Tarim Basin, following the demise of the Buddhist-Uyghur culture. Two publications[108] deal with the so-called "Glossary of the Uyghur [Translator]-Bureau (畏兀兒館譯語 *Weiwuer guan Yiyu*)." This is one of the three multi-lingual collections of words, and foreign-language documents that were used during the Ming-era (1368–1644) under the title *Hua-i i-yü* ("Chinese-Foreign-language Glossaries"). The Turkish language material of the 畏兀兒館譯語 *Weiwuer guan Yiyu*, which

104 Shōgaito Masahiro, "Uigurugo, uigurugo bunken no kenkyū. 1: 'Kannonkyō ni fusawashii san-pen no Avadāna' oyobi Agonkyō'ni tsuite." [Engl. subtitle: "On the two Buddhist Uyghur texts: with special reference to the three avadānas suitable to Avalokiteśvara-sūtra and Āgama-sūtra]." *Kōbeshi gaikokugo daigaku kenkyū sōsho* /(Research-Series of the Academy for Foreign Languages in Kōbe) Kōbe: (1982b). 12.) [Facsimile of Part 2 of this work, partially in: Shōgaito 1980: Taf. 1–9; related glossary: Shōgaito 1984a.], cf. Notice in: Ural-altaische Jahrbücher NF. 4 (1984), 315; extensive discussion in: *Central Asiatic Journal* 29 [1985], 85–97. Indices to this work: Shōgaito 1984a.

105 Shōgaito Masahiro, "Kodai uigurugo ni okeru indo raigen shakuyō goi no dōnyū keiro ni tsuite." [Engl. subtitle: On the routes of the loan words of Indic origin in the Old Uyghur language.] In: *Ajia, afurika gengo bunka kenkyū. Journal of Asian and African studies* 15 (1978): 79–110.

106 Shōgaito Masahiro, "Kodai torukogo *n* hōgen ni okeru *ï/i* no teiboinka ni tsuite" (On the reduction of *ı/i* in the Old-Turkish *n*-dialect). In: *Kōbe gaidai ronsō* (Treatises of the Academy of Foreign Languages in Kōbe) 33,3 (1982a): 39–57, cf. Notice in: *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher* NF. 4 [1984], 314 f.

107 Cf. fn. 44.

108 Shōgaito Masahiro, "Wigorukan yakugo' churukugo no seikaku ni tsuite" (On the character of the Turkish of *Wei-wu-êrh-kuan i-yü*). In: *Kōbe gaidai ronsō* (Treatises of the Academy of Foreign Languages in Kōbe) 33,5 (1982c): 21–37; "'Wigorukan yakugo'no kenkyū, mindai uiguru kōgo no saikō." [Engl. subtitle: "A Study of the Chinese-Uigur vocabulary Wei-wu-er-guan Yi-yu."] In: *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū. Studies on the Inner Asian languages.* 1. Kōbe (1983): [corr. 1984b]. (*Gaikoku-gaku kenkyū* /Scientific studies on foreign countries). 14.) 51–172, cf. Notice in: *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher* NF. 6 [1986], 314.

was first treated by Shōgaito, does not reflect the medieval literary language from the "Klaproth List," but a kind of colloquial language of those times. The same colloquial language could be reconstructed by Shōgaito, by using the language material of the 五體清文鑑 *Wuti qingwenjian*, a glossary in five languages stemming from the end of the 18th century, which Shōgaito had already examined in 1979.[109]

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109 Shōgaito Masahiro, "Gotai shinbunkan' 18 seiki shinuigurugo no seikaku ni tsuite" (On the character of the New Uyghur of *Wu-t'i ch'ing-wen-chien*). In: *Gengo kenkyū* (Linguistic Studies) 75 (1979b): 31–53.

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CHAPTER 13

Appendix to the "The Beginning of Turkish Philology and Linguistics in Japan"

Mehmet Ölmez

The studies carried out on Turkish philology in Japan, most notably since their inception until 1988 and specifically the studies on Old Uyghur were assessed in great detail by K. Röhrborn. The full list of supplementary studies done in addition to that assessment was also included in the work. Since then new works have been published, and new scholars have started to work in the field. Here, I will briefly discuss the recent works of the scholars who were mentioned in the assessment of K. Röhrborn and also introduce the new scholars. The bibliography given here is based on the bibliography that was prepared under the chairmanship of Jens Peter Laut.[1]

Of those who were mentioned in K. Röhrborn's analysis, Kōgi Kudara, Masao Moriyasu, Juten Oda, Masahiro Shōgaito and Hiroshi Umemura have published many papers and books related to their fields of study during the period in question. To mention them in order, K. Kudara has analyzed and published several texts on different subjects ranging from Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya fragments to Āgama fragments (mainly on the 5th group). M. Moriyasu, on the other hand, has made detailed studies and published a book on Old Uyghur Manichaeism, and the administration and economic systems of Buddhist and Manichean temples (mainly the 6th group). J. Oda has mainly studied the fragments and different manuscripts of *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk Sudur* (天地八陽神呪経), an apocryphal writing, since he began his studies and published it in 2010 with a Japanese translation after comparing all copies and fragments with each other.

1 *Bibliographie alttürkischer Studien*, Ausgewählt und chronologisch angeordnet von Volker Adam, Jens Peter Laut und Andreas Weiss. Nebst einem Anhang: *Alphabetisches Siglenverzeichnis zu Klaus Röhrborn: Uigurisches Wörterbuch, Lieferung 1–6 (1977–1998)* (Wiesbaden 2000). (Orientalistik Bibliographien und Dokumentationen. 9.) Supplements and compliments added after the year 2000 were published in *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, Neue Folge* under the name "Nachträge und Neuzugänge." The bibliography is accessible online at: http://turfan.bbaw.de/texte-en/bibliographie-alttuerkischer-studien.

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M. Shogaito has studied articles and books related to Chinese texts in Uyghur script, Chinese loan words in Uyghur and the methods and rules of borrowing those words, and the interpretation of *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-ṭīkā Tattvārthā* in Old Uyghur. In relation to the above mentioned works, he most notably evaluated the fragments that are under protection in St. Petersburg. In addition, M. Shogaito edited the St. Petersburg fragments of *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* together with Lilia Tugusheva and Setsu Fujishiro. Finally, H. Umemura studied Uyghur legal documents.

As of 2000, three new scholars joined the names mentioned above: Dai Matsui (born 1969) worked mainly on Uyghur legal documents and the economic history of the Uyghurs, and he published the related Uyghur documents with explanatory notes. We can add the studies of Matsui to the 6th group, "The Historical School," in K. Röhrborn's analysis. Currently, Matsui works at Hirosaki University, in Aomori, in the north of Japan. The second name is Yukiyo Kasai (born 1976) who is from the same tradition as Matsui, from the school of T. Moriyasu. Kasai completed her postgraduate studies, which she began in Japan, under the supervision of P. Zieme in Berlin. Kasai's studies belong mainly to the 7th group, "The Linguistic School." Her outstanding studies are those on the colophons found at the end of the Old Uyghur manuscripts and those on Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-Sūtra. Currently she works at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Turfanforschung Centre. Lastly, we should name Kōichi Kitsudo (born in 1971) who is from the 5th group, "The Buddhological School." K. Kitsudo's studies may be associated with the tradition of K. Kudara. He works today at Ryukoku Daigaku as Research Fellow of the Research Institute for Buddhist Culture (Kyōtō).

In connection with all of these studies on Uyghur, we can refer to the studies and neighboring research areas which are not essentially concerned with Uyghur but comprise the studies related to the Uyghurs and the Uyghur language. With regard to the subject which we will refer to as the "Scholars of neighboring disciplines," Yutaka Yoshida (born in 1954) and his studies on the Uyghur-Sogdian relations come to prominence. Yoshida's main area of study at Kyōtō Daigaku is on the Sogdian language and culture works.

The number of studies being made on the Old Turkic language and culture in Japan is gradually increasing. Consequently, the bibliography given here will soon be outdated. However, the studies that have been mentioned can be followed by making use of the up-to-date bibliography of Jens Peter Laut that we have referred to above.

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CHAPTER 14

F. Beato Beyond Empires: Flaneur, Photo Reporter, Merchant

Banu Kaygusuz

The historicity of the image derived from its link to the history of the individual. Ultimately, of course, this relationship was reciprocal: each confirmed the testimony of the other.[1]

This article focuses on one of the photographers who contributed to the "transnational processes"[2] and whose photographic careers connected the Ottoman Empire and Japan, *Dai Nippon*,[3] of the long-nineteenth century. Felice Beato (1834–1907) was the epitome of these transnational photographers who were active beyond the vague and fluid boundaries of the empires, and who were the key figures in the transmission of knowledge, experience, technologies and viewpoints through photographs and photographic networks.

The approach to the accumulation of experience and work left behind by people who lived their lives across borders was prone to have a romanticized nature. Rather than adopting such an attitude in a paroxysm of nostalgia, these figures deserve to be treated as case studies with respect to the cultural interactions of their journeys as in the notion of "transmigrant", which is defined by Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller ... Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc as immigrants who develop and maintain multiple relations—familial, economic,

1 Jülide Aker. "Sight-Seeing: Photography of the Middle East and Its Audiences." In *Harvard University Art Museum Gallery Series 30* (Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums), 2000, 2–13.

2 Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc define "transnationalism" as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. It is these transnational processes referred here in a cultural context. Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, eds. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1993), 7.

3 The *Dai Nippon* is the abbreviation of *Dai Nippon Teikoku* 大日本帝国, which can be translated as the Empire of Japan or the Great Imperial Nation of Japan.

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social, organizational, religious, and political—that span geographic, cultural, and political borders.[4]

> Felice Beato, a Venetian photographer already famous for his war reporting, opened a studio in Yokohama, and within 20 years has assembled an exceptional archive of material on Japan, a society in full flux: landscapes and monuments, dignitaries, street scenes and scenes of everyday life.
>
> Pierre Loti, an unregenerate traveler and a celebrated novelist, arrived in Japan, and after initial reservations, soon fell under its spell. Casting a nostalgic gaze on a world that was changing under his very eyes, he painted a fascinating portrait of Japan, its landscapes and ceremonies, in *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887) and *Japoneries d'automne* (1889).[5]

In her book *Once Upon a Time, The Japan of Pierre Loti*, Chantal Edel reconfigures the nostalgic image of Japan through the visual and textual narrations of Levantine photographer Felice Beato and French writer Pierre Loti (1850–1923). This is a collage of Beato's photographs and fragments of Loti's novels, which were arranged as the captions to those photographs. Edel's collage is deficient in sketching out the whole perspective of the lives of these figures, due to its romanticized approach and its emphasis solely on the Japanese phase of the journeys of Beato and Loti. The former began his photographic career in Constantinople as an assistant of photographer-engraver James Robertson (1813–1888), who also ended up in Japan. Loti produced his novels, *Aziyade* (1876), and *Le Roman d'un Spahi* (1881), while an inhabitant of this Ottoman megalopolis. To trace Pierre Loti's pursuit of his imaginary "Orient"[6] in the Ottoman lands and in Japan, which was personified in the characters of tragic romances set in the exotic locations of his novels,[7] necessitates a comprehensive research and deserves to be treated in an another article. Yet it is essential to depict the complete, interwoven journey of photographer Felice Beato, to illustrate the cultural, social, and economic networks of this transmigrant who itinerated from Constantinople to Yokohama in order to present the cultural transnational context of his photography.

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4 Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, eds. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1993), 7.

5 Chantal Edel, ed. *Mukashi-mukashi: Le Japon de Pierre Loti, photograpies par Beato et Stillfried* (Paris: Les éditions Arthaud), 1984.

6 Linda Nochlin. "The Imaginary Orient." *Art in America* (May 1983): 119–131, 186–191.

7 Michael G. Lerner. "Pierre Loti's Mon Frère Yves and Zola's Naturalism." *Romance Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (1994): 204–208.

Born in Corfu—at that time a British protectorate—Felice Beato was a "Levantine"[8] who resided in Constantinople during his adolescent years. A Beato family, including a Felice Beato, aged 10, was registered with the British Consul in Constantinople in 1844.[9] According to Okabe Masayuki, Beato was using the name "Felix" by virtue of his British "citizenship."[10] Yet during an autobiographical talk that Felice Beato gave to the London and Provincial Photographic Society on February 18th, 1886, he was introduced as "a Venetian by birth, but now a naturalized Englishman."[11]

Felice Beato and his younger brother, Antonio, learned the techniques of photography from their master, and later brother-in-law, James Robertson (1813–1888), accompanying him on many excursions in Constantinople, Athens, and Jerusalem. Felice Beato first achieved a reputation during the photographic expedition of the Crimean War in 1855, as the assistant of Robertson who substituted for another British photographer, Roger Fenton, after Fenton had health problems.[12] Beato's next outstanding assignment was to photograph the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny, or the Sepoy Rebellion, of 1857.[13]

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8 İlber Ortaylı explains that Levantine was perceived as the Italian, Catalan and French residents in the Ottoman Empire, who came from the Mediterranean, and that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the word encompassed the people from Europe, who settled in the Ottoman lands. İlber Ortaylı. *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 2006, p. 23. According to Edhem Eldem, the "Levantine" was the "other" of the Ottoman Empire. Edhem Eldem. "'Levanten' Kelimesi Üzerine." In *Avrupalı mı Levanten mi?* eds., Arus Yumul and Fahri Dikkaya (Istanbul: Bağlam, 2006), pp. 11–22. For the Levantine network and neighborhoods in Istanbul from a contemporary perspective, see Bertrand Bareilles. *Constantinople: Ses Cités Franques et Levantines* (Paris: Edition Bossard), 1918.

9 Colin Osman. "The Beato Brothers, with reference to some of their lesser known images." *Photoresearcher*, No. 7(2004): 11–13.

10 Okabe Masayuki 岡部昌幸, "Bakumatsu Rainichi Shahinka Biyato no Kenkyū." 幕末来日写真家ビヤトの研究、*Meiji Bijutsu Kenkyū Gakkai Dai 17 Kai Kenkyū Hōkoku*, 明治美術研究学会第 17 回研究報告, No. 14 (August 1986); In Yokohama Archives of History ed. 横浜開港資料館編, *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*. F. ベアト幕末日本写真集 (Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), 176.

11 The *British Journal of Photography*, 26 February 1886; In Colin Osman. "Antonio Beato: Photographer of the Nile." *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1990): 110, endnote 1.

12 Mary Warner Marien. *Photography: a Cultural History* (London: Laurence King, 2006), pp. 101–103. For further information on the life and photographs of Roger Fenton, see Roger Fenton. *Roger Fenton: Photographer of the Crimean War: his Photographs and His letters from the Crimea* with an Essay on His Life and Work by Helmut and Alison Gernsheim (London: Secker & Warburg, 1954).

13 Okabe Masayuki 岡部昌幸, "Bakumatsu Rainichi Shahinka Biyato no Kenkyū." 幕末来日写真家ビヤトの研究、*Meiji Bijutsu Kenkyū Gakkai Dai 17 Kai Kenkyū Hōkoku*, 明治美術研究学会第 17 回研究報告, No. 14 (August 1986); In Yokohama Archives of

Beato was commissioned by the British Navy to document this rebellion as a reporting photographer. These early examples of documentary photography, rather than photo-journalism—since Beato was appointed to such positions by the British Forces, not by the individual publishers in London as in the case of the Crimean War—were followed by another commission to photograph the Anglo-French military expedition to Beijing, China, during the second Opium War in 1860.[14] In an advertisement produced by Felice Beato in *The Japan Weekly Mail* dated February 12th, 1870, it was mentioned that Beato had come to Japan six years earlier, which indicates sometime between 1863 and February 1864.[15] 1864 was the year that Beato, while attached to the British Navy, recorded the military expedition to Shimonoseki by the British, French, Dutch, and American navy forces, in response to the firing on the allied ships in the Shimonoseki Strait by anti-foreign inhabitants of Chōshū domain.[16] Engaged in such commissions, Felice Beato had already attained a level of professional success which provided the personal connections and the opportunity to set up a photography business when he arrived in Japan. In 1863, Antonio Beato, younger brother of Felice Beato, was photographing Japanese envoys to Europe 遣欧使節 in front of the pyramids in Egypt[17] by the time Felice Beato arrived in Japan. Charles Wirgman (1832–1891), an English illustrator in China and Meiji, Japan, for the *Illustrated London News*, met Beato during the photographic expedition in China,[18] referred to a "Signor B." as his companion and partner in

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History ed. 横浜開港資料館編, *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*. F. ベアト幕末日本写真集 (Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), 176.

14 Saitō Takio 斉藤多喜夫, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohamakan Monogatari* 幕末明治横浜館物語 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2004), 62–63.

15 The *Japan Weekly Mail*, 12 February 1870; In Yokohama Archives of History, ed. 横浜開港資料館編 *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*. F. ベアト幕末日本写真集 (Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), 177.

16 Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853–1912* (London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006), 94. For the origins and the background of the conflict at the bombardment of Shimonoseki in 1864, see Mitani Hiroshi. "The Transformation of International Relations in East Asia: From Ambiguity to Singularity in Diplomatic Discourse." *Tokyo University Pacific and American Studies*, Vol. 4 (March 2004): 35–43; William G. Beasley. "The Basis of Japanese Foreign Policy in the Nineteenth Century." In *Collected Writings of W. G. Beasley* (Richmond; Surrey: Japan Library, Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2001), 23–40.

17 Furukawa Kaoru 古川薫, "Korojion Hakushaku no Gyōjō." コロジオン伯爵の行状. In *Zabueru no nazo* ザビエルの謎 (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1997), 151–178; Ozawa Takeshi 小沢健志, *Bakumatsu Shashin no jidai* 幕末写真の時代 (Tokyo: Chikuma gakugei bunko, 1996), 70–71.

18 John Clark, John Fraser, and Colin Osman, "A Revised Chronology of Felice (Felix) Beato (1825/34?-1908?)." Appendix E. In *Japanese Exchange in Art 1850s–1930s* (John Clark. London, 1989), 323.

the July 13th, 1863 edition of the *Illustrated London News*,[19] and reported in the September 12th, 1863 edition of the *Illustrated London News*[20] that Beato was staying at his house in Yokohama and was receiving many visitors who came to look at his photographs. Next year, Wirgman accompanied Beato during the bombardment of Shimonoseki. In the "Yokohama Section" of the *Directory of Commerce* dated 1865, published in Shanghai, there was an entry for "Beato and Wirgman, Artists and Photographers."[21] This partnership continued to flourish during the following years. Although Felice Beato was an astute merchant, active in various ventures besides his photography business in Yokohama, the photographic commissions he received beyond Japan were the source of his commercial reputation. In 1871 Beato documented the American expedition to Korea as an official photographer of the American Navy.[22] It was in 1877 that Baron Raimund von Stillfried (1839–1911), who established a photography studio in Yokohama around 1871, acquired Beato's stock and studio.[23] After leaving Japan in 1884, Beato opened a furniture and curio business in Burma, in what was then British India.[24]

As a traveler over long distances, Felice Beato developed multiple connections beyond borders and prompted various cultural interactions throughout his journeys. First of all, he was part of the Levantine community in Constantinople and, because of the origins of the Beato family, he was presumably close to the Venetians[25] who were allowed to conduct overseas trade

19 The *Illustrated London News*, 13 July 1863; In Saitō Takio 斉藤多喜夫, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohamakan Monogatari* 幕末明治横浜館物 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2004), 65.

20 The *Illustrated London News*, 12 September 1863; In Terry Bennett. *Photography in Japan 1853–1912* (London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006), 94.

21 Yokohama Archives of History, ed. 横浜開港資料館編, *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū* F. ベアト幕末日本写真集 (Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), 177.

22 The *North China Daily News*, 28 June 1871; In Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853–1912*. (London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006), pp. 95–96 For Beato's photographs of the Korean expedition, see Terry Bennett and Martin Uden (*Korea: Caught in Time*. London: Garnet Publishing, 1998).

23 Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853–1912* (London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006), pp. 95, 134; Kinoshita Naoyuki. "The Early Years of Japanese Photography." pp. 16–35. In *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 29.

24 Colin Osman, "New Light on the Beato Brothers." *British Journal of Photography*, No. 34, 16 (October 1987): 1217–1221; Colin Osman "The Later Years of Felice Beato." *The Photographic Journal*, No. 128, (November 1988): 511–514: 93–94.

25 For the functioning of and the administrative figures in the Levant Company, see Allan Cunningham. *Anglo-Ottoman Encounters in the Age of Revolution: Collected Essays: Allan Cunningham*, ed., Edward Ingram, Vol. 1. (London: F. Cass, 1993), 51–102.

and had already established overseas commercial connections. As a British citizen by birth and, furthermore, the apprentice and the associate of James Robertson, himself a British citizen, Beato possibly had certain connections with the British residents in Constantinople, for example, with the administrative cadre of the Levant Company[26] which was active in the Ottoman sphere of influence from 1580s onwards. Yet through his professional attachment to Robertson, Beato probably got acquainted with the London publishers on various occasions and it is relatively easy to trace the commercial network and the companions of Felice Beato in the later years of his career. Beato had accompanied the British armed forces on several campaigns prior to arriving in Japan. These professional appointments, apart from being the source of his photographic experience and reputation, served as the occasions during which he made friends among officers and even extended his connections to members of the diplomatic corps.

Beato's sustained association with such figures was the epitome of the transnational interactions that could take place on cultural grounds. Captain Sydney Henry Jones-Parry, a British naval officer, was one of these figures. In his book *My Journey Round the World*, Captain Jones-Parry gave significant details with regard to his associate:

> I must not forget to mention that I met my old friend Signor Beato here. I had first made his acquaintance whilst engaged in photography under the walls of Sebastopol; I next accosted him amidst the blood and carnage at Lucknow; and now finally we met in the streets of Yokohama. Could anyone have chosen three more distant places, or more varied circumstances, to meet under? I have seen some splendid specimens of his art taken at all these places. I mention Beato here because he may be said to be the father of photography in Japan, and many of the best negatives there now are his productions. He was a true artist and not only manipulated well, but chose his subjects carefully and treated them artistically. He established his studio at Yokohama, but finding he had larger fish to fry, he sold his business; and I am sure scores of my old comrades will be glad to hear he is doing well. I think ... Beato is as well known to the British army as any private individual.[27]

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26 For the commercial network of the Venetian community in Constantinople, see Eric R. Dursteler. *Venetians in Constantinople; Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

27 Sydney Henry Jones-Parry. *My Journey Round the World* (London: Hurst and Blacklett, 1881), Vol. 2, 25–26.

Obviously, Captain Jones-Parry had met Beato for the first time during the Crimean war, then later in India where Beato was present to photograph the Indian Mutiny, and then again in Japan. The account of Henry Jones-Parry reveals that he was not the only person from the British navy that knew Felice Beato personally. Interestingly enough, "Woods Pasha" of the Ottoman Empire, who was the *Aide-de-Champ* to Sultan Abdulhamid II, was also a friend of Beato's. Henry Felix Woods (1843–1929), a British naval officer who spent several years in service in Constantinople, arrived in Yokohama in July 1865 as commanding officer of the gunboat *Kestrel*. In his autobiography, *Spunyarn: Strands from a Sailor's Life Afloat and Ashore*, Henry Woods depicts not only his adventure of photographing Edo with the wet-collodion technique, but he also gives a comprehensive account of the life of his "great friend" Beato:

> There was at the time, residing in Yokohama, a photographer who had attained a high reputation for the excellence of his work in respect of both portraiture views and landscapes. ... He had taken up photography in the Crimean War, and going off to India in the Mutiny, worked there for some time, and went on to China. He followed our Army, and was at the sack of the Summer Palace, and made a nice little sum by the purchase and subsequent sale of loot with which he returned to Constantinople.... His name was Beat [*sic.*]. No one knew his real origin, and no one troubled themselves about it. He spoke funny English, and it was an amusement to draw him into a long argument. His most usual expression of welcome was: "I am delight!" He used it on every occasion.[28]

Henry Woods, soon an eminent "Pasha" in the entourage of Abdulhamid II, and Captain Henry Jones-Parry, an old comrade from the Crimean years—two figures with whom Felice Beato was in contact and with whom he shared an economic, social, and political experience that spanned geographic borders.

While his extensive range of connections stimulated cultural interactions in Constantinople, throughout Asia and in Japan, his ideological visualizations formed the photographic styles that embroidered his photographs which served the formation of a photographic genre on the coasts of Yokohama. When Beato arrived in Yokohama, it was one of the newly established ports opened to foreign ships in 1859 by the Shogunate due to foreign pressures

28 Henry Felix Woods. *Spunyarn: Strands from a Sailor's Life Afloat and Ashore: Forty-seven Years Under the Ensigns of Great Britain and Turkey* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1924), Vol. 2, pp. 194–197; In Terry Bennett. *Photography in Japan 1853–1912* (London: Tuttle Publishing, 2006), 89–90, 306–307.

exerted between 1853 and 1860. In these port cities, citizens of foreign countries were allowed to perform commercial activities. Yokohama, which had until then been a small fishing village, became a bustling place with the arrival of the foreigners, among which photographers played a significant role in the development of commercial photography in Japan. Not only foreigners but also Japanese populated Yokohama. People from all over Japan flooded into this incipient port city, whether to take up duties there or look for employment. Discerning the potential buoyancy in the demand for illustrated journals of the time, Edo publishers dispatched eminent *ukiyo-e* illustrators to Yokohama to capture scenes of this "exotic" city with its newcomers, which were referred as *Yokohama-e* 横浜絵 (Yokohama pictures).[29] Like the traditional woodblock prints, *ukiyo-e*, the *Yokohama-e* became prevalent and functioned as an important means of spreading information. The *Yokohama-e* prints were created to satisfy Japanese curiosity and thus the artists' aim was not artistic perfection but information. The *Yokohama-e* depicted the types of westerners recently settling down in Japan, essentially from the perspective of Japanese artists.

From the perspective of westerners, Japan itself was the "foreign." It was remote and unknown, depicted repeatedly by tourists as "a world of timeless customs and rituals, untouched by the historical processes."[30] Felice Beato was one of those who viewed this culture through western eyes and western assumptions. While mentioning the establishment of a major tradition of travel photography in the nineteenth century, Graham Clarke argues that in his images, the photographer is "cultural interpreter and witness to the world," but only because his assumptions place him at the center of the geographies through which he moves.[31] Photographing his "exotic," Beato contributed to the formulation of a new genre called *Yokohama-shashin* 横浜写真 (Yokohama photographs),[32] which captured scenes of Japanese customs and manners, often staged and stereotypical, as well as views of famous sights. With the easing

29 Inagaki Shinichi 稲垣進一, *Zusetsu Ukiyoe Nyūmon.* 図説浮世絵入門 (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1990), 114.

30 Linda Nochlin. "The Imaginary Orient." pp. 119–131, 186–191. In *Art in America*, (May 1983): 122.

31 Graham Clarke. *The Photograph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 48–49.

32 For further elaboration on *Yokohama-shashin*, see Saitō Takio 斉藤多喜夫, *Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohamakan Monogatari* 幕末明治横浜館物 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2004), 205–213; Yokohama Archives of History, ed. 横浜開港資料館編 *F Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū.* F. ベアト幕末日本写真集横浜 (Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), 4–6; Yokohama Archives of History, ed. 横浜開港資料館編, *Japan of Meiji Period: the World of Yokohama Photography: Color Albumes* 明治の日本：横浜写真の世界：彩色アルバム (Yokohama: Yurindo, 1990), vi–viii.

of travel restrictions, more and more foreign tourists came to visit Japan from the 1870s onwards.[33] Concentrating on their target audience, tourists, various curio shops opened in Yokohama, which without exception featured for sale the albums of *Yokohama-e,* in addition to porcelain and lacquer ware that was already established as a traditional export material.[34] Photographs and postcards were circulated as popular souvenir objects.[35] Having a commercial approach, Beato combined scenes from Japan with exotic fantasies to meet the expectations of western buyers thus these photographs, *Yokohama-shashin,* were mainly for foreign tourists whereas the woodblock prints, *Yokohama-e,* were primarily for the Japanese market. As the commercial base of photography expanded, a photograph-production industry developed as the intermediary between the photographer and the consumer, and this industry employed craftsmen with well-developed hand-coloring expertise.[36] Charles Wirgman, as an illustrator, was the first to attempt to apply color to the photographs of Felice Beato.[37] The *Yokohama-shashin,* the hand-colored photographs of landscapes and illustrations of Japanese customs, were sold as compiled albums, usually with lacquer covers decorated with ivory inlay of Japanese traditional motifs, such as flowers and birds. These albums were comprised of fifty to one-hundred photographs out of which preferably a variety of introductory scenic photographs in the first pages, was followed by shots that depicted the ways of Japanese life. On February 2, 1870, Beato published an advertisement in the Japan Weekly Mail as follows:

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33 For the increasing tourist visits to Japan from a wider perspective, see Allen Hockley, "Foreigners on the Tourist Circuit in Meiji Japan." In *Globetrotters' Japan: Places and People.* Massachusetts Institute of Technology Visualizing Cultures, 2008, http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/home/index.html; Allen Hockley, "Packaged Tours: Photo Albums and Their Implications for the Study of Early Japanese Photography." In *Reflecting Truth: Photography in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, eds., Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere and Mikiko Hirayama (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2004), 66–85.

34 Monika Bincsik, "European collectors and Japanese merchants of lacquer in 'Old Japan': Collecting Japanese lacquer art in the Meiji period (1868–1912)." *Journal of the History of Collections*, (2008) 20(2): 217–236.

35 Margarita Winkel, *Souvenirs from Japan: Japanese Photography at the Turn of the Century.* (London: Bamboo, 1991).

36 Kinoshita Naoyuki, "The Early Years of Japanese Photography." In *The History of Japanese Photography*, eds., Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Kaneko Ryuichi, Takeba Joe (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 16–35, see 28.

37 Annabelle Simon, "Les Photographies Japonaises du XIX^{e} Siècle: Techniques, Conservation, Restauration." Paper presented at the Association France Japon-Nord / Japan Society Symposium *Les Collections d'Art Japonais en Europe* held in Lille during 4–5 October 1997, *http://www.old-japan.co.uk/.*

> Signor F. Beato,
>
> Begs to announce to the Public of Yokohama and Travellers visiting to the East generally, that he has just completed a handsome collection of Albums of various sizes, containing views &c., of Japan, with descriptions of the Scenes, Manners and Customs of the people; compiled after visiting all the most interesting localities in the country during six years residence.
>
> No. 17 on the Bund[38]

Beato published many photographic albums, among which *Views of Japan* and *Photographic Views* were widely circulated in Japan between 1868 and 1869.[39] These albums included the photographs of Yokohama, Edo and environs, Hakone and Mount Fuji, Lake Biwa in central Honshū, the Inland Sea, and Nagasaki.[40] He was not only an observer, a *flâneur*, a mobile consumer of a ceaseless succession of illusory commodity-like images,[41] but also a reporter in the service of curiosity for unexplored lands, populaces, and events; a prolific producer of the very images. Among his photographs of "Japanese customs," there are many that illustrate social class and occupation. He used models to illustrate how the Japanese slept at night or how they drank sake. He captured representative everyday scenes, which dominated the visual perception of the geography in a global market. Through his albums of Japanese scenes and customs, Beato shaped the style employed in photographs of Japan, especially those intended for sale to foreigners.

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38 Felice Beato Advertisement, *Japan Weekly Mail*, 2 February 1870; In Yokohama Archives of History, ed. 横浜開港資料館編, (*F. Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*. F. ベアト幕末日本写真集 (Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), 9.

39 Yokohama Archives of History, ed. 横浜開港資料館編 *F. Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*. F. ベアト幕末日本写真集 (Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), 4–11; Saitō Takio 斉藤多喜夫 Bakumatsu Meiji Yokohamakan Monogatari 幕末明治横浜館物語 (Tōkyō): Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2004), 69–105; "Photography in Japan" Exhibition, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 20 September 2001–3 February 2002, http://www.vam.ac.uk/.

40 Yokohama Archives of History, ed. 横浜開港資料館編, *Bakumatsu Nihon no Fūkei to Hitobito: Ferikkusu Beato Shashinshū* 幕末日本の風景と人びと: フェリックス・ベアト写真集 (Tokyo: Meiseki Shoten, 1987).

41 Jonathan Crary, Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century (London; Massachusetts: MIT Pres, 1991), 21.

TABLE 14.1 *The price list of Beato photographs*[42]

Japan Albums complete		$ 200
Japan half Albums		$ 100
Views of Japan		$ 2
Do. Levant		$ 2
Do. China		$ 2
Do. India		$ 2
Cartes de Visite		$ 15 per doz.
Do. 2nd Dozen		$ 10
Large Portrait	7x9	$ 15
Do.	10x15	$ 25

Employing a panoramic style for his landscape photographs, and using an ethnographic approach to his photographs of daily life in Japan, Beato's work spanned a wide range of subjects, including his previous photographs of Levant, China and India, which were on sale also in Japan. Instead of reducing the multifarious photographic work of Beato into a pile of "Orientalist" photographs, and labeling his complete collection as the epitome of this homogenized category, it is crucial to understand the different patronage relations and the entrepreneurial motives in his photographic career path. He began as a wanderer in Constantinople where he was apprenticed to photographer James Robertson. He was then promoted to commercial photographer, producing photographs for the consumption of a demanding audience which was composed of album collectors, newspaper readers, exhibition visitors, or imperial officers. While he was a resident in Constantinople, Felice Beato assisted Robertson in photographing various street vendors of Constantinople and ethnic figures posed in their folkloric costumes. These photographs were compiled into an album entitled *Photographic Views of Constantinople*[43] and widely circulated in the London market by the end of the year 1853.[44] In these

42 This price list was published in an album of Beato's which is in the possession of the British Embassy of Japan. The first reference to this price list was in Clark Worswick, ed., *Japan: Photographs, 1854–1905* (New York: Knopf, 1979); Yokohama Archives of History, ed. 横浜開港資料館編, *F. Beato Bakumatsu Nihon Shashinshū*. F. ベアト幕末日本写真集 (Yokohama: Benridō, 1987), 178–179, 183.

43 James Robertson. *Photographic Views of Constantinople* (London: Joseph Cundall, 1853).

44 Bridget A. Henisch, and Heinz K. Henisch. "James Robertson of Constantinople, a Chronology." *History of Photography*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (1990), 23–32.

early years of his career, he became acquainted with the strategies of the "commercialism of representation."[45] Beato was one of the photographers who used his camera as a scientific tool to collect data about political and military incidents, and to store the details of everyday life in the cities to which they traveled, migrated, or were dispatched. In the nineteenth century, photography was seen as a potential substitute for the detailed narrations of realistic literature and a significant contribution to the reliable "thick descriptions"[46] of ethnographers in pursuit of universal truth and objectivity. Following the invention of photography, the camera gradually superseded the camera obscura and camera lucida.[47] Publishers, travelers, reporters and their spectators preferred photographs to drawings and engravings, which were produced with the help of the projections of a figure or of an object by a camera obscura, in order to illustrate magazines, journals, and travelogues. It is likely that due to this visual and scientific legacy of the camera obscura and of camera lucida, which were taken over by photography, that photographs were deemed to be the reflections of truth. However, the camera is always constrained by what the lens can record. In this respect, Felice Beato's photographic accounts of the Indian Mutiny in 1858 and the encounter of the British and Chinese forces during the Second Opium War in 1860 are indeed ironic. Among many other photographs of Beato's taken in India, his record of the Sikandar Bagh, a palace on the outskirts of Lucknow where a large number of rebelling Indian sepoys were killed on 16 November 1857 by British troops under Sir Colin Campbell,[48] deserves attention. This image of human bones strewn on the yard of a battered building reveals the photographer's restaging of horrific carnage. John

45 Timothy Michell, "Egypt at the exhibition." In *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 10–13.

46 Clifford Geertz borrows this notion from philosopher Gilbert Ryle, and elaborates it in explaining the I-am-a-camera approach of ethnographers while observing, recording, and analyzing a culture. Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture" In *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3–32.

47 Both camera obscura (Latin phrase for dark room) and camera lucida (Latin phrase for lit room) are optical devices used as drawing aids. While camera obscura enlarges an image, and projects it upon a surface, camera lucida provides a reflection of the key points of an object on a sheet of paper through a prism or a half-silvered mirror. The camera lucida is a light, portable device, and it does not require special lighting conditions. Désiré van Monckhoven, *Photographic Optics: Including the Descriptions of Lenses and Enlarging Apparatus* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1867), 253–254.

48 Maria Antonella Pelizzari "From Stone to Paper: Photographs of Architecture and the Traces of History." *In Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850–1900*, ed., Maria Antonella Pelizzari (Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 43.

Fraser documented that Beato did not arrive in Lucknow until probably March 1858, four or perhaps five months after its capture.[49] The very photograph explicitly claimed to be an eyewitness account of historical events, of the Sepoy Mutiny and of the British blitz. Beato framed the rearranged site of the former battle in order to achieve the credibility of a reporter and to be published. Various editions of the Beato-brand photographs of India, as well as his photographic views of China, were widely circulated in the London market with the colophon of Henry Hering (1814–1893).[50] Beato probably went with the British armed forces from India to China in early 1860 and followed them from Hong Kong to Beijing, creating a miscellaneous record of the war. He accompanied the military expeditions led by Brigadier-General Crawford, who was commanding the troops in the south of China.[51] A photography album entitled Photographic Views in China, consists of twenty-one original print photographs, which was shot during the military campaigns of the British and French allied forces in China. Eleven photographs of this album depicted the battle scenes in and around the Taku Forts in Peitang (Tianjin), and the Pekin (Beijing) Fort. Handwritten captions report that the photographs were taken immediately after the capture of the forts and date the images of the Taku Forts at August 21, 1860, and those of the Pekin Fort at October 21, 1860. The North Taku Fort, especially, was one of the main battlefields of the Second Opium War, and Beato's camera once again recorded a vast number of corpses in the foreground. An elaborate autobiographical account by David Field Rennie, a military surgeon of the British Army, in an entry dated August 21, 1860, not only testifies to the existence of Beato at the Taku Forts on the day of the battle, but also exemplifies that period's written and visual obsession for a detailed, "thick description" for the sake of an effect of reality:

> I passed in to the fort, and a distressing scene of carnage disclosed itself; frightful mutilations and groups of dead and dying meeting the eye in every direction.
>
> I walked round the ramparts on the west side. They were thickly strewed with dead—in the northwest angle thirteen were lying in one group round a gun. Signor Beato was here in great excitement, characterizing

49 Christopher Pinney. *The Coming of Photography in India* (London: The British Library, 2008), 127.

50 Henry Hering. *Catalogue of Photographs by H. Hering, Photographer and Publisher to the Queen* (London: A. Napier), n.d., 21.

51 David Field Rennie. *The British Arms in North China and Japan: Peking 1860; Kagosima 1862*. (London: John Murray, 1864), 13.

> the group as "beautiful," and begging that it might not be interfered with until perpetuated by his photographic apparatus, which was done a few minutes afterwards.[52]

It is questionable if Beato's excitement provoked him to intervene in the exposure process of his camera, yet Régine Thiriez suggests that Beato might had moved and added corpses for a better effect on his spectator of the North Taku battlefield.[53] Panoramic views of Peking, Canton, and Hong Kong were compiled into Beato's album, and his panoramic photographs of Lucknow and Delhi[54] share a picturesque approach to picturing the urban landscapes. These bird's-eye views of the cities provided an introductory survey of their geographical layout and represented the military claim of omnipotent sovereignty over these geographies in which British officers served. Beato was a photographer whose transmigrant experience formulated and imaged the artifacts and values of cultures in his photographs, which were circulated beyond borders.

On many occasions during the nineteenth century, photographers engaged in various expeditions as land survey photographers or war photographers. Their journey would begin on one end of the Asian continent and ended on the other end. No matter whether it is referred to as "Middle" or "Far," the geography was the locus of an intense circulation of knowledge and experience. Individual or institutional, all of Beato's photographic expeditions were meant to appeal to a certain audience, which prompted the context of photographs. In the end, photographs had to have a market to be purchased and consumed. As a commercial photographer and as a freelance photojournalist, Felice Beato contributed to the commodification and documentation of photography through his personal and professional networks that extended across and beyond empires.

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52 David Field Rennie. *The British Arms in North China and Japan: Peking 1860; Kagosima 1862*. (London: John Murray, 1864), 112.

53 Régine Thiriez. *Barbarian Lens: Western Photographers of the Qianlong Emperor's European Palaces* (Amsterdam: Overseas Publishers Association, 1998), 8.

54 Narayani Gupta. "Pictorializing the "Mutiny" of 1857." In Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850–1900. Ed. Maria Antonella Pelizzari (Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 232–235.

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CHAPTER 15

Translation Practices on the Silk Road and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke's "Toshishun"

Oğuz Baykara

Introduction

For romantics the Silk Road is one of the most mysterious names in the world. It covers deserts, snow-capped mountains, and dusty roads, caravans of camels and lively marketplaces of Beijing, Kashgar, Samarkand, Tabriz, Erzurum and Istanbul. They carried the luxuries of the Orient to the Western world or the vice versa. It was supposed to be commercial, but was it only commercial commodities? Of course not! The imagination on the Silk Road was exotic, pungent and as timeless as thousand and one nights ... Literature, as folktales, legends or as religious parables connected the nations. Merchants traveling along this ancient trade route not only transported goods but also spread religions and exchanged ideas. Stopping at caravanserais, for a rest at night they would listen to the tales and stories of other merchants and travelers, coming from faraway places. When these stories were retold in a different language they would be adjusted to local tastes and traditions. Often new ideas and motives would be adapted into existing stories. The Silk Road brought down to each country what was not there before: "literature of others" ... Handful of words was carried across, in a camel saddle or on a horse back. It was finer and more enduring than silk ... In fact for all we know, silk deteriorated and literature remained intact.

Until the birth of anthropology, culture referred exclusively to the humanist ideal of what was considered 'civilized' in a developed society. Since then, a second meaning of culture "as the way of life of people" has become influential. With the development of disciplines such as cultural studies, a third meaning has emerged which attempts to identify the reasons for a specific cultural behavior.[1] Hence, depending on the definition adopted, culture may be formally learnt, unconsciously shared, or be a site of conflict.

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1 David Katan, *Translating Cultures: An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators*, Second Edition (Manchester: St Jerome, 2004), 29.

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So we master our culture technically by learning our language, literature, music, art etc. This is what Newmark[2] calls 'the cultural values and commodities spreading throughout the world. This involves the invention of alphabets and the writing of dictionaries; the development of national languages and literatures, and the spread of religions and cultural values.[3]

Theoretical Framework

According to Even-Zohar, culture and literature are also items of import like silk, spice and perfumes. In his polysystem theory he suggests, a set of hypotheses for handling the cultural and literary imports and "the makings of culture repertoire". A culture repertoire is "the aggregate of options utilized by a group of people and by the individual members of the group, who need these "specific repertoires for the organization of their life." He states that a culture repertoire is not biologically given but "made", "learned" and "adopted" by members of the group.

He identifies culture as "goods" or as "tools" in terms of "material or semiotic" import. "Culture-as-goods", may be innovative ideas, books, literary genres, styles, textual models and they serve for the organization of life. In recognizing the imported literature as a part of cultural repertoires, we become more aware of the importance of "semiotic" items in terms of cultural exchange. Import plays a vital role in giving inspiration to invention. He states that "invention" and "import" are not "opposed procedures, because inventing may be carried out via import, but may relate to the labor involved in the making, within the confines of the literary home system without any link to some other system". He states that if imported goods are successful at home, they may have an opportunity to be integrated into the home repertoire.[4]

Whether oral or written, looking at the imported literature, from this perspective, one can consider the operations of *translation; transfer, adaptation, rewriting, emulation, borrowing* and *conversion* as adjustments of import. In the case of Akutagawa's writing practices, it lead to both invention and adaptation in the early twentieth century Japanese literature.

2 Peter Newmark, *Approaches to Translation* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1981), 184–5.

3 Jean Delisle, and Judith Woodsworth (eds), *Translators through History* (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995).

4 Even-Zohar Itamar, "The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer" in *Target* 9:2 (1997): 355–363.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, Chinese was regarded as a source for establishing Japanese cultural and literary models then it shifted towards the European culture. After Emperor Meiji, European culture, especially English and French, were regarded as a source for establishing Japanese cultural and literary models. Akutagawa Ryūnosuke was an author well versed both in Chinese and English; he derived most of his fictional options from his translational and literary practices. Most of his works are good contributions to the making of Japanese literary repertoires in the Taisho period. He was probably the last author who paid homage to his Chinese cultural heritage and produced many works called as "chugoku-mono" and "Toshishun" is one of them.

Akutagawa and "Toshishun"

Akutagawa Ryūnosuke was born in Tokyo in March 1892.[5] As a young student, he was an avid reader. He entered the Tokyo Imperial University as an English literature major, and lost no time in producing original works. He made his meteoric appearance on *bundan* in 1916 and left that literary stage after ten years by committing suicide. His life and career was brief and intense. He produced more than 150 short stories as well as travel books, diaries, reviews and criticisms together with his other writings. His nineteen volumes of collected works established him as the uncontested master of the short story in modern Japanese literature.

The name Akutagawa has always been familiar in Japan ever since his suicide. In the West, his fame was due to the English translation of "Kappa" in 1947, and especially to Kurosawa's *Rashomon* which won the Grand Prix at the 1951 Venice International Film Festival.[6] Then he became one of the best known Japanese writers in the world and his works were translated into several different languages.

Akutagawa was well-known for his wide knowledge of the literature of both the East and the West. While the majority of his contemporaries set their novels in Japan, his tales exhibit a wider range from antiquity to the modern era, and are set in Japan, Korea, China, India and Russia. His Japanese stories in particular cover almost all the major historical periods, from the Asuka, Heian, early Christian, and Tokugawa down to Meiji.

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5 Yu Beongcheon, Yu, *Akutagawa An Inrtoduction*, Detroit:Wayne State University Press, 1972), ix.

6 Beongcheon, *Akutagawa*, 1972: 6.

According to Yoshida Seiichi those Akutagawa's stories with an ancient background which he calls "historical stories" can be classified into several groups:[7] "Ōchō-mono" (stories set in the Heian period), "Kirishitan-mono" (stories about Christians), "Edo-Jidai-mono" (imperial court stories set in the Edo period), "Meiji-Kaikaku-mono" (stories with the Meiji Enlightenment period as background), and finally "Chūgoku-mono" (stories about China) which consists of two types of works.[8] Ten of following fifteen stories fall into the first group, which are directly related with the old Chinese literary materials. The rest of the "Chūgoku-mono" refers to those works which did not originate from Chinese literature, only having China and the Chinese people in the background as a stage setting.

Here is a list of these 15 works:[9] "Wine Worm", "The Dream of Lusheng", "The Story of a Fallen Head", "The Faith of Bisei", "Toshishun", "An Autumn Mountain", A Strange Encounter", "The Immortal", "A Woman's Body", "Illusions", "The Fairy", "The Christ in Nanking", Fan of Konan", "Horse Legs", "God Aguni". "Toshishun" was first published in December 1920, in a magazine called The Red Bird, as one of the eight stories Akutagawa wrote. Among these stories "The Spider's Thread" received the highest acclaim and "Toshishun" was the second best. Yamashiki Kazuo expressed his comments on the story as follows:

> Akutagawa wrote "Toshishun" as a children story, perhaps because he would spend less effort on it. But it is by no means an inadequate work if we particularly want to know about his view of human beings and writing skill.[10]

The essays on "Toshishun" were abundant. In most of them "Toshishun" was being compared with its source text, the famous Chinese story "Du Zichun" probably to understand how he has adapted it from the original. Before I go into the comparative details I would like discuss the plot of some the possible sources of texts of "Du Zichun" which inspired Akutagawa to rewrite his version in Japanese.

Different Versions of "Toshishun"

Du Zichun 杜子春, is a well-known tale of the Tang Period of China (618–907). This tale has been introduced in most anthologies and described or analyzed

7 Virginia Yeung Wing-yin, "A study of the Chinese influence on Akutagawa Ryunosuke as reflected in his 'Chugoku-mono'" (M.Phil. thesis, University of Hong Kong, 1992), 22.

8 Yeung Wing-yin, "A study", 13.

9 Yeung Wing-yin, "A study", 14–17.

10 Yeung, Wing-yin, "A study", 97.

as a Tang narrative. The scholars have discussed the issue of foreign influence in it and its relationship with the other Chinese stories. It is generally accepted that Du Zichun originated in India and the direct source for this tale was a seventh-century Indian legend detected in the *Da TangXiyu ji* (The great Tang-dynasty record of the western regions).[11]

Carrie Reed, a professor of Chinese language and literature, in her article "Parallel Worlds, Stretched Time, and Illusory Reality: The Tang Tale 'Du Zichun'' presents new evidence from Indian texts about the origin of the story. She argues that the source of inspiration for "Du Zichun" was not the written *Tang-dynasty records*. She claims that this story has entered into China as an oral tale after circulating in India for centuries both orally and textually.[2] This brings a new alternative view about the spread of narratives between China, India and other countries. It makes one to reconsider the common assumption that stories came from India to China primarily through written translations of Buddhist texts. Carrie Reed also investigates the common points and divergences of "Du Zichun" with the other medieval Chinese tales and analogues.[3] Reed finds it philosophically close to that of an early Hindu version by providing evidence of the complexity of Tang literati attitudes toward concepts such as *attachment and detachment, society and self, and reality and illusion.*[12] Furthermore, she draws attention to how they used one single plot to teach different moral messages, and how the Chinese writers manipulated the foreign stories in order to adapt, assimilate and rewrite it for their own new literary environment. All this proves the accuracy of the views of Even-Zohar on local use of the cultural import. The plots of some of the Indian and Chinese versions and Japanese version will briefly be mentioned in the following paragraphs.

Indian Parables

Though there are numerous versions only three of them will be scrutinized for convenience.

1 *Puranic Version*

A story from an ancient Indian work, the *Sri Mad Devi Bhdgavata Purdna*,[13] corresponds closely to the Chinese stories. Narada, the tenth son of Brahma and a

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11 Carrie Reed, "Parallel Worlds, Stretched Time, and Illusory Reality: The Tang Tale of Du Zichun" *HarvardJournal of Asiatic Studies* 69: 2 (2009): 309–342, 309.

12 Reed, "Parallel Worlds", 310.

13 Reed, "Parallel Worlds", 312.

great ascetic sage, boasts that he has conquered illusory reality (*maya*).[14] Visnu tells him that no embodied being, not even a god, can ever conquer *maya*, since it forms the very time and space of this universe. When Narada still seeks to understand the nature of *maya*, Visnu takes him to a beautiful pool, where he asks him to bathe. When Narada immerses himself in the waters, he becomes incarnated as a woman who has forgotten her previous life. The woman marries a king and takes a different name. The king and queen lose themselves in carnal pleasures for many years, eventually having twenty sons. The queen is fully immersed in the joys and sorrows of life. Time goes on, and after many years, all her sons are killed in a terrible battle, and she cries out in agony. Visnu meets her and asks her to go to a pool. As soon as she enters the water, she transforms back into the male ascetic, Narada. He then understands that everything that he had experienced was due to the illusions of *maya*, and that he had failed to resist its enchantment, just as Visnu had predicted.

2 *Pool of the Hero*[15]

Chinese scholars traced the story "Du Zichun" back to its so-called Indian source, an anecdote in the seventh century *Xiyu ji* by the monk Xuanzang.[16] The story "Lieshi chi" tells of a hermit who is capable of effecting transformations of physical things but who cannot fly or become immortal. In his quest for immortality, he seeks a helper and finds a man who is destitute. He gives the man food, money etc. thus generating a sense of gratitude. The man offers to help the hermit, who instructs him to keep silent only for one night. But at dawn the man cries out and fire rains down from heaven, and the hermit throws him into a pool to extinguish the flames. Upon awakening, the man explains that during the night he silently withstood two visions but was then killed and reborn as a Brahmin boy. The vision continued for sixty-five years, during which he did not speak but married and had one child. The man's wife threatened to kill the child if the man did not speak. He cried out in anguish to save the child, and the vision ended with his return to awareness of his present life. After telling his experience, the man dies out of shame and the hermit fails in his quest for immortality.

14 In this context *maya* means dualistic world of time and space. People perceive it to be real, but it is actually illusory.

15 Reed, "Parallel Worlds", 314.

16 Xuanzang went to India in 629 to study Buddhism and returned to China in 645. *Xiyu ji*, his biography, comprises his records of one hundred thirty-eight countries.

3 *Joudar*[17]

The *puranic* stories feature the reincarnation illusion but not the testing. The opposite is true for "Joudar," which incorporates the motif of testing by illusion but not that of the reincarnation. "Joudar," a story set in Egypt and Morocco, contains a number of the motifs and plot elements that appear in the Indian and Chinese versions. It recounts series of mysterious strangers who ask poor Joudar to help them retrieve a great treasure of power. They bestow great quantities of gold and other goods upon Joudar. The last of the strangers takes him to an underwater cave where he requires Joudar to undergo a series of tests: he must face threats, all of which will prove to be illusory if Joudar does not resist or oppose them. For the final test, Joudar is asked to face an illusion of his mother and to demand that she disrobe herself in front of him. The filial Joudar fails this ordeal, when he treats his mother with respect as if she were real; as a result he is beaten and banished from the underwater cave.

According to Carrie Reed the similarity of the stories suggests that an ancient story from India not only influenced the Chinese narratives but also the Arabic and Persian story traditions as well.

Chinese Versions[18]

Although the tale had made its way into Tang China and was rewritten many different forms until modern times; only two well-known versions will be taken up here.

1 *Tang Analogue (Duan Chengshi's Version)*

Reed reports that the author and scholar of the Tang dynasty Duan *Chengshi* 段成式 *(-863) in* his work makes the statement that the story circulated orally in China around the mid-800s. In his version, a Taoist called Gu Xuanji enters a city and befriends a man by giving him wine and gold. When the man asks what he can do to repay Gu, the latter explains that he needs the man to stay still for one night, without speaking, to guard his elixir. The two go to the mountains and the night's watch ensues. After he is killed in his second vision, the man is reborn as a merchant's child. He grows up, marries, and has three children. His wife suddenly murders his three children, because he will not

17 Reed, "Parallel Worlds", 317.

18 Reed, "Parallel Worlds", 318–322. Duan Chengshi 段成式 (-863) was an author and scholar of the Tang dynasty.

speak. The man cries out in anguish, and the illusory vision ends with the crash of the alchemical cauldron.

2 *Tang Analogue (Du Zichun)*[19]

This story became by far the most beloved of all of the other written versions that developed around the same time. "Du Zichun" caught the imagination of many writers, inspiring numerous pieces of literature in the following centuries, including two dramas, a short story and a novel. The following story is from Li Fuyan李復言 (775–833) of the Tang dynasty.

The protagonist "Du Zichun" is a rogue like the other protagonists, eventually becomes penniless. After being rejected by his family, he is rescued by an old man dressed as a Taoist priest, who gives him a huge sum of money. He spends this fortune in debauchery. The old man rescues him for the second time giving him more money. Although Du feels grateful and embarrassed, he spends the entire gift on his own pleasure. Again, the old man helps him, this time with a veritable fortune. Feeling indebted, Du has a true change of heart; he spends the money on his family and social needs. He subsequently follows the stranger to a mountain house where he sees boiling cauldron in which the old man is brewing an elixir to achieve immortality. The man gives Du Zichun three pills swallow and forbids him to speak; stating that nothing that he sees will be real. Du silently undergoes a series of seven horrific visions, which are vividly described in the book. In the eighth vision, he is reborn as a girl. She grows up, marries, and has a child. After a long time, Du's husband, despairing because she will not speak, suddenly picks up the baby and violently dashes its head against a rock, splattering blood everywhere. Du cries out in anguish, the illusion abruptly ends, and he finds himself back on seat in the hall with the priest before him. Purple flames are shooting up from the cauldron and fire is rising from all sides. The elixir is ruined. The priest throws Du Zichun into the water jar to save him from flames, telling him that even though he has overcome the emotions of *joy, anger, sorrow, fear, disgust, and desire*, he has failed: because he is still controlled by *love* he does not have the capacity attain immortality. Du ends up going home in despair.

19 Shen Jiji, (ed), "The Spendthrift and the Alchemist" *Selected Tang Dynasty Stories* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press), 230–251.

The Summary of Akutagawa's "Toshishun"[20]

It was spring in the city of Loyang in China and the sun was setting. A young man is watching the sky in despair. He has no food, money and accommodation. His name is Toshishun. All of a sudden, an old man with one eye appears in front of him. The old man, by telling him to dig up a place where he will find gold, makes Toshishun rich not only once but twice. However, Toshishun uses up all this money in luxury leading a dissolute life for six years. The old man appears in front of him for the third time, suggesting another source of treasure, Toshishun refuses him bluntly. He realizes that this old man is a sage of great virtue who lives on the Gabin Mountains and his name is Tekkanshi. He is also a great wizard of miracles. He begs Tekkanshi to take him as his apprentice. Since the wise man believes in his honesty he takes Toshishun into his protection and the dramatic tests for Toshishun start from then onwards. Tekkanshi asks him not to utter a word whatever he experiences or sees in front of his eyes. He passes two tests. But on the third one, they bring his dead father and mother in front of him in the form of two old, decaying horses. Although what he sees are two animals, Toshishun realizes that these people are his parents. In fact, they suggest him courage and advise him not to utter a word. But when the devils start beating these animals until blood comes out of their body, he cries out "Mother, I love you!" At that very moment, the magic is broken. He comes back to the real life … that means he did not keep his promise to Tekkanshi and he can never become a sage. He can only continue life as a mortal.

Contrastive Analysis of ST and TT

Akutagawa sent the following letter to Kawanishi Shinzo dated February, 3, 1927 and said:

> Although I picked up the protagonist from the Tang novel 'Du Zichun' for my work 'Toshishun,' more than two-thirds of the story is my creation.[21]

20 The summary and translations of *Toshishun*, are all by the author of this article, Oğuz Baykara, translated from Japanese into English. The original text is Akutagawa Ryunosuke's, "Toshishun" in *Nihon Bungaku Zenshū* (Tokyo, Kawade Shobō, 1967), 173–180.

21 Sekiguchi Yasuyoshi and Shoji Tatsuya, *Akutagawa Ryunosuke Zensakuhin Jiten* (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2000), 385.

Despite this confession he does not indicate in any of his writings which of the 'Du Zichun' he based his story on. However it is certain that Akutagawa made enormous structural and stylistic changes in the narrative in order to keep the dramatic tension but thematic content and the moral message remained more or less the same. From now on the Chinese story of 'Du Zichun' will be referred as the Chinese version and Akutagawa's 'Toshishun,' will be called the Japanese version.

Structural Analysis

Characters

Both of the stories share the basic element of a helper, the old sage and a spendthrift protagonist. All the other characters are secondary.

The protagonists in both versions bear the same name in kanji characters but the pronunciations are different in respective languages. In the Chinese version, the helper doesn't have a name and he is mentioned as the old man or a Taoist priest, as opposed to Tekkanshi in Akutagawa.[22]

In the Chinese version old man, after listening to the dilemma of Du Zichun bluntly asks him,

> Then how much money will satisfy your need?

Then, he gives money to Du Zichun as if it were a transaction.

Compared with the old man in the original work, Tekkanshi seems to be more compassionate and more concerned with the dilemma of Toshishun. He tells Toshishun at their first meeting:

> Let me give you some advice. Come stand in the sunlight and see your shadow where it strikes the earth. If you dig tonight at the very spot where the shadow of your head appears, you are certain to find a cartful of gold.[23]

The second time he instructs the protagonist to go to a certain place at night, dig at the very spot where the shadow of his chest falls. This little change makes the Japanese version a more fairytale-like narrative.

Tekkanshi states clearly that he helps Toshishun because he seems to be "a very sensible man". The old man in the Chinese version saves Du Zichun with

22 Yeung Wing-yin, "A study", 109.

23 Akutagawa, "Toshishun" 173–180.

an aim of getting his help to accomplish his elixir of immortality as opposed to Tekkanshi's altruistic purpose. The Taoist priest helps Du Zichun for his selfish reasons or at best, if he succeeds Du Zichun will also become an immortal.

The Chinese version shows, how much the people in the past desired to possess a miraculous elixir which would bring them not only longevity but also immortality. Though the Taoist priest is able to use magic, he is not immortal like Tekkanshi and he will die one day. It is possible that, even if Du Zichun succeeded in the ordeal, the priest in his quest for the elixir might not have overcome death. On the contrary the decadent Toshishun goes through all those horrific tests to attain immortality but instead he unexpectedly discovers the value of humanity.[24]

Time and Setting

The Chinese version begins with a brief introduction of its protagonist, clarifying the period he lived:

> Du Zichun lived at the end of Zhou Dynasty and at the beginning of Sui Dynasty. He was a young spendthrift who neglected his estate.[25]

However, Akutagawa introduces his protagonist in a different manner:

> One spring evening, at dusk, a young man stood gazing at the sky idly outside the west gate of the city of Luoyang the capital of Tang. His name was Toshishun. Although he was born into a wealthy family, he had squandered all his fortune and now he was in trouble without any money and a place to stay.[26]

Akutagawa changes the time and the space of the story from "Zhou" and "Sui" to the "Tang" dynasty and the capital from "Changan" to "Luoyang" perhaps because it will be more familiar to the Japanese. He also describes the commercial and cosmopolitan character of eastern capital in the heydays of the Tang dynasty, by even mentioning the "Turkish women with gold earrings". It shows the authors admiration for its international atmosphere:

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24 Yeung Wing-yin, "A study", 110–111.

25 Winston L.Y. Yang, Curtis P. Adkins, *Critical Essays on Chinese Fiction*, (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1980), 39.

26 Akutagawa, "Toshishun", 173–180.

> Luoyang in those days, of course, was peerless as the most prosperous city in the world with an unending stream of people and carriages that passed through its Gates. The old men with silk gauze caps, Turkish women with earrings of gold, and white horses adorned with brightly colored bridles, all passed through the Gates under the evening light that poured down like oil. The whole scene was like a beautiful painting.[27]

In the first chapter Akutagawa has also added many other things while describing Toshishun's luxurious lifestyle. He introduces precious things like fine "wines from Lanling, Longan, Kweichow", "peonies that change color four times a day" "white peacock", "ivory chairs" etc. Besides serving to show Toshishun's extravagance, these are rare, exotic items for Akutagawa's Japanese readers. Such details do not exist in the Chinese version.

Plot

When we study the plots we note that the Chinese version has some distinctive elements not shared by the Japanese version such as, a cauldron boiling the elixir of immortality, drugs the protagonist takes, reincarnation act protagonist (as a woman), marriage, husband, childbirth and the murder scene of the baby.

The Japanese version also has its own distinctive elements: flight to Emeishan Mountains on a bamboo stick with the old sage, assaults of a tiger and a snake, assassination by the demon, going to hell, witnessing the torture of dead parents.

Akutagawa might have made this adaptation in order to show the children the beauty of filial love and devotion for parents. Another point is the reincarnation part in the Chinese version; it seems that Akutagawa found it is complicated for his target audience to understand and he tried to simplify it for reasons of lucidity. So Akutagawa modernized and tailored this story for Japanese readers of the twentieth century.

Thematic Analysis

The plot summaries, despite their differences, reveal a remarkable amount of connections and agreements and highlight common themes that were of great importance in Indian, Chinese and Japanese stories, such as the pursuit of immortality, the role of time itself, human attachments in the creation of an illusion of reality, the natural difficulties to transcend that reality. Other important shared elements are the presence of a hero-helper, spiritual trials, the necessity

27 Ibid.

of silence, reincarnation and stretched time, and parental love as the major vehicle of attachment to this world.

Silence

The trial of maintaining silence during a vigil for trial is a common motif in both of the stories. Keeping silent, in a way is withdrawing from the world and worldly desires. In both of the stories, silence is necessary for the seeker's success in escaping the mortal realm. As Carrie Reed, puts it, the injunction to maintaining silence symbolizes lack of participation, a refusal to acknowledge or what is experienced as real. Silence has always been considered an indispensable element for spiritual development in all schools of mysticism of the East and West. There are affirmative reflections of this belief in Turkish culture also, as expressed in the following proverb:

> If speech is silver, then, silence is gold.

Reincarnation and Stretched Time

We do not witness a reincarnation scene in the Japanese version but in the Chinese version, the protagonist, after silently enduring horrible visions is reborn as a woman. The length of time spent in his new life causes him, to forget the vows he made during his previous life; his attachment to his currently perceived life becomes more dominant. If the author had wanted to stress only the message that, love of parents for children, is the strongest emotion, the one that impedes transcendence, he could simply have portrayed the testing of Du Zichun's love for his own biological children as the last visionary trial, without reincarnating him. Yet, the Tang author included the motifs of reincarnation, and "the passage of parallel time" in a different realm. These authors seem to be fascinated by the role that time plays in the development of human attachments and by the human endeavor to become immune to time's power.

Parental Love and Filial Love

The Chinese version has the feature of "an illusory love" that grows in the realm of "an illusory time" like the real ties that bind humans to this world. Despite the fact that female "Du Zichun", for more than twenty years, had managed to remember the injunction and remained silent; he broke his silence for the assassinated child at all costs. Akutagawa slightly reversed this in his story; Toshishun, despite his trials and long lasting silence even after his death, he broke his avowal for the sake of his mother in the nether world. If the Chinese version is the epitome of parental love Japanese version highlights the ultimate power and poignancy of filial love. Silence, non-involvement, is broken in spite of the promise of the transcendental when it comes to love; the most fundamental human feeling. When love or love's object is seen in danger, people engage in speech, talk, cry, yell or resist ...

Conclusion

For Akutagawa also, it seems that taking up the pen for writing *Toshishun* was a symbolic involvement to break the silence for social ills.

> The military successes achieved in the two overseas wars and the success in domestic industrialization stabilized the authority of the Meiji imperial-bureaucratic state. They also made clear its tendency towards expansionism into the mainland of Asia and served to strengthen the policy of repression directed against critics of the system. The nature of the government after the Russia-Japan war was shown most clearly in two events of 1910: the unification of Korea with Japan and the case in which several left-wing activists were tried for high treason. The absorption of Korea was followed by the Twenty-one Demands made on China (in 1914–15) and the dispatch of troops to Siberia (in 1918); after the high treason case, there came the military suppression of the rice riots of 1918.[28]

There were 497 strikes in 1919. The year Akutagawa published this story in 1920, was an age of social turmoil in Japan. Akutagawa is known today as an apolitical and writer, but he wrote a number of works in the early 1920 that are strongly critical of Japan's imperialism, militarism, and its distortions of national history. When militarism was at its peak, Fukushima Yasumasa, a Japanese military hero who crossed the Asian continent on the horseback composed the following poem.

> Nanji Arutai yo,
> Nanji wa chigaku jō,
> sono na wa tenka takashi to iedomo,
> Nanji wa waga ashimoto ni ari ...

28 Kato Shuichi, A *History of Japanese Literature—The Modern Years*, vol. 3. (Tōkyō: Kodansha, 1979), 191.

> Oh! You Altai,
> Though, said to be the top of the world
> According to the science of geography,
> You are under my foot....[29]

At that time Akutagawa was looking at the mainland Asia with love and respect and to rediscover the roots of his cultural heritage that came to Japan through the dusty silk roads, across the continent, over the sea. When he rewrote Toshishun he was describing Asia's charms nostalgically in his art.

> Luoyang in those days, of course, was peerless as the most prosperous city in the world with an unending stream of people and carriages that passed through its Gates ...

When Japan was echoing with war cries and public schools were serving as indoctrination ports of nationalism, Akutagawa as a literary hero, holding an brush in the one hand, and a piece of paper in the other, was trying to teach the children the universal values humanity such as, benevolence, helpfulness; honesty, forgiveness, friendship, filial or parental love by making use of a Tang Classic, written 1200 years before he was born ...

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29 Selçuk Esenbel, "Fukushima Yasumasa and Utsunomiya Tarō on the edge of the Silk Road: Pan-Asian Visions and the network of military intelligence from the Ottoman and Qajar realms into Central Asia", *Japan on the Silk Road Conference*, June 15–17, 2012, Istanbul, Boğaziçi University. See article in this book.

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CHAPTER 16

Transforming an Ancient Myth into a Popular Medieval Tale

Adding Motifs into the Story The Heavenly Young Prince *Expands the Narrative*

Satō Masako

Introduction

In the Japanese ancient written histories, the *Kojiki* (*Records of Ancient Matters*: 712 CE) and the *Nihon Shoki* (*Chronicles of Japan*: 720 CE), there is the mythical story of the protagonist Ame-waka-hiko, the "Heavenly Young Prince." There is also an illustrated scroll from the medieval era titled the *Ame-waka-hiko Sōshi* (*Book of the Heavenly Young Prince*). The titles of these works suggest a connection, but the plots of the stories are quite different. Even though the hero of the medieval tale developed from the hero of the older tale, there are different plots, motifs and elements, so it is difficult to immediately see the similarity between the two stories.

Both plots occur in the same historical setting and in the same part of the world, but the older text is obviously a tragedy, while the newer has a happy ending. Furthermore, the two-world (heavenly world and earthly world) setting in each story has a crucial meaning. The name Ame-waka-hiko—the "heavenly young prince"—itself symbolizes the way the story will work out; the similarities and differences in how both stories use the symbol suggest how the medieval text could expand into a popular tale influenced by the text of the ancient myth.

I intend to analyze and compare the elemental contents and symbols of each story, focusing on story structure and world view. I will look at how these elements changed with a view toward how people felt after the ancient state system lost its power, and what influenced the cultural transformation.

The text of the medieval picture scroll has been handed down in several variations: the text used in the first half is based on a copy of the medieval picture scroll in the Edo period (unfortunately, with no pictures); the second half has the text of "The Tale of Prince Ame-waka-hiko," illustrated by the famous painter Tosa Hirochika (1439–1487) with calligraphy by the Emperor Gohanazono (1419–1470, reg. 1428–1467), which is in the Museum of East Asian Art, Berlin.[1]

1 Satō Masako, "Die Entstehung der Bildrolle, Himmlischer Junger Prinz und die Mythen des Altertums—Verwandlung einer Tragödie in eine '*success-story*'" in Klaus Vollmer *et al.* (ed.),

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The Plot of *Book of the Heavenly Young Prince* from the 1400s

Sequential Development

TABLE 16.1 *Sequential Summary and Translation of the* Book of the Heavenly Young Prince. *To Follow the Story Development, I Present a Sequential Summary (a) and a Translation of the Text (b=by Satō[2]) in Tables.*

	a. Sequential Skeleton	b. Narrative Contents "*Heavenly Young Prince Book*" in the version of 1400s illustrated scroll
1	A rich landowner was required by a monstrous snake to offer one of his daughters as its bride; his favorite youngest daughter became the bride of the snake.	Once a servant of a rich landowner was washing clothes at the riv a large snake appeared with a letter in its mouth and spat it out tc her. "Bring this letter to your master!" The letter said: "I want your three daughters. If you do not give them to me, I'll kill you and yo wife. Build a grand mansion on the banks of the pond, with a wid of 17 feet, although such a big house is too small even for me." As the parents complained, the two older daughters said: "We will not do that, even if we have to die." But the youngest daughter, th favorite of her parents, said: "If I do not go, then you, my parents, will be killed by the snake. I do not care what happens to me; the worst thing for me is that my parents be killed by the snake." The parents were crying, but decided to let their favorite daughter go.
2	The monstrous snake appeared to its bride and transformed itself into a beautiful and splendidly dressed man, and they were married.	The parents built a large house on the bank of the pond, just as the serpent had commanded. They left their daughter there alone The deep night wind blew and it started raining. Suddenly waves emerged on the pond; the daughter was frightened and thought th she would die. A snake, more than 17 feet long, appeared and said to her, "Do not fear me. If you have a sword, slit the skin on my hea with it." She was afraid, but took a small knife, which was used for clipping fingernails, and she could easily slit the skin of the snake. Out of the slit came a beautiful and splendidly dressed young mar the two clothed themselves in the snake's skin and went together into a beautiful Chinese chest, where they spent the night.

Sünden des Worts. Roland Schneider zum 65. Geburtstag, MOAG 141 (Hamburg: Gesellschaft für Natur—und Völkerkunde Ostasiens /Hamburg, 2004), 117.

2 The translation is based on the transcription by Satake Akihiro, "Genbun shō: Amewaka hiko sōshi," in Amino Yoshihiko *et al.* (ed.) *Uri to ryūja* (Tōkyō: Fukuinkan Shoten, 1993), 427–436.

a. Sequential Skeleton	b. Narrative Contents "*Heavenly Young Prince Book*" in the version of 1400s illustrated scroll
Joined by love they lived together in opulence. The husband revealed one day his origin as dragon prince before he returned to his heavenly home, and instructed her how to reach his heavenly residence (The dragon prince is sometimes identified as HYP: heavenly young prince.	Then they lived together in the house and they were joined in love. They lived in opulence and had many maids and servants. One day the husband said, "I am originally the dragon Prince. Occasionally I have to go back into the sky; this time it will take a day or two. After seven days I will come back, but if I do not come back then, wait for fourteen nights. If I do not come back after two weeks, then wait for twenty-one days. If I do not come then, know that I will not return for a long time." She asked him, "What can I do then?" He replied: "In the western part of the capital city lives a woman who has a magic gourd that grows in one night, the one-night-gourd. It is difficult to get it out of the woman, but try it. Using this gourd you can reach the sky. Ask those whom you meet on the way above the sky where the residence of Ame-waka-hiko is. Then you will be able to find me." And he continued: "You are not allowed to open the Chinese chest; if you do so, I will not come back." After he had thus spoken, he took off into the sky.
The bride's sisters, jealous of her happiness, visited the wife in the dragon's absence, and opened the forbidden chest; the dragon prince could not find his way home.	After he left, her two elder sisters came to visit to see with their own eyes what had happened to their youngest sister, because they had heard what had happened to her. What they saw exceeded even what they had heard; they began to mourn their own destiny. They saw everything and opened things and wanted to know what was in the Chinese chest, which she was forbidden to open. They pushed her; she told them that she didn't know where the key was but she had hidden the key to the chest in her belt. They, however, tickled her until she bumped into the screen that stood in the room; the sound of the key being struck against the wood told them where the key was. They opened the chest but it was empty except for a cloud of smoke that flew into the sky. The two sisters drove back home.

TABLE 16.1 *To Follow the Story Development* (cont.)

	a. Sequential Skeleton	b. Narrative Contents "*Heavenly Young Prince Book*" in the version of 1400s illustrated scroll
5	The bride determined to ascend to heaven as the dragon had instructed her, after accepting that he would not return to her; the magic gourd grew in one night and helped her ascend.	When the Dragon Prince, even after twenty-one days, did not return, she went to the western part of the capital city and found the old woman, from whom she received the gourd. Ascending into the heaven with it, she thought about her parents: "If I leave the earth, my parents will be sad." At that thought she was sad and she thought that she could never see her homeland again. In this mood she sang a poem: "I do not know if I will see him again, but I am floating on the white clouds in the sky; what should I do now?"
6	She rose into the sky and asked there how to reach HYP's residence; at last, she reached him.	She rose up into the sky. There she met first a nice man in a white hunting robe and asked him, "Where is the place of Ame-waka-hiko?" He replied: "I do not know, but soon someone will come; please ask him." She asked him who he was and he answered, "I am the evening star." She met next a man with a broom; she asked him the same questions. He replied, as the evening star had; he was the broom star (a comet). Then she met a group of several people, but they gave the same answer to her question. These were the Pleiades. She became sad, because no one could tell her where her husband was. But she went on and saw a man sitting on a wonderful column. She asked him the same question. He replied, "Go forth. You will find a lovely house with a glass floor and walls like a precious stone. Go there and say, 'I want to say something to Ame-waka-hiko.'" She did as he told her, and she found Ame-waka-hiko.
	Husband and wife told each other their difficulties after their separation and consequently were assured of mutual love; they acknowledged every difficulty that each had endured; She, however, could not return because his father was a devil.	She told him what had happened and spoke of her fear and efforts and he was impressed. He then told her of his difficulties and his fear. They assured each other of their love. This fate was the result of a previous life of the two. But his father was the devil. She could no longer return to the earth, even though their present situation was very difficult for them. They accepted everything as another link in the chain of their fate.

a. Sequential Skeleton	b. Narrative Contents "*Heavenly Young Prince Book*" in the version of 1400s illustrated scroll
The devil father found her at last and took her to be his own servant; shaking "the sleeves of Ame-waka-hiko" helped her magically to obey all his father's commands even when she was imprisoned in a storage room with snakes.	After a few days, his father was looking for her. Ame-waka-hiko turned his wife into an armrest and leaned on it. The father said, "I smell human flesh of the earth people." But he soon went away. He returned often, but always Ame-waka-hiko turned her into a fan or a pillow in time. But one day his father came silently while the couple was napping. This time Ame-waka-hiko had no time to transform her and his father found her. So Ame-waka-hiko explained the situation. But his father took his son's wife for his own wife and said, "And I have no servant." And so he took her away from his son. He then ordered her to drive a herd of several thousand cattle to pasture in the morning and back to the barn in the evening. She asked Ame-waka-hiko, how she should do it. He tore off his sleeve from his kimono and handed it to her; she should say twice, "the sleeves of Ame-waka-hiko" and shake the sleeves. She did as she was told and the cattle went at her command to pasture in the morning and to the barn in the evening. The father was surprised and said: "To accomplish such a thing requires the strength of a god." One day he told her to bring several thousand tons of rice from one storehouse to another without losing a single grain of rice. Again she said twice: "The sleeves of Ame-waka-hiko" and shook them. Lots of ants helped out and in no time the rice grains were moved from one storehouse to another. Her husband's father counted everything very carefully with the abacus and said. "There is a grain of rice missing." Angrily, he ordered her to find it. She went back the way she had come and found an ant whose back was broken, and therefore could not deliver the rice grain. The woman picked it up and happily went back with it. One day she was imprisoned on the orders of his father in a storage room lined with iron full of 4000–5000 centipedes. Again she said twice: "The sleeves of Ame-waka-hiko." And shook the sleeves. Then the centipedes did not approach her. After seven days, the door was opened and she was still alive.

TABLE 16.1 *To Follow the Story Development* (cont.)

	a. Sequential Skeleton	b. Narrative Contents *"Heavenly Young Prince Book"* in the version of 1400s illustrated scroll
		On another day, on the orders of his father, she was imprisoned i a castle full of snakes. She acted just like the centipedes before ii the storage room and the snakes could not approach her.
8	She survived the difficulties; his father accepted their love and the force of destiny.	After seven days, the door was opened and she was still alive. His father could say no more but concluded, "The two are connected by the strong force of destiny. They are to live together as before, but only one day a year."
9	Although his father accepted their relationship, he allowed them to be together only once a year.	His father made a judgment: "Once a year." The father threw a watermelon, which was transformed into the celestial river, the Milky Way.
10	The origin of the Star Festival.	The woman became the heavenly weaver and Ame-waka-hiko became Altair. Once a year, on July the seventh, (Tanabata, Star Festival) they meet.

Structure and Elements of the Story

This medieval story is constructed from various elements and motifs, seen in various ancient myths and narrative tales; for example, the offering to a giant snake is seen as an element in the myths in the oldest written source in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki* or in the *Fudoki* (*Provincial gazetteers*). "The Eight-Forked Serpent" is a well-known legend. A similar variation of this story has a woman who marries a snake who turns out to be a god (in human form). This story not only appears in the ancient chronicles but also in the ancient Greek myth of "Cupid and Psyche"[3] which leads to the loss of a partner because of the breaking

3 Cf. Apuleius (Lucius Apuleius), The Project Gutenberg EBook of The Golden Ass; *The Golden Ass by Lucius Apuleius* https://archive.org/details/goldenassbeingmeooapuliala (Last accessed; July 4. 2016).

of a promise and the use of the Star Festival (Tanabata)[4] motif from China. This medieval fairy tale consists of various motifs assembled like a collage.

For further analysis, one may consider these elements:

1) Offering to the snake;
2) While the parents are afraid, their youngest daughter is loyal and willing to make a required sacrifice;
3) The daughter slashes the skin of the snake with a (small) sword;
4) Marriage of the youngest daughter and the snake (really Ame-waka-hiko and the Dragon Prince); happy married life;
5) Loss of happiness through envy of the elder sisters;
6) Acquisition of a gourd, to find her husband in the sky;
7) Difficulties along the road of heaven;
8) Reunion of the couple;
9) The difficult tests in the other world;
10) Recognition of the prince as someone who belongs to the other world;
11) The origin of the Star Festival (restriction and eternal repetition of happiness).

Ame-waka-hiko appears in various places in the story from the beginning to the end; in 1–2 he appears as a snake (snake deity); in part 3 he turns and introduces himself, telling his name, and showing his true character, Ame-waka-hiko. In the sequences 5–7 the plot develops in his absence but things happen because of him. The setting of 8–10 focuses on his wife but the plot depends on him. The entire story consists therefore on the frame of his character, symbolized by his name.

The symbol of Ame-waka-hiko, contains the following elements: heaven, youth and royalty. These elements yield contrasting images: heaven contrasted to earthly soil; and higher realms contrasted to lower realms: youth contrasted to age or maturity; maturity, or ripeness contrasted to immaturity and unripeness. Moreover, the concept, "royal prince" implies "not mature enough as a ruler." In the Japanese original, the word "hiko" includes the sense of even the child of the sun goddess as a candidate for ruler as heavenly descendant.[5] The complete imaginative chain of this name consists of the two opposite worlds: this name symbolizes an antithetical world-view; the plot is influenced unconsciously by the world structure of the heavenly and earthly worlds.

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4 See 4–3. Star festival as the framework of the tale in this article, 357–358.

5 Karl Florenz, *Japanische Mythologie, Nihongi "Zeitalter der Götter" Supplement der Mittteilung der Gesellschaft für Natur—und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* (Tokio: Hobunsha, 1901), 8.

The structure of the plot brought forth an unconscious conventional symbol system using the name of the hero as the title of the tale. The text consists not only of the obvious plot but also of the traditional structural scheme. It is also important to consider the unconscious structure and the new elements or motifs; we may then analyze the structure of the tale that involves the solution of the syncretism of Buddhism in Japanese culture and society.

The Myth of Ame-waka-hiko: Role, Meaning and Image

Ame-waka-hiko as the protagonist in the ancient myth, is an episode within a larger narrative framework of the ancient state myth, in which the heavenly deities established their rule on the earth; in this story Ame-waka-hiko was sent to the territory dominated by the great land ruler, but he married the daughter of this great land ruler and forgot his mission. The heavenly deities sent a messenger to him, but he treated the messenger badly and tragedy resulted. The last half of the myth is the reconciliation between heaven and earth after Ame-waka-hiko's death and a description of his funeral; then the heavenly deities using military force finally established their rule on the territory of the great land ruler.

The deity Susa-no-wo confronts the great land ruler or the deity Ō-kuni-nushi and then the heavenly deities occupy the territory after the great land ruler surrenders it. This is the essential ideology of the Japanese ancient state myth, which gave legitimacy to the heavenly domination. The episode of the heavenly young prince, Ame-waka-hiko, can be seen in the former myth-history of the deities, Susa-no-wo and the Ō-kuni-nushi.

The Plot of the Susa-no-wo Myth and the Ō-kuni-nushi Myth

The Plot of Susa-no-wo

Susa-no-wo was banished from heaven to Earth, where he met a crying couple: two earthly deities, who had already lost eight daughters to an eight bodied snake, a huge beast with eight heads and eight tails. Now they also had to hand over their last daughter, Kushi-nada-hime, to the snake. Susa-no-wo prepared to kill the snake, under the condition that he would receive the last daughter for his wife. In his preparations, he transformed Kushi-nada-hime into his comb and took it, brewed rice brandy, erected a fence with eight gates and hid there with Kushi-nada-hime, He killed the snake with a sword after it fell asleep, drunk. He slit the snake from the tail and found in it a large, sharp-edged sword and then he lives with Kushi-nada-hime in his newly built palace.[6]

The Plot of the myth of Ō-kuni-nushi

"The deity Ō-kuni-nushi fled into the so-called root country through the tree land of the Prince of the Big House in order to avoid endless deadly attacks by eighty deities, who competed with him for his country. In the country there was the root deity Susa-no-wo. After his arrival in the country, Ō-kuni-nushi had to face difficult trials that Susa-no-wo gave him in order to gain the power required to create an empire and defend it against enemies. The tests were designed so that they would be impossible, but the daughter of the ruler Susa-no-wo helped Ō-kuni-nushi, with whom she had fallen in love. The lovers passed the tests by magical means against the malice of her father, just like Medea in the myth of Jason. Then Ō-kuni-nushi fled with the princess, and the treasures of Susa-no-wo from the root country and returned to the visible land where he fought his enemies with the help of the root sword and created a pacified country."

Heavenly Young Prince, Ame-waka-hiko, in the Ancient State Myth

The earlier myth contained the episode of the Heavenly young prince, Ame-waka-hiko, in the following table.

6 Basil Hall Chamberlain (1. ed.1919), *The Kojiki. Records of Ancient Matters* (Rutland,Vermont, Tōkyō: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1982), 70–77; "Kojiki" in Ishimota, Shō, *et al.* (ed.), *Iwanami kōza nihonshisō taikei vol. 1 (Kojiki)* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1982), 55–59.

TABLE 16.2 *Kojiki* Narrative of the Heavenly Young Prince.
This is the citation from the English translation of the Kojiki *by Basil Hall Chamberlain (b) and the sequential summaries (a) to analyze the story development and the structural organization of the symbols.*[7]

	(a) Sequential Skeleton	(b) Narrative Contents "*Heavenly Young Prince*" in the Chronicles of t 700s
1	Heavenly Deities sent Heavenly Young Prince (HYP) to the Central Land of Reed-Plains on a fresh mission.	High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity (=HAPW) and the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity (=HSGAD) again asked all th Deities, saying. "The Deity Ame-no-ho-hi, whom we sent down tc the Central Land of Reed-Plains, is long of bringing back a report Which Deity were it best to send on a fresh mission?" Then the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The Heavenly-Young-Prince (HYP), son of the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit should be sent."
2	HYP descended and wedded Princess of DMGL there and sent no report.	So they bestowed on him the Heavenly feathered arrows, and ser him. Thereupon HYP, descending to that land, at once wedded Princess Under-Shining, daughter of the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land (DMGL) and moreover, planning how he might gain [possession of] the land, for eight years brought back no report.
3	Deities sent the pheasant the Name-Crying-Female from Heaven to enquire the cause of HYP's long delay.	So then the HAPW and HSGAD again asked all the Deities, [saying]: "The HYP is long of bringing back a report. Which Deity shall we send on a fresh mission to enquire the cause of HYP's long tarrying?" Thereupon all the Deities and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer replied, saying: "The pheasant the Name-Cryir Female should be sent," upon which [the High-August-Producing Wondrous-Deity and the HSGAD charged [the pheasant], saying: "What thou shalt go and ask the HYP is this: 'The reason for whicl thou wast sent to the Central Land of Reed-Plains was to subdue and pacify the savage Deities of that land. Why for eight years bringest thou back no report?'"

7 *The Kojiki*, translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain, [1919], at sacred-texts.com SECT. XXXI.—THE HEAVENLY-YOUNG-PRINCE.] http://www.sacred-texts.com/shi/kj/kj038.htm; I have abbreviated the long terms in the Japanese original; "Kojiki" in Ishimota, Shō, *et al.* (ed.), *Iwanami kōza nihonshisō taikei vol. 1 (Kojiki)* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1982), 83–89; The same story appears in another chronicle, *Nihonshoki*; there are slight differences. I used

	(a) Sequential Skeleton	(b) Narrative Contents *"Heavenly Young Prince"* in the Chronicles of the 700s
4	Heavenly-Spying-Woman heard the pheasant's words, according to the mandate of the Heavenly Deities and spoke to HYP. HYP took up the heavenly bow and arrow and shot the pheasant; the arrow reached Heavenly—Deities through the pheasant's breast.	So then the Crying-Female, descending from Heaven, and perching on the multitudinous [-ly-branching] cassia-tree at HYP's gate, told him everything according to the mandate of the Heavenly Deities. Then the Heavenly-Spying-Woman, having heard the bird's words, spoke to HYP, saying: "The sound of this bird's cry is very bad. So thou shouldst shoot it to earth." On her [thus] urging him, HYP at once took the heavenly vegetable wax-tree bow and the heavenly deer-arrows bestowed on him by the Heavenly Deities, and shot the pheasant to death. Then the arrow, being shot up through the pheasant's breast, reached the august place where HSGAD and the High-Integrating-Deity were sitting in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven. This "High-integrating-Deity" is another name for the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. So, on the High-Integrating-Deity taking up the arrow and looking at it [he saw that] there was blood adhering to the feathers of the arrow.
5	Heavenly Deities grabbed the arrow, thrust it back down through the arrow's hole; the arrow hit HYP, so that he died.	Thereupon the High-Integrating-Deity, saying: "This arrow is the arrow that was bestowed on the HYP," showed it to all the Deities, and said: "If this be an arrow shot at the evil Deities by the HYP in obedience to our command, let it not hit him. If he has a foul heart, let the HYP perish by this arrow." With these words, they took the arrow and thrust it back down through the arrow's hole, so that it hit the HYP on the top of his breast as he was sleeping on his couch, so that he died. (This is the origin of [the saying] "Beware of a returning arrow.") Moreover, the pheasant returned not. So this is the origin of the modern proverb that speaks of "the pheasant as sole messenger."

the *"Nihonshoki"* in Sakamoto, Tarō et al., *Nihon kotenbungaku-taikei Nihonshoki jō* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1967), 13–45, and the English translation by W.G. Aston, *Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*. (Rutland, Vermont, Tōkyō: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1972). See, *Nihongi*, 65–67. I have reorganized the narrated myth fragments adapting the ideological context; the political mythology was aimed at gaining the dominant legitimacy of the ruling regime.

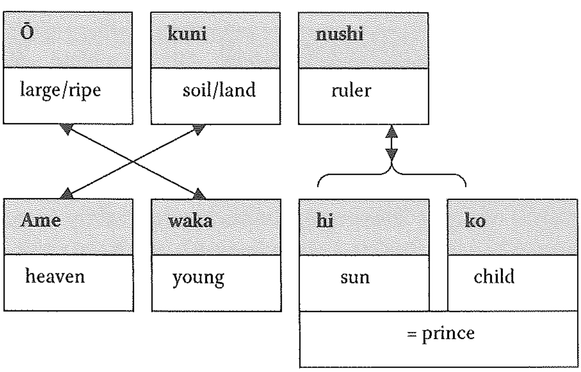
TABLE 16.2 *This is the citation from the English translation* (cont.)

	(a) Sequential Skeleton	(b) Narrative Contents *"Heavenly Young Prince"* in the Chronicles of th 700s
6	The wailings of HYP's wife reached Heaven. The Deity came down with cries and lamentations; built a mourning-house and made a funeral ceremony, arranging matters with birds.	So the sound of the wailings of the HYP's wife Princess Under-Shining, re-echoing in the wind, reached Heaven. So the HYP's father, the Deity Heaven's-Earth-Spirit, and his wife and children who were in heaven, hearing it, came down with cries and lamentations, and at once built a mourning-house there, and mad the wild goose of the river the head-hanging bearer, the heron the broom-bearer, the kingfisher the person of the august food, the sparrow the pounding-woman, the pheasant the weeping woman; and, having thus arranged matters, they disported themselves for eight days and eight nights.
7	The Deity Ajishiki-taka-hiko-ne (=AJTHN) grieved at the funeral for HYP, but was mistaken for HYP; because the two closely resembled each other. Angrily, the Deity AJTHN destroyed the mourning-house	At this time the Deity Ajishiki-taka-hiko-ne (AJTHN) came and condoled on the mourning for the HYP, whereupon the HYP's father and wife who had come down from Heaven bewailed themselves, saying: "My child is not dead, no! My lord is not dead, no!" and with these words clung to his (AJTHN's) hands and feet, and bewailed themselves and lamented. The cause of their mistake was that the two Deities closely resembled each other in countenance: so therefore they made the mistake. Thereupon the Deity AJTHN was very angry, and said: "It was only because he wa my dear friend that I came to condole. Why should I be likened to an unclean dead person?"—and with these words he drew the ten-grasp saber that was augustly girded on him, and cut down the mourning-house, and kicked away [the pieces] with his feet. This was on what is called Mount Mourning at the source of the River Awimi in the land of Minu. The great sword with which he cut the mourning-house to pieces] was called by the name Great-Blade-Mower; another name by which it was called being the Divine-Keen-Saber.
8	The Deity flew away in his anger, and his younger sister sang in order to reveal his august name.	So when the Deity AJTHN flew away in his anger, his younger siste Her Augustness the High-Princess, in order to reveal his august name, sang, saying: "Oh! 'tis the Deity AJTHN traversing two augus valleys with the refulgence of august assembled hole-jewels, of the august assembled jewels worn round her neck by the Weaving Maiden in Heaven!" This Song is in a rustic style.

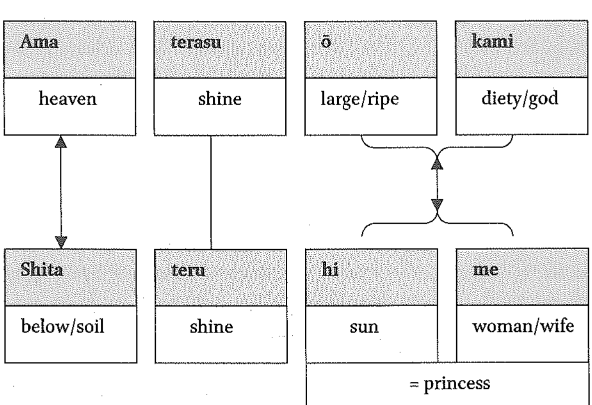
We have seen the sequential progress 1–3 based on the structure of the ancient Chronicles, the *Kojiki* or the *Nihonshoki*; and we have seen the legitimacy of the heavenly deities and their decency. We can find a context gap developing between sequences 1–6 and 7–8 here; 7–8 remains a myth before the ideological reorganization.

Contents of Symbols

The name, Ame-waka-hiko or Heavenly young prince, contrasts with Ō-kuni-nushi, Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land (= DMGL) and contains the symbol of the political context; the plot progresses according to this symbol system; the contents of the names are contrasted according to the following structure (Meaning of the names and contrasts-1):

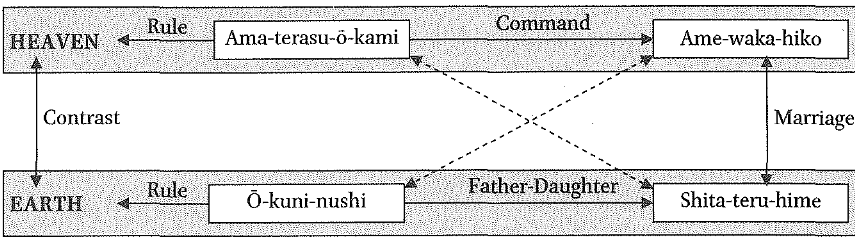


The same structure is found in the two female deities: the supreme heavenly deity and Ō-kuni-nushi's daughter (= Ame-waka-Hiko's wife) (Meaning of the names and contrasts-2):



The plot is connected closely to this symbolic structure. The story develops in the frame of this system as if according to a causal structure, using even new elements or motifs. The name, Ame-waka-hiko, indicates this structure; the plot is developed in this frame, heaven and earth (or soil or land), as the premise. The medieval tale expands with new elements but is determined by this structure.

TABLE 16.3 *World Structure—Symbol—Symmetry*



The contrasted pairs of names in the Table 16.3, combined and integrated in the analysis (a) and (b) of Table 16.1 and Table 16.2, shows the hierarchy from left to right that covers the element "heaven" contrasted with the "soil." This contrast shows the symmetry of the name elements in a vertical direction, while the horizontal pairing shows the successor or other gender. This diagram thus shows the structure of the world of the story and shows also the direction of the movement of the plot. The plot in this structure has elements closely related to each other. The name, Ame-waka-hiko, Heavenly Young Prince, includes the element of "young."

The plot develops in this structure, enclosing heaven and earth (or soil) as the frame of the world and also creates a system. "Young" determines Ame-waka-hiko's constituent part in the plot in such a functional system: his youthful naivety, carelessness and inexperience lead him to a painful result which is the consequence of his uncritically taking the servant's advice. This twists the whole story and leads it to tragedy. The structure, consisting of such relations "bundled" to each other and organized together as fundamental units of myth is the structure of myth and "mytheme" that Claude Lévi-Strauss described.[8]

8 Similarly, Lévi-Strauss identified myths as a type of speech through which a language could be discovered. This theory attempted to explain how seemingly fantastical and arbitrary tales could be so similar across cultures. He believed that this was because there was not one "authentic" version of a myth: rather that they were all manifestations of the same language. He

Related Contents: Myths and "The Book of the Heavenly Young Prince"

The story in the medieval version has a chronologically simple structure with successive action elements; here the structural units in the ancient stories combine different details or transformed motif elements, as we saw. The story runs in this way:

> Conflict → leave the original territory → transit / time-limited stay in a strange world / environment → confrontation with risk / testing → help from the outside (divine or human or creature) and mobilization of their own abilities → establishment of own position and positive action in the world (with external and internal changes)

The tale consists essentially of the frame of the ancient myth taking over the protagonist with the same name, Heavenly Young Prince, using the symbol mechanism that connects the myth story of Susa-no-wo and Ō-kuni-nushi; this mechanism expands the substance of the myth, involving related elements such as following contrast between the medieval and ancient tales.

> offering to the monster snake → to slit the snake's skin (related to sword; to slit the skin of the head with a small knife/get the sword from the tail) → tree (magic gourd/tree country) connected to the otherworld (above/below) → difficult trials with dangers (snake and centipedes etc.) combining the partner's help with magic instrument (sleeve /shawl)

On this patchwork the sad story is transformed into a relatively happy tone, i.e. the image of the Heavenly Young Prince in the ancient text is changed; enlarging on a typical chain of events a "success-story" that consists of the original elements of the Susa-no-wo and the Ō-kuni-nushi. The "bundled" system of symbol or "mytheme" of myth construction expands the ancient text to a new text. The medieval tale, "the Heavenly Young Prince Book," is organized according to the same mechanical process of myth and symbol; the title, the name as symbol, functions as the core of the system, as a "code."

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sought to find the fundamental units of myth, namely, the mytheme. Lévi-Strauss broke each of the versions of a myth down into a series of sentences, consisting of a relation between a function and a subject. Sentences with the same function were given the same number and bundled together. Lévi-Strauss defined these as "mythemes". See, Lévi-Strauss, Claude, *Strukturale Anthropologie I* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp (fr. 1958), 1997), 232.

Expanding the Plot and Changing the Contents of Heaven; the Medieval Mentality Returns to the Origins of the Story

The new development in the medieval version is the meaning and image of heaven; it no longer means the origin of the ruling ideology, even under the influence of the conventional symbol system. What made it change and how is the change related to the original image?

The medieval version also concerns the structure of heaven and earth as its framework: the name "Heavenly Young Prince" is a code that evokes an imaginative chain; heaven involves the soil, and youth is "bundled" with ripeness or maturity in a pictorial chain. The text expands on this basic system by changing the tragic ending and turning it into a success story. The name of the protagonist is related to a changed world view and cultural values; the narrative reflects these cultural values as its background. This reflects the transformation in Japanese cultural history and social structure.[9]

Text as Written as a Motor of Plot Construction:

The medieval story gets its start from "a letter" from the large snake (Table 16.1: Sequence 1). This opening is not only a form of storytelling but also a plot development; "writing" relates closely to the construction of the plot that follows. Comparing this element to the beginning of the ancient version makes the meaning clearer; the ancient myth plot essentially uses symbols in its myth structure and on this mechanism, and the story flows.[10] This system makes the plot move by reducing details. But the plot expansion in this medieval tale is a detailed process; it brings complexity to the substance of the text.

The beginning of the conflict in the first sequence explains what follows: the heroine's character is not symbolized by her name (her name is not told) but indicated through her acts. Each of her decisions is concretely depicted and reveals her personality; the reason why she accepts the offering of the monster snake is explained (Table 16.1: Sequence 1) in what follows:

> .... if I don't go, then my parents will be killed by the snake. I don't care what happens to me. The worst for me is that my parents be killed by the snake ...

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9 The old text (the *Kojiki*: Table 16.2) evolved not only by expanding the plot but also in narrative technique in the medieval tale (Table 16.1). The medieval text was originally written: it was not a recorded oral text. The storyline changed precisely, from an earlier text that included a reduced form of the symbol structure (see also footnote 12).

10 Lévi-Strauss, *Strukturale*, 231–232.

Filial piety determines her choice.[11] Her decision causes psychological conflict. The passage connects to her next decisions, and such processes repeat until her last decision to leave the soil and to seek her husband in the other world. This is contrasted to her selfish sisters and their interest in materialism; it makes the heroine separate, not only from her parents but from her husband. The chain of causes and results in psychological function is detailed. The narrative evolution from oral to written is reflected not only in the enlargement of the text but also in the plot construction.[12]

Heaven and its Meaning

The turning point in the tragic chain of events of the medieval story comes after her terminal decision; the changing process is presented in the spatial expanding: she begins to search in a foreign place (far from her village) for "the magic gourd" and then to another world "above the clouds." Her psychological development is also presented in the scenery enlarging; in this process, the value that she seeks also changes: her way to the "Heavenly Young Prince" in the sky is presented as a pilgrim traveling to seek inner value (Table 16.1: sequence 6).

The sequences in heaven are made with a montage of motifs, reusing the conventional motifs from the ancient myth (compare in religious tone: Table 16.1: Sequence 7 and the plot of the myth of the Deity Ō-kuni-nushi) and elements of the star festival. Heaven is displayed as a platform of motifs connected by the world-view and values of each sphere. This framework is also present in the personal development of the heroine. The "Heavenly Young Prince" is manifest not as a main figure but for his name as symbol, and works as a code—as a leitmotif of the values of heaven.

By the eighth century, Buddhist temples were established in the capital area and benefited in various ways more than the native Shinto shrines. However, Shinto Shrines were not disestablished.[13] Thus, both in belief and

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11 Faith, piety and grace and their systematic functions were pursued in Mahāyāna Buddhism see, Nakamura Hajime, *Nakamura Hajime senshū vol. 20. Genshi bukkyō kara daijōbukkyō e* (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1994), 343–402; and for Japanese Buddhists in the medieval period filial piety meant one of the central themes see, Nakamura Hajime, *Nakamura Hajime senshū vol. 21. Daijōbukkyō no shisō* (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1995), 433–450.

12 "Written" had a crucial meaning in the historical change of cultural and communicative forms that consists of "memory." "Written" texts have a different effect in cultural context in terms of coherence see, Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: C.H. Beck, Jan 2002), 101–103.

13 Saeki Arikiyo, "Kizoku bunka no hassei," in *Iwanami kōza nihon rekishi, Vol.2 (Kodai2)* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1975), 197–206; Kawane Yoshiyasu, "Ōdo shisō to shin'butsu

practice, Buddhism came into Japanese life at a different level than that served by Shinto. Buddhism met different spiritual needs without subtracting from the validity of the older tradition. Buddhism, as a religious establishment and social force in political affairs and as a major carrier of Chinese civilization brought to Japan a new system of beliefs and pious attitudes.[14]

After the periods in which temples were endowed for the purpose of reading sutras that were believed to have protective powers, especially for the state, Buddhism tended to personal salvation.[15] The method of self-exertion or "self-power"—without reliance on an external force or being—stands in contrast to another major form of Buddhism, Pure Land, which is characterized by the highest trust in salvation by faith in the vow which Amitabha Buddha had made to save creation. Pure Land Buddhism was the most faith-orientated manifestation of Buddhism in the tenth century, as the most accessible teaching. This was especially so at its first phase among the aristocracy.[16]

The idea of salvation by "other-power," inspired by Pure Land Buddhism as man's inability to attain salvation through his own efforts, was popular because it was only by relying on forces outside himself that man could be saved; moreover, all were equal in the eyes of Buddha. The lucid teaching, simplified tenet and liberalized doctrine spread and was popularized in the new rising

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shūgō," in: *Iwanami kōza nihon rekishi, Vol.4* (*Kodai 4*)(Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), 273–280.

14 Sonoda Kōyū, "Kokka bukkyō to shakai seikatsu," in *Iwanami kōza nihon rekishi, Vol. 4* (Kodai 4)(Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), 379–389; Nakamura Hajime, *Nakamura Hajime senshū vol. 21. Daijōbukkyō no shisō* (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1995), 740–745.

15 See, Saeki, "Kizoku bunka no hassei", 184–196. The acceptance of Buddhism was in the high period of Chinese influence in Japan; it worked as dominant religion and as a powerful establishment at the beginning, Buddhism cooperated with the ambitious clans and the state system; See also, Saeki, "Kizoku bunka no hassei,", 205–208; Sonoda, "Kokka bukkyō to shakai seikatsu,", 350–379, 358–371; Franke, Herbert, Trauzettel, Rolf. Fischer, *Weltgeschichte, Vol. 19 Das Chinesische Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fisher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1968), 143–144. The Buddhist ceremony was trusted for its protective power and through the reading sutras similar to the way the Chinese North dynasty used its religious influence for the power of the state. The Japanese early state built temples and monasteries for the protection of the country; the religion also fostered the study of sutras in the Chinese translations; Saeki, "Kizoku bunka no hassei," 202–208, and Sonoda, "Kokka bukkyō to shakai seikatsu", 366–371. The introduction, study and practice, of sutras adapted to state policy; This was initiated by the Kegon sect, which made the elemental introduction of the development of Mahayana Buddhism in later Japan see, Nakamura, *Daijōbukkyō no shisō*, 849–863, 873–874, and Bitō Masahide. *Nihon bunka no rekishi* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 50–51, 75–82.

16 See footnote 15.

class as the aristocracy decayed; in this tendency syncretism found the way to adapt the universal religion to the culture: the idea that the Japanese pantheon was actually a local manifestation of Buddhist deities; in fact Amaterasu, (the central heavenly deity) was the Great Sun (an alternative name of Rushana), which helped to fuse the two religions.[17]

The enriched heavenly image in the medieval tale mirrored the scheme of this fusion; compared to the former version of the story under the conventional framework of the myth effect, the influence of Buddhism is clear; the famous motif from the Buddhist sutra reflects the heavenly image. As she proceeds along the way in heaven seeking her husband (Table 16.1: Sequence 6) "there she met first a nice man in a white hunting robe and asked him, 'Where is the place of Ame-waka-hiko?'" and she repeated the same question to other people until she reached the residence. Her passage in heaven mirrors the famous Buddhist pilgrim motif, although the religious salvation is replaced with her seeing her husband; this voyage, in turn, is replaced by the star appearances.

In the *Gandavyuha* Chapter of the *Avatamsaka-sutra* in Sanskrit, Sudhanakumâra was a youth who was seeking enlightenment. At the behest of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, prince Sudhana took a pilgrimage on his quest for enlightenment and studies under 53 "good friends," those who direct one towards the Way to Enlightenment. The final master that he visited was Samantabhadra, who taught him that wisdom only existed for the sake of putting it into practice.[18] The Sudhana legend from the Gandavyuha Chapter was passed down in Japan in its Chinese translation and further into the Japanese language.[19]

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17 Roland Schneider, "Der Pakt zwischen Amaterasu und Dava Māra—Intentionalität buddhistischer Erzählungen im japanischen Mittelalter—" in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur—und Völkerkunde Ostasiens/Hamburg* (*NOAG*) 98 (Dec.1965): 39–44; Kawane, "Ōdo shisō to shin'butsu shūgō", 272–280, 300–306; Yoshie Akio, *Shinbutsushūgō* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), 168–197.

18 Haseoka Kazuya, "Zenzai dōji no henreki," in Hirakawa Akira, *et. al.* (ed.), *Kōza daijō bukkyō vol.3. Kegon shisō* (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1983), 121–150; Nakamura, *Daijōbukkyō no shisō*, 817–827. Avalokitesvara is the 28th spiritual master Sudhana visited at Mount Potalaka. Sudhana's quest reached its climax when he met Maitreya, the Buddha-to-be, who snapped his fingers and opened thereby the doors to his marvelous tower. Within the tower, Sudhana experienced all the Dharmadhatu, as dimensions or worlds in a succession of visions. The 53 stations of Japan's Tōkaidō were a metaphor for Sudhana's journey see, Nakamura, *Daijōbukkyō no shisō*, 821–825, 873–874.

19 Nōdomi Jōten, "The Manuscript of the Zenzaidōji-Kegon-engi" in *Komazawa daigaku bukkyou gakubu ronshū Vol. 18* (Oct. 1987), 270–298. Sudhana's legend is handed down not only in the different text versions but also in some different styles.

The pilgrimage of Prince Sudhana as told in the Avatamsaka *Sūtra*, describes a cosmos of infinite realms upon realms, mutually containing one another. The vision expressed in this work was the foundation for the creation of the Hua-yen school of Chinese Buddhism, which was characterized by a philosophy of interpenetration.[20] Hua-yen is known as Kegon, and the Kegon sect in Japan had a crucial meaning at the first phase of Japanese Buddhism;[21] the priests of this sect devoted themselves to the study of certain sutras and conceived an essential apparatus for the protection of the state. The official policy of calling upon Buddhist orders was thus adopted systematically as a matter of state policy, and later developed into other influential teachings and sects.[22]

Another Heaven-related element, the "swan maiden" motif, was recorded in the Provincial gazetteers, *Fudoki*, commissioned in 713 AD,[23] almost the same period as the ancient state chronicles. The well-known fairytale with the "swan maiden" motif has numerous world-wide variations;[24] in Japan it is called the "Tennin" motif, a heavenly spirit whose robe, "Hagoromo," is stolen.[25] Mūlasarvāstivādins, including the famous motif, was translated from

20 Nakamura, *Daijōbukkyō no shisō*, 811–849.

21 Nakamura, *Daijōbukkyō no shisō*, 873–874.

22 Bitō Masahide, *Nihon bunka no rekishi*, 74–83, 90–110. Compare this to footnote 15.

23 Takeda Yūkichi, *Fudoki* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1937), 305–309, 374–375, 410–411. There are variations in the basic plot; the type is held as a narrative in the modern period that is also called the "Animal wife motif." The tale has this basic plot: A young, unmarried man steals a magic robe of a female swan, which is made so that she will not fly away, and winds up marrying her and she bears his children. When the children are older they sing a song about where their father has hidden their mother's robe (or one asks why the mother always weeps), and finds her cloak (or they otherwise betray the secret). She immediately gets her robe and disappears to where she came from (although leaving the children may grieve her, she does not take them with her see, Kimishima Hisako, "Ten'nyo no matsuei-sōseiki shinwa ni miru shisodensetsu no ichikeitai" in: *Seki keigo hakushi beiju kinen ronbushū. Minkan setstuwa no kenkyū nihon to sekai* (Tōkyō: Dōhōsha, 1987), 264–288; Imoto Eiichi, "Chūkintō no hagoromo setsuwa," in *Seki keigo hakushi beiju kinen ronbushū. Minkan setsuwa no kenkyū nihon to sekai* (Tōkyō: Dōhōsha, 1987), 289–305.

24 Meisig, Konrad, "Sakuntala—The Swan Woman," in *Asiatische Studien* (= *Études Asiatiques*) *54-(1)*, (Bern/Berlin: Peter Lang, 2000), 249–283.

25 The philological text study of the Yìjìng's Chinese translation and the other variations of prince Sudhana legend see Li Wei, *Schwanfrau und Prinz. Die chinesische Frühform einer Divyavadana-Legende.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), XVII–XVIII, 1–80. On the variable translations into Chinese language see Li, K. Meisig, M. Meisig, "Kāng Sēnhhuì's Chinese Translation of the Sudhanāvadāna," in Konrad Meisig (ed.), *Translating Buddhist Chinese: Problems and Prospects* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2010), 123–160, and Marion Meisig, "康僧會 Kāng Sēnghuì—Preacher and Teacher" in Konrad Meisig (ed.),

the Sanskrit original into Chinese by Yìjìng (635–713)[26] and one of the copied sutra scripts was brought to Japan; the transformation of the famous episodes or scenes was applied in various narrative arts and forms to teach the people a new system of beliefs and pious attitudes.

Combining the Buddhist pilgrim motif with the myth motif in the overcoming of various hardships was the origin of the Ō-kuni-nushi myth. The heavenly spirit in the female passes through various adventures in heaven. The compound texturing is a patchwork or collage that reflects the religious and cultural fusion in medieval Japan.

Star Festival as the Framework of the Tale

The medieval tale ends its story by putting the whole plot in the frame of the star festival. The festival is called Tanabata, and traces its origins to an ancient Chinese ritual celebration called Kikkōden, with the legend that the Cowherd Star (Altair) and Weaver Star (Vega), separated by the Milky Way, are allowed to meet just once a year on the seventh day of the seventh month. The festival is popular even today.[27]

The first wave of the legendary influence is reflected in poems in the oldest anthology, *Man'yōshū* (compiled in the middle of the eighth century), and became one of the favorite lyric motifs throughout the aristocratic period.[28] It also appeared in a court ritual as a reflection of Chinese culture that aimed at bringing about a successful task of sewing; it coalesced in the ritual of weaving and the seasonal greeting or cult offering of food for the spirits of one's ancestors. The festival over time was used to bring about the success of other accomplishments or wishes and came to be written on strips of paper.[29]

The same mechanism of religious syncretism can be seen where the Heavenly Young Prince and his wife represent the alternative figures of the star festival; in the same way, the Great Sun (Rushana) helped to justify the fusion of two religions. With this same mechanism the ancient name "Heavenly

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Translating Buddhist Chinese: Problems and Prospects (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2010), 115–122.

26 Hand script copy from Yìjìng's Chinese translation of the "Mūlasarvāstivāda 根本說一切有部" held in Japanese temples are shown on the website (Kokusai Bukkyō daigaku daigakuin).

27 Ōnishi Hiroshi, "Tanabata to hoshizora no densetsu" in Amino Yoshihiko *et al.* (ed.) *Uri to ryūja* (Tōkyō: Fukuinkan Shoten, 1993), 50–58.

28 Satake, "Genbun shō: Amewaka hiko sōshi", 61–65.

29 Ōnishi, "Tanabata to hoshizora no densetsu", 99–107.

Young Prince" could be associated with new elements, using the same symbol system, the structure of myth-mythem, *"bundle of relations."*[30]

Conclusion

Comparing the two texts from different periods, I have tried to analyze the mechanism of each text: the integrative myth construction in the former text and the compound mechanism connected to the conventional myth construction in the later text. I have used the function of the symbols set in the text that coordinated the storytelling; the myth construction brought about the effect of *"bundle of relations,"* as defined by Claude Lévi-Strauss, which also influenced the later text.

The imaginative chain of the later text leads the receptor (reader or audience) into the metaphoric world, i.e. mythical imaginative overlay. The title (the name of the protagonist) of the tale is associated as a symbol and makes the plot move. The system induces words (symbols) to compound and leads to association; as a result, the combinations of symbols are precise but enlarged; the references allude to other stories. Episodes and sequences are built on the associations; storytelling is produced as a result of the simple but highly contextual structure.

The influence of Buddhism in medieval Japan was crucial; the religious organization was one of the most important institutions of society, along with other institutions such as the court aristocracy and warriors.[31] The religious organization was the major carrier of Chinese civilization to the Eurasian cultural world. Culture that spread over the enormous continent was brought to the Japanese islands through the effective filter of China, with the Buddhist belief in Japan being based on sutras translated into Chinese. The written system was developed not only for management of the state, but also for use in the Buddhist temples.[32] It worked as the foremost apparatus to construct civilized society.[33] Such an enormous totality of influence was not only seen in each

30 Roland Barthes, Das Semiologische Abenteuer (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp (fr. 1985), 1988), 117.

31 Kuroda Toshio, *Nihon—chūsei no kokka to shūkyô* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1975).

32 Saeki, "Kizoku bunka no hassei" 202–206; Sonoda, "Kokka bukkyō to shakai seikatsu", 153–186; Aoki Kazuo. "Tenpyō Bunkaron", in: *Iwanami kōza nihon tsūshi*, Vol. 4 (Kodai 3). (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 261–296.

33 Satō Masako, "Das Altertum als Utopie—Von den Quellen der Dichtung zur Ideologie der Restauration" in *Asiatische Studien* (= *Études Asiatiques*) 65(2).Bern/Berlin: Peter Lang, 2011), 348–351.

socio-cultural element; it was the entire structure.[34] The cumulative foreign cultural influence was reflected in the medieval tale.

On this integrative system the story was written as a mirror of a cultural phenomenon. The story reflected the socio-cultural structure: religious syncretism or fusion as cultural phenomenon. This was because the symbol was a small unit of culture. Each symbol reflected assimilation and the superimposition of cultural phenomena that shifted society. The name "Heavenly Young Prince" worked as a code that connected heaven and earth. The code implicated, therefore, a world-view that was the core of religious values and reflected a progressive integration of the socio-cultural shift under the huge influence of China and universal religious world.

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34 Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle*, 75–78, 294–296.

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