

1/2011



Polskie Stowarzyszenie  
Badań Japonistycznych

# Analecta Nipponica

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JOURNAL OF POLISH ASSOCIATION FOR JAPANESE STUDIES

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## EDITOR'S PREFACE

With the preparation and release of the present volume, one more forum for academic discussion and contribution in the sphere of Japanese studies is being offered to both researchers and potential readers involved or interested in the field. The volume initiates what has been conceived as the official journal of the Polish Association for Japanese Studies (PAJS, in Polish PSBJ Polskie Stowarzyszenie Badań Japonistycznych, in Japanese ポーランド日本研究協会).

The Association was called into existence at the seventh all-Poland Toruń interdisciplinary symposium on the „Language and culture of Japan” organized by Copernicus University of Toruń on a more or less regular basis annually and on that occasion convened on June 17–19, 2001, in the small town of Stęszew (near Poznań, Poland) and hosted by the International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies. It turned out to be a meeting that for the first time gathered almost all the prominent and active Japanologists from all over the country and thus particularly entitled and representative to lay foundations for the national structure coordinating the so-far haphazardly organized research projects, study programs, and other enterprises. Since its foundation, the Association initiated, organized, and/or sponsored numerous events and undertakings, both academic and popular, like international and national conferences, exhibitions, days or weeks of Japanese culture, etc., and now the first volume of the PAJS journal is proposed to mark the consolidation of the Association on the tenth anniversary of its birth.

The journal proposed with this volume did not originate in a contextual vacuum: Polish Japanologists had their own forum previously in form of a magazine of substantial volume, entitled *Japonica*, published under the auspices of the Department of Japanese and Korean Studies at Warsaw University and the Takashima Foundation affiliated with the Department (sixteen volumes were issued between 1993–2002, the contents printed exclusively in Polish), followed by a smaller in size but at least equally ambitious bilingual (English-Japanese, Polish accepted only in the case of translations from Japanese) quarterly entitled *Silva Japonicarum*, in Japanese *Nichirin* (日林), initiated to meet the need of possibly quickest

exchange of ideas and research results in the field; with its first fascicle released in 2004, currently it is distributed in two versions – electronic and printed (so far, xyz fascicles till these days). Polish Japanologists made use of both of the mentioned titles as well as other established journals but, associating themselves into PAJS, they started insistently postulating the creation of a new journal that could come out under the auspices of the Association to serve the Association and to stay open for a discussion and participation as wide as possible.

The journals aims at presenting, to the possibly widest audience, results of study of Polish Japanologists, especially of the younger generations, as well as lesser known but still valid results obtained by our teachers and scholars of the past generations, but contributions are welcomed from authors the world over. The languages of the journal are English and Japanese, contributions should follow the style sheet of the journal and will be subject to independent reviews prior to acceptance.

The work on the volume took place in times particularly demanding and unfavorable for such task: on March 11, 2011, the unprecedented magnitude 9 earthquake followed by giant tsunami devastated beyond recognition enormous parts of Japan's beautiful Pacific coastal region of Tōhoku and took thousands of lives. This, together with the subsequent explosion of three nuclear reactors at Fukushima power plant located in the region, tragically affected the fate of hundreds of thousands more people with ultimate consequences to be seen in dozens of years, perhaps centuries. It is really extremely difficult to concentrate on the preparation of a publication like this, devoted to Japan, when one witnesses the utmost sorrow of the country so beloved by its researchers. We sympathize with the surviving victims of this series calamity of unimaginable proportions and with the whole nation and individual PAJS members got particularly involved in various undertakings to actively demonstrate the depth of our sympathy. *Nippon – gambare!*

Alfred F. Majewicz



Saitama, July 25, 2011

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# ARTICLES

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Ewa Pałasz-Rutkowska

## **THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR AND ITS IMPACT ON THE POLISH-JAPANESE RELATIONS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY<sup>1</sup>**

The Russo-Japanese War and its effects undoubtedly influenced the international situation and directly affected Poland as well as Polish-Japanese relations, in the short as well as the long run. In the short run – that is, during the war itself – various political forces in Poland (e.g. Polish Socialist Party, National League) sought to exploit it for their own ends (including the restoration of an independent Polish state), establishing direct contacts with representatives of the Japanese government. At the same time, Poles exhibited much greater interest in Japan as a country which, less than 40 years after it ended its isolation and began to modernize, had the courage to launch a war against mighty imperial Russia, Poland's primary enemy at the time. This interest was reflected in numerous (for the era) Polish publications about Japan, including indirect translations of Japanese literature (Okakura Kakuzō 岡倉覚三, Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造, Tokutomi Roka 徳富蘆花, translations of works by Westerners who had visited Japan (Wilhelm Depping, Henry Dumolard, Rudyard Kipling, Georges Weulerse) and works by Poles, including books and articles in the press.

### **The impact of the war in the short run: 1904–1905 Genesis: Poland and Japan prior to 1904**

Due to unfavorable historical circumstances – i.e. Japan's isolationist policy begun in 1639 and Poland's loss of independence following the third partition in 1795 – there were no official Polish-Japanese relations until 1919. For this reason, very little news about Japan reached Poland and vice-versa until the end of the

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<sup>1</sup> The text was partly presented during the conference on *Nichiro sensō-to sekai – 100 nengo-no shiten kara* (*The Russo-Japanese War and the World: A Centennial Perspective*), Tokyo 2004; it was published in Japanese as Pałasz-Rutkowska 2005: 143–68. All quotations in the text have been translated by Ewa Pałasz-Rutkowska unless otherwise indicated.

13th century<sup>2</sup>. The situation improved somewhat after Japan opened its borders and began the process of modernization. During this time, the Japanese sought to gain knowledge about the rest of the world as quickly as possible, and foreigners – including Poles – were able to visit the distant chain of islands in the Pacific and learn the culture of Japan at first hand. The first Polish researchers and travelers to visit Japan at that time were the zoologist Szymon Syrski (1829–1882), the oceanographer Jan Kubary (1846–1896) and the world’s leading researcher into the language and folklor of the Ainus, the ethnologist Bronisław Piłsudski (1866–1918; the older brother of Marshal Józef Piłsudski, who also figures in this paper), and a writer who later popularized the image of Japan in Poland, the ethnographer Waław Sieroszewski (1858–1945). The outstanding Polish travelers who visited Japan at the time were Count Karol Lanckoroński (1848–1933) and Prince Paweł Sapieha (1860–1934), and the Czarist general Bronisław Grąbczewski (1855–1925), whose travel memoirs helped to familiarize Poles with Japan.

Information about Poland and its history likewise began to reach Japan. Tōkai Sanshi 東海散士, in his novel *Kajin-no kigu* 佳人之奇遇, [unexpected encounters with beautiful women] (1885), mentioned the tragedy of the Polish nation, the partitions and the independence movement, wishing to caution Japan – just beginning to initiate international relations at the time – about great powers and their colonizing policies. Poland next appeared in Ochiai Naobumi’s poem *Pōrando kaiko* [remembrance of Poland], which is part of the longer poem *Kiba ryokō* [騎馬旅行 journey by horse] (Ochiai 1960: 114–5). Ochiai wrote this work, which is known in Japan essentially as a popular soldier’s song, on the basis of a lone horseback journey from Berlin to Vladivostok (February 11, 1892 – June 12, 1893) undertaken by Major Fukushima Yasumasa (福島安正 1852–1919; see Pałasz-Rutkowska 2000: 125–34), the precursor of intelligence-gathering operations soon to be conducted by the modern Japanese army in Europe and Asia. Fukushima’s main task was to obtain information about modern European armies and their strategies, particularly those of Japan’s most powerful and dangerous neighbor, Russia. Fukushima was the first representative of the Japanese authorities to make contact with Poles, as he believed that these traditional opponents of Russia – and especially those who sought to regain Poland’s independence by defeating Russia by force of arms – would provide him exact information concerning this power (Ōta 1941; Shimanuki 1979). Fukushima sent information about Russia and anti-Czarism movements in the Polish territories to the Japanese Army General Staff, which made use of it immediately prior to and during the Russo-Japanese War. This was the first time in history that cooperation, though still unofficial, took place between representatives of the government of Japan and Poles.

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<sup>2</sup> For details see: Pałasz-Rutkowska [&] Romer 2009a: 21–34; 2009b: 7–12; Pałasz-Rutkowska 2001.

## Polish-Japanese cooperation during the Russo-Japanese war

This subject has been relatively well covered by Polish and Japanese scholars<sup>3</sup>, so I will present the scattered information on this cooperation and its consequences in an ordered and abbreviated manner, limiting myself to cooperation and contacts between two political parties in Poland – the National League (NL) and Polish Socialist Party (PSP) – and representatives of the Japanese authorities.

Before the war began on February 10, 1904, the Japanese authorities decided to make contact with representatives of groups that opposed Russian rule over the nations of Europe, including Poles, and to exploit their efforts to regain independence for the purpose of weakening their huge enemy. Toward this end, colonel Akashi Motojirō (明石元二郎 1864–1919)<sup>4</sup>, till then the Japanese military attaché in St. Petersburg, was sent to Stockholm. The Japanese Army General Staff (Sambō Hombu 参謀本部) ordered him to build an intelligence network that would operate in Russia, to sabotage the Trans-Siberian Railway and to support revolutionary forces – an opposition against Czarism on the territory of great Russia, whose armed actions could effectively weaken the Russian military in Manchuria. Akashi made contact with representatives, among others, of the Finnish opposition (Fält 1976: 205–238), particularly its leader, the lawyer and writer, Konrad Viktor (Konni) Zilliacus (1855–1924), and Jonas Castren (1855–1922), a leader of the Finnish Constitutional Party. It was Jonas Castren who recommended to Akashi the NL in Poland and its leader, Roman Dmowski (1864–1939)<sup>5</sup>.

Akashi, who met Dmowski in Cracow at the beginning of the war, encouraged him to foment an uprising on the Polish territories, which together with other insurrections against Czarist rule in Europe (e.g. Finland), would divert Russian forces from the Far-Eastern theatre of war, as Akashi reasoned (Inaba 1995: 26–44). But Dmowski maintained that, considering the situation at that time, such an uprising would only end in yet another tragedy for the Poles (Dmowski 1988: 91–2). And it would not produce the expected benefits for Japan, as Russia would quickly suppress it and then redirect a part of its forces in the Polish lands to its army fighting Japan in the Far East – thus strengthening its forces against Japan. Dmowski argued the threat of an uprising breaking out would be more advantageous for Japan, than an actual uprising itself. He nevertheless proposed cooperation that would take the form of surrender without fighting by Poles in the Russian Army in Manchuria. Akashi liked this idea. He thought that if Poles began to surrender at a culminating moment

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<sup>3</sup> See e.g.: Bandō 1995; Inaba 1992a; Inaba 1992b; Jędrzejewicz 1974; Lerski 1959; Pałasz-Rutkowska [&] Romer 2009a: 43–74; Pałasz-Rutkowska [&] Romer 2009b: 23–64.

<sup>4</sup> For more about Akashi activities see: Inaba 1995; Inaba 1986; Inaba 1987; Komori 1968; Fält & Kujala (eds.) 1988.

<sup>5</sup> Dmowski was a Polish delegate to the Versailles Conference (1919), Minister of Foreign Affairs (1923) and a preeminent right wing figure in Polish politics until World War II.

of the war, it could genuinely weaken the morale of the entire Russian Army and generate serious problems for the Russian command<sup>6</sup>. Dmowski eventually accepted an invitation to visit Japan and, with letters of recommendation in hand from Akashi to the Deputy Chief of the General Staff, General Kodama Gentarō (児玉源太郎 1852–1906), and the Chief of the Department II (Intelligence), the aforementioned General Fukushima Yasumasa, he left for Tokyo at the end of March. He wanted to present his views directly to the Japanese authorities; moreover, he wanted to warn them against what he felt would be the negative effects of insurrectional activities planned by the Polish socialists, whom he suspected – correctly, as it turned out – of having also made contact with the Japanese.

Akashi did not limit his Polish contacts to Dmowski. After Dmowski left for Japan, probably without his knowledge, Akashi contacted Jan Popławski (1854–1908) and Zygmunt Balicki (1858–1916), leaders of the NL, and proposed that they organize sabotage on the Trans-Siberian Railway, which constituted the only source of supply for the Russian Army in the Far East<sup>7</sup>. The Poles liked this idea, realizing that if the railway were destroyed it would substantially hinder and possibly even prevent the sending of Poles impressed into the Czarist army to the Far East. But because the first attempts at sabotage failed, Akashi decided to train two persons specially selected for this purpose by Balicki. No one in the ranks of the National League was deemed to be suitable, so help was sought from the co-founder of the Polish Socialist Party, Witold Jodko-Narkiewicz (1864–1924). Jodko, who had previously made contact with the Japanese (see below) and proposed, among other things, to sabotage the Trans-Siberian Railway, found two appropriate candidates: Mieczysław Dąbkowski (1880–1946) of the Lwów-based *Odrodzenie* (Renaissance) Group, which sympathized with the PSP, and the socialist Waław Harasymowicz (1875–1923). The training took place in Paris and lasted several weeks. It was conducted by Tanaka Hirotarō, whom Akashi brought in from Germany. However, despite the sincere intentions and enthusiasm of the trainees as well as interested representatives of both parties, Dąbkowski and Harasymowicz never went to Siberia. Thus, the plan to sabotage the Trans-Siberian Railway was ultimately a failure.

The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War rekindled hopes among members of the PSP that Poland would be able to regain its independence. The party's main leader, Józef Piłsudski (1867–1935)<sup>8</sup>, believed that Polish cooperation with the

<sup>6</sup> There were also many cases of desertion from the Russian Army, especially during mobilization in Poland; see: Gaimushō Gaikō Shiryōkan (abbr. GGS), 1.6.3.2–9: Makino to Komura, no. 288 (Dec. 21, 1904), no. 292 (Dec. 31, 1904), no. 75 (March 1, 1905), etc.

<sup>7</sup> Inaba 1995: 53–55. There were probably some attempts to destroy other railways, i.e. in Manchuria, see GGS, 5.2.15.13: Mizuno to Komura, no. 301 (Aug. 8, 1904).

<sup>8</sup> J. Piłsudski, was then the first Marshal of Poland (1920), Chief of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Military Forces (1919–1920), Minister of War (1926–1935), and Prime Minister (1926–1928, 1930).

Japanese could bring about the mutually advantageous weakening of the Russian Empire and, in the end, speed up its defeat<sup>9</sup>. He wanted to exploit Russia's engagement in the Far-Eastern war and lead an armed uprising on the Polish lands of the Russian Empire to restore Poland's independence. The socialists undertook their first attempt to make contact with the Japanese, through Count Makino Nobuaki, the Minister of Japanese Legation in Vienna, in early February 1904 – before Akashi met with Dmowski. Because the attempt did not succeed, another try was made in London<sup>10</sup>. In mid March, Witold Jodko-Narkiewicz met with the Japanese Minister to England, Viscount Hayashi Tadasu (林董 1850–1913). He presented him proposals concerning, inter alia, the creation of a Polish legion under the Japanese army, which would consist of Polish POWs and Poles from America, and the dissemination of revolutionary, anti-Czarism literature among Polish soldiers in the Russian army in Manchuria, which would encourage these soldiers to desert, thereby weakening Russian forces. Jodko also spoke about the possibility of destroying bridges and railroads in eastern Russia and Siberia. These proposals – particularly sabotaging the Trans-Siberian Railway, which was the only supply line for the Russian army in Manchuria, as well as propaganda encouraging Polish soldiers to desert – greatly interested Hayashi as well as the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Komura Jutarō (小村寿太郎 1855–1911)<sup>11</sup>. However, Komura agreed with Hayashi's opinion that the Japanese government cannot incorporate foreigners into its army<sup>12</sup>. Although no agreement was reached, talks in London and exchange of correspondence continued<sup>13</sup>. Because the Polish side was very interested in building this cooperation, they began to provide the Japanese with information about the deployment of Russian forces, the number of soldiers placed in the Russian army before and after the outbreak of war. But the Polish socialists decided to demand some degree of reciprocity from the Japanese<sup>14</sup>. Piłsudski even thought that Japan should pledge to place the matter of Poland on the agenda

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<sup>9</sup> For more details on Piłsudski views see: Piłsudski 1937, vol. 9: 279–80; Garlicki 1990: 83–8; Jędrzejewicz 1986; Pobóg-Malinowski 1935, vol. 2: 167–218; Pobóg-Malinowski 1964: 249–64.

<sup>10</sup> See: Jędrzejewicz 1974, 4–6; Makino 1989, vol. 1: 319–24. Makino was well informed about the situation by his 'Cracow correspondent'; see his cables to minister Komura: GGS, 1.6.3.2–9: no. 238 (Nov. 18, 1904), no. 288 (Dec. 21, 1904), no. 75 (March 1, 1905), no. 135 (May 6, 1905).

<sup>11</sup> Gaimushō (ed.) 1958: 525–526 (Hayashi's cable no. 103 to minister Komura, March 16, 1904).

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 528 (Komura to Hayashi, no. 194, March 20, 1904).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 528–529 (no. 109, March 21, 1904); 529–533 (no. 110, March 21, 1904); 536–567 (no. 4, April 6, 1904); 540 (no. 6, April 14, 1904); see also: Jędrzejewicz 1974: 15–18.

<sup>14</sup> Many years later, in his important work *Poprawki historyczne* [historical amendments] he wrote the following on the then Polish-Japanese co-operation: *I made up my mind at once that I could be close with an intelligence organisation only if Japan would agree to give me technical assistance in terms of weapons and cartridges, because I did not expect that such a tremendous event like a war conducted by Russia, would be without any sign for Russian state and lead us, Poles to a situation of considerable improvement in the Polish fate*; see Piłsudski, 1937b, vol. 9: 279–80.

of an international conference. Because the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs dragged its feet in issuing any kind of binding response, the PSP made contact with the Japanese General Staff through Japan's military attaché in London, Colonel Utsunomiya Tarō (宇都宮太郎 1861–1922). The General Staff, which was mainly interested in information of a military nature, began to consider the possibility of inviting Piłsudski to Tokyo. It was decided that more could be decided through direct, confidential talks than by means of official correspondence. Between May 21 and 23, Piłsudski met with Utsunomiya in Vienna to work out the details of the trip. It was at that point that Piłsudski began to suspect that the Japanese did not entirely believe in the efficacy of cooperation only with Polish socialists, as he learned that the Japanese had contacted “other Poles and Finns” in the belief that it's better to rely on “united forces”, which he did not particularly like (Jędrzejewicz 1974: 32–3). He did not know at the time that those “other Poles” were representatives of the NL and Dmowski, who was already in Japan at that time. The next meeting with the Japanese – this time in London (June 2) – convinced Piłsudski that the Japanese treated his prospective trip to Tokyo seriously, as Hayashi had told Piłsudski, that his superiors would decide the conditions and shape of cooperation with the PSP (Lerski 1959: 84). Utsunomiya emphasized once again that the military authorities were particularly interested in sabotage on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Thus, with letters of recommendation to Minister of Foreign Affairs Komura Jūtarō, Deputy Chief of the General Staff Kodama Gentarō and General Fukushima Yasumasa, Piłsudski set off from England together with Tytus Filipowicz (1873–1953) at the beginning of June and arrived in Tokyo on July 11, 1904<sup>15</sup>. Only upon his arrival did he find out that Dmowski had been in Tokyo since 15 May<sup>16</sup>.

Dmowski, aware that a PSP representative would soon visit Japan, tried to see Minister of Foreign Affairs Komura immediately after his arrival in the country. He wanted to convince Komura that a revolution in Poland would bring about more harm than good, because it wouldn't give Japan anything and would be a catastrophe for Poland. Dmowski didn't get to see Komura, but he had the occasion to speak with his deputy, Chinda Sutemi (珍田捨巳 1856–1929), and the Director of the Political Department and a close colleague of the minister, Yamaza Enjirō (山座円次郎 1866–1914). He also met with the Deputy Chief of the General Staff, general Kodama, as well as general Fukushima. At their insistence, he wrote two memorials, translated into Japanese, in which he presented the political conditions and parties in Russia, the significance of the Polish question in the foreign policy of the three powers (Russia, Germany and Austro-Hungary) that had partitioned

<sup>15</sup> For details concerning his stay in Tokyo see: Jędrzejewicz 1974: 50–54; Jędrzejewicz 1986: 181–4; Lerski 1959: 85–7, 91–4.

<sup>16</sup> For details concerning Dmowski stay in Tokyo see: Bandō 1995: 35–44; Douglas 1931–1932: 183–5; Micewski 1971: 89–101.

Poland and the main aspirations of the Polish nation<sup>17</sup>. He wrote a draft appeal of the Japanese government to Polish soldiers in the Russian Army calling upon them to desert and surrender to the Japanese. He also helped edit an appeal to soldiers of other nationalities. Then Dmowski asked the Japanese to separate Polish POWs from Russian POWs<sup>18</sup>. He also obtained a promise from his hosts that, after the war, they would not send Polish POWs back to Russia who did not wish to return but to America instead, so as to avoid being court-martialed for desertion<sup>19</sup>. Moreover, he visited a POW camp in Matsuyama on Shikoku island where Poles were being held.

Piłsudski, the day after arriving in Tokyo began talks in the General Staff, which was represented by General Murata Atsushi (村田惇 1854–1917). Unfortunately, he never met Kodama or Fukushima, to whom Utsunomiya had addressed letters of recommendation for him, because they had been sent to the staff commanding Japanese forces in Manchuria. Piłsudski, like Dmowski, presented a political memorandum and draft agreement on cooperation between the Japanese and PSP. In his memorial Piłsudski explained the internal situation in Russia and the position of the various nations, including the Poles, under Russian rule, suffering from forced russification and ready to take action against the Czarism (Piłsudski 1937a: 249–258). He wrote length about the Poles, their political aspirations, their revolutionary-organizational experience acquire over a century of struggle against the partitioning power, their aims and capacity to undertake specific actions. He emphasized that despite the cultural differences and discrepancies in objectives and political position of the two nations, only Poles, and mainly the PSP, were able to help Japan in its struggle against Russia. The draft agreement between the PSP and Japan was written in a similar tone<sup>20</sup>. Although the fact that differences existed between Polish and Japanese interests was not ignored, it was felt that cooperation was possible and could yield favorable results for both parties. The PSP expected financial support from Japan, arms shipments, the organization of a Polish legion, special treatment of Polish POWs and cooperation on the international arena, inter alia, by helping Poles make contact with the governments of states whose foreign policy was directed against Russia. In exchange, the PSP pledged to provide information of a military nature, to send people to help the Japanese interrogate Russian POWs and organize a foreign legion, to write up appeals in various languages to soldiers in the Russian army calling upon them to desert, to undertake diversion activities in the case of mobilization in Poland, to organize an opposition in Poland, Lithuania and other captive nations of the Russian Empire,

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<sup>17</sup> The original documents have not been preserved; cf. Douglas 1931–1932: 183–5.

<sup>18</sup> More about Polish POWs in: Inaba 2007: 137–144; Miyawaki 2005.

<sup>19</sup> Inaba (1992: 237) maintains that finally they were sent to Russia.

<sup>20</sup> For the text see Jędrzejewicz 1974: 45–9.

to organize a special spy ring that would provide information about Russian forces and to prepare for a possible insurrection.

Despite his letters of recommendation, Piłsudski did not succeed in meeting Minister of Foreign Affairs Komura. The reason why may have been the intervention of Dmowski, who shortly before his departure from Japan on July 20 submitted – without Piłsudski's knowledge – a third memorial in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs addressed to minister Komura<sup>21</sup>. Dmowski felt compelled to write it after exchanging views with Piłsudski during the three meetings they held in Tokyo, including a 9-hour discussion on various political topics that took place on July 14. At that point he became convinced that they held diametrically opposed positions concerning exploitation of the Russo-Japanese war for the Polish cause and could not leave the matter without further comment on his part. So, in his third memorial he explained his fears concerning revolutionary activities in the Polish lands, which he was convinced would be suppressed quickly and bloodily by Russian forces. He emphasized that any form of rebellion in Poland would be unfavorable for Japan and desirable for the Czarist authorities, who were waiting for some way to compensate for the defeats they had suffered in the Far East. He explained that the National League sought to maintain its political line, which he believed to be the only path leading to a favorable outcome for the Polish cause; by contrast, armed activities of any sort would only retard this process. He made it clear that Poles have a strong interest in Japan's victory over Russia and would be happy to help the Japanese achieve it, though not at the cost of damaging their own interests.

In the end, the Japanese authorities did not agree to the cooperation proposed by the PSP, which can probably be attributed in part to Dmowski's actions in Tokyo. But the main reason for their decision was the difference in interests between the PSP and Japanese government, and also differences in views about cooperation with the PSP between Japanese military authorities, represented by the General Staff, and Japanese civil authorities, as represented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Above all, Piłsudski was interested in gaining political support, while the Japanese General Staff mainly wanted military intelligence information and sabotage along the Trans-Siberian Railway and had no interest at all in Polish political aspirations. Nor did these aspirations interest the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as Poland was simply too distant from Japan, in a geopolitical as well as cultural sense; moreover, Poland didn't even exist as an independent state. Japan had only just entered the international arena and did not wish to risk the standing it had achieved for a cause not directly related to the furtherance of its established foreign policy. It also had to proceed in accordance with the policies

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<sup>21</sup> Original in English see: GGS: 5.2.15–13 (Dmowski to Komura, July 20, 1904); cf. Gaimushō (ed.) 1958: 576–9 (Dmowski to Komura, July 20, 1904).

and opinions of its allies, primarily Great Britain, which cautioned it from getting involved in the Polish question. It is worth emphasizing, however, that Piłsudski made the first attempt to get the Polish cause onto the international agenda since the failed Polish uprising against Russia in 1863.

Even though Piłsudski's mission ended in failure, the Japanese maintained limited contacts with Poles – mainly PSP members – until the end of the Russo-Japanese War. The Japanese provided assistance in buying arms and organizing a conference of anti-Czarism organizations active within the Russian Empire, which was meant to lead to the formation of a common front. Akashi Motojirō was primarily responsible for both these forms of cooperation; his goal, as I've mentioned before, was to create a united front of opposition groups from the nations under Russian rule, whose joint revolutionary actions against the Czarism would significantly weaken Russia. The first unsuccessful conference (Paris, October 1–5, 1904) was attended by representatives of only eight of the nineteen parties invited, including Dmowski and Balicki from the NL and Jodko, Malinowski and Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz (1872–1905) from the PSP (Bandō 1995: 215–29). Despite a joint declaration, none of the parties departed from its program. That's why representatives of only the more radical parties, such as the PSP, were invited to the next conference in Geneva (April 2–9, 1905; Bandō 1995: 229–43; Inaba 1995: 127–37) and representatives of moderate parties, such as the NL, were left out. It was decided at this conference that revolutionary demonstrations would be launched that summer, first in the vicinity of St. Petersburg, then spreading out over a broad scale. The revolution was to be supported by the PSP on the territory of the Polish Kingdom. Demonstrations against the Czarism took place in the Polish Kingdom in late 1904 and early 1905. They were initiated on November 13, 1904 by a great armed demonstration conducted by the PSP on Grzybowski Square in Warsaw. There is no evidence, however, directly linking this demonstration and others to financial aid provided by the Japanese, who provided the PSP funds every month until nearly the end of the war – that is, until September 5, 1905 – to buy weapons, ammunition and explosives (Jędrzejewicz 1974: 71–85). In exchange, they received information about the course of mobilization, movements and morale of Russian forces sent to the Far East, Russian policies in the Polish lands and the mood of the general public.

Although Polish-Japanese cooperation during the war did not yield all the benefits the two parties had hoped for, it undoubtedly contributed to future ties between the two nations when they initiated official relations after World War I. Moreover, the war itself and Japan's victory over Russia left an imprint on Dmowski's and Piłsudski's views as well as the image of Japan in Poland.

## The war's impact on the views of Roman Dmowski and Józef Piłsudski

The Russo-Japanese war and Piłsudski and Dmowski trips to Tokyo exerted an influence on their views and actions in later years. **Although the two politicians differed** in their opinions and attitudes toward taking advantage of the Russo-Japanese war for Polish benefit, there was something what joined them – an admiration of Japan, a characteristic true for the entire Polish society at that time. Dmowski very willingly referred to his observations from Japan in his later works. He admired Japanese civilisation and culture, and the civil and human values of the Japanese nation. He realised how important moral values and the connection of the individual with society and its history were. He wrote (1904, 9: 625–53; 10: 751):

*Japan's victories are victories of moral power over universally recognised material power. /.../ Millions, hundreds of millions /.../ were spent to strengthen Russian rule in Asia /.../ – and all that is becoming shattered into fragments under the influence of power accumulated in Japanese souls, power which concentrated them in one wish expressed in one cry: Dai Nihon banzai! banzai!*

*Japan must be great and must live for ever – its every son wants it and is ready to sacrifice for it. This wish and this readiness of self-sacrifice – is exactly the main treasure of Japan, the source of its power, the secret of its victories. /.../*

*Twenty centuries of national existence due to the power of its continuity have united and cemented this nation where collective instincts excel individual ones; the Japanese [are] more part of the society than individual[s], he behaves more with a view to the common good than to individual benefit. /.../*

*Whereas Japanese collective instincts are so strong that they limit in great measure the free will of man, in other nations with unsteady histories and influences they are so weak, that everything becomes subject to discretion. Therefore we are the nation with the most free will, which settles into the shape of lawlessness and playfulness if we do not feel we are in captivity.*

Dmowski also wrote about the Japanese in the preface to Aleksander Czechowski's *Historia wojny rosyjsko-japońskiej* [history of the Russo-Japanese War] (Czechowski 1906: XXIII–XXIV):

*A strong patriarchal family, strong monarchy, patriarchal despite constitutional forms, traditional loyalty between subordinate and superior /.../ all based on a sense of duty and honor so great as to be incomprehensible to our world – this is the moral core of Japanese society and the Japanese state. It's mainly thanks to this that the Japanese were able to perform the unprecedented task of assimilating all of Europe's achievements in science, technology and warfare they needed to preserve their national*

*independence /.../ thanks to this they were capable of conducting an exceptionally precise campaign /.../ finally, thanks to this they set extraordinary examples of heroism and sacrifice.*

*On one side /.../ fought people who mainly thought about what they deserve for service to the state – on the other side, people who mainly concerned with fulfilling their duty. During this war the idea of duty prevailed. This is a good reminder for all of us who speak more and more about the rights due to us and who are increasingly losing a sense of the duties incumbent upon every member of society.*

Under the influence of the war, a turning point can be observed in Dmowski's opinions concerning man and the nation, and nationalism, which were revealed in his later life.

Piłsudski, a soldier and commander was not – unlike Dmowski – interested in the traits of the Japanese people, but in the morale of Japanese soldiers and in skills of Japanese commanders as well as the strategy they adopted during the war. He considered their strategic and tactical ideas to be precursory, and behind the strategy taken in World War I, as well as in the Polish-Bolshevik War of 1920. He studied analyses of the topic and used examples set by the Japanese during lectures for officers at courses of the Związek Strzelecki [Rifle Association] and in articles published in the journal *Strzelec*<sup>22</sup>.

He had a high opinion of the Japanese Army, and when in 1925 the first official military *attaché* (till 1928), Colonel Waław Jędrzejewicz (1893–1993), was leaving for Tokyo, Marshal Piłsudski decided to honour 51 Japanese commanders from the war with the *Virtuti Militari*, the highest Polish military decoration<sup>23</sup>. He specified not only the number of medals and their class, but also the units and battles in which they fought. The only highest commanders from the war still alive at the time were Admiral of the Fleet Tōgō Heihachirō (東郷平八郎 1847–1934), the commander of the Japanese Combined Fleet, who defeated Russia's Baltic Fleet in the battle on the Straits of Tsushima, Marshal Oku Yasukata (奥保鞏 1846–1930), commander of the 2nd Army and Marshall Kawamura Kageaki (川村景明 1850–1926), Commander of the 10th Division. Tōgō was decorated earlier – on August 7, 1925 – during a ceremony held at the Polish legation in Tokyo, where he received the Polonia Restituta medal from Polish Minister Plenipotentiary Stanisław Patek (1866–1945) for merit in service to the state and society<sup>24</sup>. Oku was awarded the *Virtuti Militari* together with Kawamura on March 12, 1925, and the presentation ceremony was

<sup>22</sup> W. Jędrzejewicz (unpublished): 4.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.: 4–5; Jędrzejewicz 1993: 121; Pałasz-Rutkowska & Romer 2009a: 135–9; Pałasz-Rutkowska & Romer 2009b: 118–24. See also documents in GGS: L.2.2.2–2–10 and 6.2.1.2–30.

<sup>24</sup> See: GGS: 6.2.1.2–30; *Tōgō gensui* (Polish Legation in Tokyo to minister Shidehara, Aug. 4, 1925); *The Japan Times* 1925.

held a year later on March 9, 1926, also at the Polish legation<sup>25</sup>. Marshall Oku was unable to participate due to illness, thus the decoration was given him through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Jędrzejewicz recalls, however, that only Kawamura was decorated at that time, that the ceremony took place in his home, and that Oku, like Tōgō, received the Polonia Restituta (Jędrzejewicz 1993: 166–7).

The rest of the officers' names were to be established by the Japanese. The fact is that Marshal Piłsudski unintentionally caused the Japanese quite a problem, as drawing up a list that met his instructions was not so easy 20 years after the end of the war. A majority of the most meritorious commanders were no longer alive, so it was necessary to find worthy replacements for them. It was decided that recipients of the Polish medals would be chosen from among those who had been awarded Japanese decorations that were the equivalent of the Polish *Virtuti Militari*. But Piłsudski also mentioned specific units that had fought in particular battles, which had to be taken into account when putting together the list of recipients. Thus, work on preparing the complete list lasted two and a half years – it wasn't until early 1928 that it was handed over to Jędrzejewicz. The decorating ceremony took place in Tokyo's Imperial Hotel on March 28, 1928. The list of medal recipients, which has been preserved in the Gaimushō Gaikō Shiryōkan [Diplomatic Record Office of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs], contains 50 names<sup>26</sup>. General Oku took part in the ceremony, but as a guest of honor, as he had been officially decorated together with general Kawamura in 1926. Jędrzejewicz described this event in his memoirs, and summarized it in a manuscript for the magazine *Niepodległość* (Jędrzejewicz (unpublished): 10–11):

*This is how I performed the task I received from Marshal Piłsudski. The most outstanding commanders of the Russo-Japanese War received proof of gratitude from reborn Poland for their toil and combat, which unbeknownst to them had significance in our struggle for freedom and independence.*

## Publications on Japan in Poland

Interest among Poles about Japan sharply increased during the war, which is evident from the number of publications on Japan – and not only directly about war-related topics – that appeared in 1904–1905. This is all the more revealing when

<sup>25</sup> See GGS: 6.2.1.2–30: *Oku gensui* (Polish Legation in Tokyo to Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, no. 9654, March 6, 1926); *The Japan Times* 1926.

<sup>26</sup> For the list see: GGS: L.2.2.2–2–10 (Jędrzejewicz to minister Tanaka, no. 12933 (March 29, 1928); comp.: Pałasz-Rutkowska & Romer 2009a: 349 (Annex 5); Pałasz-Rutkowska & Romer 2009b: 41 (Annex 5).

the quantity of publications on Japan is compared before and after the war<sup>27</sup>. They included works translated from European languages as well as longer and shorter publications by Polish authors. The first group included, among others, Henry Dumolard's *Japonia. Pod względem politycznym, ekonomicznym i społecznym* [Japan, political, economic and social aspects] (1904), Andre Bellesort's *Podróż do Japonii. Społeczeństwo Japońskie* [journey to Japan; Japanese society] (1903), Wilhelm Dep-ping's *Japonja* [Japan] (1904), Rudyard Kipling's *Listy z Japonii* [letters from Japan] (1904), G. Weulersse's *Współczesna Japonia* [contemporary Japan] (1904), A. Her-rich's *Azja Wschodnia, Japonia, Korea, Chiny i Rosja Azjatycka* [Eastern Asia, Japan, Korea, China and Asiatic Russia] (1904), Alice Bacon's *Kobiety samurajskie* [samurai's women] (1905), Bennett Burleigh's *Państwo Wschodu, czyli wojna japońsko-rosyjska 1904–1905* [an Eastern state – the Russo-Japanese war] (1905), W. Doroszewicz's *Wschód i wojna* [the East and the war] (1905), E. B. *Japonia, kraj i ludzie* [Japan, land and people] (1905), Irving Hancock's *Japoński system trenowania ciała* [Japanese body training system] (1906) and the same author's *Japoński system trenowania ciała dla kobiet* [Japanese body training system for women] (1906), Lafcadio Hearn's *Kokoro* [heart] (1906). There were also indirect translations of Japanese works like: Tokutomi Kenjirō (Roka)'s *Namiko* (1905; in Japanese original as *Hototogisu* [cuckoo]), *Terakoya albo szkoła wiejska* [terakoya, or a village school] (1905; based on Takeda Izumo and others *Sugawara denju tenarai kagami* [Sugawara and the secrets of calligraphy]), Nitobe Inazō's *Bushidō* (1904) and Okakura Kakuzō's *Księga herbaty* (1905; *Book of Tea*), *Przebudzenie się Japonii* (1905; *The Awakening of Japan*). Jan Grzegorzewski's *Opowieści japońskie w spolszczeniu* [Japanese stories in Polish] (1905).

Knowledge from these publications was used by Polish authors who had not yet had an opportunity to travel to Japan. So we have to keep in mind that this information was to some extent limited, fragmentary and not free of distortions, but considerably more accurate and about not merely the course of the war, but primarily about Japanese history and its culture in general.

I have to mention: Zygmunt Kłóśnik's *Japonia* ([Japan] 1904), A. Okszyć's *Japonia i Japończycy* [Japan and the Japanese] (1904), Juliusz Starkel, *Obrazki z Japonii*

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<sup>27</sup> Directly before the war they were very few publications, in 1901: Juljan Świącicki, *Historja literatury chińskiej i japońskiej* [history of Chinese and Japanese literature], translation of Louis Gonsse's *Sztuka japońska* [Japanese art] and Władysław Reymont, *Komurasaki*, in 1902: Jan Kisielewski, *O teatrze japońskim* [on Japanese theater]. After the war, the following were published: in 1907: Władysław Reymont, *Ave Patria*, in 1908: Antoni Lange, *Sintasi-Sho. Poeci nowojapońscy* [new Japanese poets] and Remigiusz Kwiatkowski, *Literatura japońska* [Japanese literature], in 1909: Lafcadio Hearn, *Lotos. Rzut oka na nieznaną Japonię* [Lotus, a glance at unknown Japan] in 1910: Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Z fali na falę* [cleaving the waves] and Józef Jankowski, *Kesa*, in 1911: *Poezja i przyroda w Japonii* [poetry and nature of Japan], Eugeniusz Romer, *Japonia i Japończycy* [Japan and Japanese], Władysław Umiński *W Krainie Wschodzącego Słońca* [in the Country of the Rising Sun], in 1913: Stefan Bryła, *Jeden dzień w Jokohamie* [one day in Yokohama] and Remigiusz Kwiatkowski (ed.) *Chiakunin-Izszu. Antologia japońska* [Japanese anthology].

[images from Japan] (1904), Władysław Studnicki's *Japonia* (1904), Parvus's *Sprawa wschodnia. Zatarg japońsko-rosyjski* [an Eastern affair – the Russo-Japanese conflict] (1904), X.X.'s *Z powodu wojny obecnej myśli kilka* [some thoughts on the current war] (1904), *Wojna. Jednodniówka z powodu wojny rosyjsko-japońskiej* [the War, a leaflet published because of the Russo-Japanese war] (1904), *Oficer. Jaki będzie koniec wojny japońsko-rosyjskiej* [Officer, how will the Japanese-Russian war end] (1904) *Wojna rosyjsko-japońska. Księga obrazowa* [Russo-Japanese war, an album] (1904), Stanisław Posner's *Japonia. Państwo i prawo* [Japan – the state and its law] (1905), Aleksander Czechowski's *Historia wojny rosyjsko-japońskiej* [a history of the Russo-Japanese war] (1906), Stefan Żeromski's *Sen o szpadzie* [dream of the sword], (1906).

Owing to the limited scope of this article, it is impossible to discuss all of the works mentioned, but they can be generally characterised as presenting a favourable image of Japan and even admiration for the Japanese. During the war, Japan appears to have become a model of the traits essential for a strong nation and state – traits which were so badly needed by Poland under the partitioning powers. Poles were impressed by the courage of the Japanese, who – barely a few decades after having launched the process of modernisation and disregarding their dearth of experience in contacts with Western powers – fought a victorious war against the mighty Russian Empire. Poles were also impressed by the Japanese' capacity to draw upon appropriate models from other cultures to build their might, adapting them to the framework of their native culture. Much was also written about the Japanese' love for their homeland, their sacrifice for the good of society as a whole and the national cause, their loyalty, courage and lack of individualism and egoism.

Bolesław Prus (1847–1912), one of the most outstanding Polish novelists of the positivist era<sup>28</sup>, often referred to the national traits of the Japanese in the hope that Poles would change theirs accordingly. In a series of articles entitled “*Japonia i Japończycy*” [Japan and the Japanese] published in *Kurier Codzienny* between April 19 and June 30, 1904, i.e., basing on the works introduced above, he wrote about Japan and the personal characteristics of the Japanese that enabled Japan to defeat Russia. He thus stressed valor, honor, personal dignity, spirit of sacrifice, obedience, which in his opinions were traits worthy of emulation.

The quintessence of his views can be found in an article that appeared in the January 22, 1905 edition of *Goniec Poranny* (Prus 1968: 52–8):

*The Japanese have attracted attention to themselves not only with their victories, but also with their extraordinary virtues, for which even the Russians admire*

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<sup>28</sup> Positivism in Poland was a socio-cultural movement that defined progressive thought in literature, etc. in partitioned Poland after the January 1863 Uprising against Russia, until the turn of the 20th century.

*them. The opinions of friends may be pleasant, but the respect of enemies is certification of true value. /.../*

*The quality that lies deepest in the soul of the Japanese is a great sense of personal dignity /.../, the mainstay of this dignity is courage, which the Japanese have proven so often during the present war that we need not underscore it. /.../ It appears that no other nation surpasses the Japanese in their scorn for death, and this constitutes their true strength.*

*Because Japan consists of a great many mountainous islands, it's easy to understand that its inhabitants combine the virtues of highlanders and sailors, that they are strong and exceptionally adroit. /.../*

*Another enormously valuable virtue of the Japanese is their self-control. A person who is unable to control his anger, grief or joy is considered a barbarian in Japan. /.../ A Japanese always converses with a polite smile, but he will not divulge a secret, even if tortured, even if killed.*

*No less beautiful are their social virtues, supreme among which is patriotism. Japanese patriotism is not based on hatred or disparagement of outsiders, but on love of everything that is theirs. When the good of the army requires that several people sacrifice themselves to certain death, not several but... several thousand volunteers step forward. /.../*

*Such is the nation that only two years ago was still called "monkeys" by European wags, but whom now are publicly respected by their opponents. Everyone must work on themselves in these directions if they wish to receive respect.*

Japan was a topic of another outstanding writer, the ethnographer Waclaw Sieroszewski, who conducted research on the Ainu culture in Hokkaido with the help of Bronisław Piłsudski in 1903<sup>29</sup>. On the way back to Poland, he visited Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe. He presented the information and impressions he acquired about Japan in a book that was published in 1904, *Na Daleki Wschód. Kartki z podróży* [to the Far East. Pages from the journey] (Sieroszewski 1911), and in articles that appeared in high-circulation illustrated cultural magazines like *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, which was mainly devoted to history and current events, and in *Wędrowiec*, which focused on travel accounts. He created, in keeping with the conventional conceptions of Japan of the time, an image of Japan as a land of fearless knights and of virginally charming women. He painted with great skill the Japanese landscape and described the mentality of the Japanese people.

Publications from the era show that Poles began to take a liking to Japan – that distant country which had only just begun to step into the international arena and had so quickly defeated a powerful neighbor which was also Poland's main

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<sup>29</sup> Sieroszewski described that expedition in *Wśród kosmatych ludzi* [among hairy people], 1926 (in newspaper instalments), 1927 (separately; it had several book editions).

opponent. This was connected to the Poles' hopes of regaining their independence and admiration for the national traits of the Japanese thanks to which the country achieved its goals so quickly and defeated their common enemy.

## The impact of the war in the longer perspective

When one examines the influence of the war on Polish-Japanese relations in the longer run (the 1920s and 1930s), it is evident that these relations continued to be dominated by the two countries' antipathy to their mutual enemy, Russia, which had become the Soviet Union. Poland, which regained its independence after World War I, sought to solidify its statehood and strengthen its position on the international arena. That's why Japan – for whom Russia and then the USRR was still a potential opponent – constituted a good counterweight for the mainly difficult relations Poland had with its eastern neighbor.

This was particularly important for Japan, which, as a young world power, badly needed accurate information about its most dangerous neighbor. This need determined the choice of Japanese diplomatic representatives in Warsaw – nearly all of them were specialists on Russia, and the first Japanese envoy after the two countries established diplomatic relations in 1919 was Kawakami Toshitsune (川上俊彦 1861–1935; from 1921 to 1923), who had translated for Piłsudski and Dmowski, when they visited Japan during the war.

Polish-Japanese relations, however, were dominated by military co-operation, including co-operation between intelligence services. Polish cryptologists, whom the Japanese considered to be outstanding (particularly in deciphering Russian codes), passed on their knowledge to Japanese officers in Tokyo as well as in Poland in various training centers. This co-operation continued unofficially even during World War II, when Poland and Japan officially belonged to opposite sides.

## Polish-Japanese military cooperation in the 1920s and 1930s

The importance of Poland for Japan as a source of information about Russia is indicated by the Japanese military *attachés* selected to serve in Warsaw. Nearly all of them were connected with military intelligence focused on Russia, whether through their positions in the Army General Staff, usually in its Department II (Dainibu 第二部) or in its special intelligence agencies (*tokumu kikan* 特務機関) in Manchuria and other places, or in the Kwantung Army, or in the Japanese military *attaché* office in Moscow<sup>30</sup>. The first Japanese *attaché* in Warsaw was Captain Yamawaki

<sup>30</sup> For biographical notes on Japanese officers see Hata (ed.) 1991.

Masataka (山脇正隆 1886–1974; from May 1921 to June 1922), who played a special role in tightening military cooperation between the two countries in the 1920s and 1930s and who had come to Poland from Russia as early as 1919. His successor, Major Okabe Naosaburō (岡部直三郎 1887–1946; from June 1922 to May 1925), had previously trained for a year in Khabarovsk (1917) and later served in the special intelligence agency – an intelligence post there, which reported to the Japanese command in Vladivostok during the Siberian expedition. Major Higuchi Kiichirō (樋口季一郎 1888–1970; from May 1925 to February 1928) had likewise been assigned to perform intelligence work for the Japanese Army command in Vladivostok, later heading up the intelligence post at Khabarovsk. Colonel Suzuki Shigeyasu (鈴木重康 1886–1957; from February 1928 to June 1930) had been delegated to Japanese units in Siberia during his stay in China from 1916 to 1919. Major Hata Hikosaburō (秦彦三郎 1890–1959; from June 1930 to December 1932) worked in intelligence units focused on the USSR, as an employee of the Russian Section [Roshiahan ロシア班] of Department II, head of the special intelligence agency in Manzhouli and a military *attaché* assistant in Moscow. Major Yanagida Genzō (柳田元三 1893–1952; from December 1932 to March 1934) had received training in the USSR and in Poland, from 1927 to 1929. Colonel Yamawaki Masataka, after returning to Japan from Poland in 1922, worked in the General Staff and in the General Inspectorate of Military Education [Kyōiku Sōkanbu 教育総監部] before being reassigned to Warsaw (March 1934 – December 1935). General Sawada Shigeru (沢田茂 1887–1980; from December 1935 to March 1938) had previously been delegated to work in special intelligence agencies in Omsk and Vladivostok as well as Harbin in Manchuria. The last Japanese military *attaché* assigned to Warsaw before World War II (officially recalled in March 1940) was Lieutenant Colonel Ueda Masao (上田昌雄 1897-?), who had been delegated to Siberia in 1920–1922, headed the intelligence post in Manzhouli in 1930–1931 and then worked in the staff of the Kwantung Army. It should be added that after returning to Japan, he became director of the school that trained Japanese intelligence personnel, the so-called Nakano Army School [Rikugun Nakano Gakkō 陸軍中野学校] (Hata (ed.) 1991: 724–5).

When Yamawaki officially assumed the post of military *attaché* in Warsaw, he began his efforts to establish regular cooperation between the Japanese and Polish General Staffs. He was mainly interested in having Japanese personnel trained in cryptography by Poles, who were considered to be specialists due to their long experience in the field. Years later, he recalled these efforts:

*During the Polish-Soviet War, the Polish side often provided us concrete information on the breaking of Soviet codes. They had such highly developed deciphering capabilities that they were able to read an order before it came down from the Supreme Command of the Red Army from the front lines and reached the battalions through*

*the regiment. /.../ The main person involved in this was Jan Kowalewski. I passed this information to my successor, Captain Okabe Naosaburō. After discussing the matter together and listening to the opinion of this specialist, I decided to present the matter in Japan. After returning home, I submitted a report to the head of Department II, general Itami Matsuo. At first he was very unfavorably disposed toward the idea, saying such things as, "How can the land forces of a first-class state take lessons from the army of a third-class state?" But in the end he agreed<sup>31</sup>.*

Not only Yamawaki but also Okabe and Kasahara Yukio (笠原幸雄 1889–1988), a trainee assigned to Warsaw, held talks in this matter in Department II of the General Staff in Warsaw. They most often spoke with the aforementioned Waclaw Jędrzejewicz of the Russian Section, who was favorably disposed toward Japan (and who became the first Polish military *attaché* in Japan in 1925)<sup>32</sup>. Finally, at the beginning of 1923, Captain Jan Kowalewski (1892–1965) traveled to Tokyo for three months at the official invitation of the Japanese General Staff<sup>33</sup>. The most details concerning this course and its results can be found in the documents of one of the pioneers of Japanese cryptography, Colonel Ōkubo Shunjiro 大久保俊次郎, which are stored in the Bōei Kenkyūjo Senshibu Toshokan [Library of Military History Department in National Institute for Defense Studies] in Tokyo (Ōkubo 1961).

According to these documents, Kowalewski's course was mainly about methods of deciphering various kinds of Soviet codes, though he also taught the structure of diplomatic codes and intelligence codes used at the time by European countries. The person responsible for the entire course from the General Staff was the head of the VIII Section of Department III (Communication), Colonel Iwakoshi Tsuneichi (岩越恒一 1878–1945), and it was supervised by Captain Nakamura Masao (中村正雄 1892–1939) of the same section. The course participants specially designated by Department II were: Captain Hyakutake Haruyoshi (百武晴吉 1888–1947) of the Russian Section, Captain Inoue Yoshisa 井上芳佐 of the English Section [Igirisuhan イギリス班], Captain Mikuni Naotomi (三国直福 1893–1990) of the French Section [Furansuhan フランス班], Captain Takeda Hajime 武田肇 of the German Section [Doitsuhan ドイツ班] and others. Other participants included Lieutenant Colonel Mike Kazuo (三毛一夫 1883–1973), who was assigned to the Guards Division (Konoe Shidan 近衛師団), but who

<sup>31</sup> Ariga 1994: 140–1.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 141. See also: Jędrzejewicz 1993: 113. After Jędrzejewicz, the post was consecutively held by Major Henryk Rajchman-Floyar (1928–1931), Captain Antoni Ślósarczyk (1931–1935), Major Antoni Przybylski (1935–1938) and Lieutenant Colonel Jerzy Levittoux (1938–1941).

<sup>33</sup> See: Archiwum Akt Nowych [The Record Office of Modern Documents] (abbr. AAN), OIISG – 616/57: chief of the General Staff General Sikorski to Captain Kowalewski, no. 32105/II inf.II.A.5, (Dec. 13, 1922).

had previously been involved in Russian-related intelligence, having worked in a post in Omsk among other places.

The course conducted by Kowalewski became the basis for further research and work. They raised the level of cryptography in the Japanese Army (Ariga 1994: 144–5). After the course came to a close, following a plan prepared by Captain Nakamura Masao, materials were collected in all the sections of Department II and a handbook was written up on their basis entitled *Angō kaidoku no sankō* [暗号解読の参考; aids for deciphering], which was then distributed to a majority of units in the army. The handbook was mainly about Soviet codes, but it also included information about codes used by other countries. In order to further improve the Soviet code-breaking skills of General Staff personnel who had taken Kowalewski's course, the Japanese decided to send officers to Poland for longer courses of study, lasting about a year. Major Hyakutake and Major Kudō Katsuhiko 工藤勝彦 were sent to Poland for this purpose in 1926, Major Sakai Naoji (1891–1942) and Major Ōkubo Shunjirō in 1929, Captain Sakurai Nobuta 桜井信太 and Captain Fukai Eiichi 深井英一 in 1935. After returning to Japan, all of them worked in the General Staff or in Japanese units in China, where they put the skills they had acquired in Poland into practice. For example, Lieutenant Colonel Hyakutake was in charge of the Codes Section from July 1927 to mid-1931, when he went to Harbin to head up the intelligence post there. Besides the aforementioned cryptographers, other Japanese officers visited Poland in the 1920s mainly for the purpose of exchanging information about the USSR, but also to learn the organizational methods of the Polish Army<sup>34</sup>.

The most important event during this period appears to have been a visit by representatives of the Japanese General Staff, organized by the Polish Ministry of Military Affairs and the General Staff. According to General Staff documents<sup>35</sup>, in the first half of 1929 an official visit was made to Poland by General Matsui Iwane (松井岩根 1878–1948), head of Department II at the General Staff, together with his brother General Matsui Shichio (松井七夫 1880–1943), who were accompanied by Major Tominaga Kyōji (富永恭次 1892–1960), the aid to Japanese attaché in Moscow, and most likely Captain Terada Seiichi (寺田濟一 1895–1969; who appears simply as “Seiichi” in the documents). They visited the 1st Light Cavalry Regiment and the 1st Horse Artillery Division between April 27 and May 2, 1929. It is likely that the main purpose of their visit was to discuss further cooperation with Department II of the Polish General Staff concerning the exchange of information. Possible confirmation of this hypothesis is a document written by Poland's military *attaché* in Moscow, Captain Grudzień, in which he states that as a result of the visit, the military authorities of Japan had come to the conclusion that Warsaw

<sup>34</sup> For a list see: GGS, 6.1.6.1.–1; AAN, OIISzG–617; cf.: Pałasz-Rutkowska 1998: 79–81.

<sup>35</sup> See: AAN, OII SzG 617/10, no. 2331/ II.Inf.O. (June 27, 1929), p. 34; cf.: Hata (ed.) 1991: 134.

should be their center for collecting information about the Red Army<sup>36</sup>. Captain Grudzień also wrote that in a conversation with Major Tominaga he found out that the Japanese General Staff was thinking about reducing personnel in Moscow and increasing staff in Warsaw.

Co-operation, which consisted mainly of exchanging information, was also conducted in Tokyo, particularly at the behest of General Yamawaki, who from the end of 1925 worked at Department II. It was he who brought Colonel Waclaw Jędrzejewicz to the Japanese General Staff. Jędrzejewicz, who as the Polish military *attaché* in Tokyo worked together with the Japanese from 1925 to 1928, described this co-operation as follows:

*We decided that we would hold sessions once a week, discussing specific issues at each. It began by comparing the information the two staffs had on the deployment of large units of the Soviet Army. /.../ The differences were evident. We had to compare the sources of the two staffs. /.../ Japanese [foreign] policy was mainly connected with the Russian question, which made my work considerably easier. Manchuria and the Russian Far East – those were the territories that specially interested the Japanese government. This direction was expressed by the Japanese Army and General Staff<sup>37</sup>.*

Before leaving Poland, Jędrzejewicz was thoroughly aware that:

*that which divides Poland territorially from Japan (Soviet Russia) is precisely the element that closely connects these two countries. Thus an exact study of the Russian situation, constantly posing a threat to Poland as well as Japan, will be the element that fills up the work of the Polish military representative. /.../ Our relations with Japan were to be based on not having any secrets in relation to Japan in the matter of Russia<sup>38</sup>.*

Co-operation between representatives of the two Staffs expanded substantially over the next decade, which primarily stemmed from increasing fears about the USSR's actions in Asia. It took place mainly in Warsaw, Tokyo and Manchuria, where an intelligence-gathering post under Department II of the Polish General Staff in Harbin (established in 1932) maintained contact with Japanese intelligence operatives under the Kwantung Army (Peplowski 1996: 165–170). At that time, the Japanese decided that Warsaw constituted a very good strategic point for setting up a kind of coordinating center for Japanese intelligence in Europe directed mainly toward the East, but also the West. Accordingly, they sent extra military assistants

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<sup>36</sup> AAN, OII SzG 617/41, Captain Grudzień to Chief of Department II (May 14, 1929), p. 70.

<sup>37</sup> Jędrzejewicz 1993: 133, 180.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

and advisors to the military *attaché* office in Warsaw<sup>39</sup>. They also sent students to Poland, who, in addition to broadening their military knowledge or learning foreign languages, were also supposed to help the *attaché* office in its work, among other ways, by obtaining information (Matsumura 1977: 14–15). Also, probably over a hundred officers and non-commissioned officers came to Poland to study or to take brief training courses in the 1930s<sup>40</sup>. However, in this case as well it is impossible to reconstruct the entire list, because almost none of the Japanese documents on the subject have survived, and Polish source materials contain varying and sometimes contradictory information<sup>41</sup>. It is certain that in accordance with what was decided in the 1920s, the Japanese General Staff delegated Captain Fukai Eiichi and Captain Sakurai Nobuta to Poland for the sake of deepening their skills in the field of cryptography, especially relating to the USSR. They took a training program in the Codes Section of Department II from 22 August 1935 to 1 June 1936<sup>42</sup>.

Evidence that the Japanese General Staff cooperated with Poles and that its main aim was to collect information about the USSR was a conference of General Staff representatives, which took place in Warsaw 10–13 December 1937<sup>43</sup>. It was primarily devoted to verifying information about the Soviet army in peacetime, discussing issues relating to its mobilization and the country's rail transport capacity in the event of war. The Japanese were represented by: *attaché* Sawada, who was an expert on the Soviet military (as noted in the document cited), Lieutenant Colonel Futami, a specialist in mobilization-related matters who was temporarily staying at the Japanese military *attaché* office in Warsaw, Major Hirose Shiro 広瀬四郎, the secretary of the Japanese *attaché* office in Moscow and a specialist in rail transport issues who was gathering intelligence on the territory of the USSR, Major Takeda from the General Staff in Tokyo who was studying the Soviet army, and Captain Hayashi, who was also from the *attaché* office in Warsaw. It was possible to establish that Lieutenant Colonel Futami had the first name Akisaburō (二見秋三郎 1895–1987) and that he traveled around Europe from August 1937 to March of the following year as a representative of the Japanese General Staff in Europe. Takeda Isao (武田功 1902–1947) was in the Soviet Union and Germany beginning

<sup>39</sup> As military *attaché* assistants worked, among others, the following persons: Captain Matsumura Tomokatsu (May 1935 – March 1936), Captain Arao Okikatsu (March 1936 – May 1937), Major Takeda Isao (March 1938 – March 1939), Major Oda Akimitsu (March 1939 – December 1939); See e.g.: Hata (ed.) 1991: 137, 9, 90, 65; Mori 1980: 104; Pałasz-Rutkowska 1998: 135.

<sup>40</sup> See in: Centralna Agencja Wojskowa [Central Military Agency] (abbr. CAW), OIISzGG 56, 57: *Wykaz oficerów japońskich na stażach w Polsce* [a list of Japanese officers on training courses in Poland].

<sup>41</sup> CAW, OIISzGG 55, 56, 57, 58; AAN, OIISzG 617/13; cf.: Pałasz-Rutkowska 1998: 135–7.

<sup>42</sup> CAW, OIISzGG 57; cf.: Ariga 1994: 146–7.

<sup>43</sup> AAN, OIISzG 616/249, p. 317; also Sakō Shūichi, an ambassador in Warsaw (1937–1941) wrote to Minister Hirota about the conference, but he maintained that it took place at the beginning of January 1938; GGS, B.1.0.0.Po/R, cable no. 131 (May 11, 1938).

in mid-1936. The last of the aforementioned Japanese participants in the conference was probably Hayashi Saburō (林三郎 1904–1998), an employee of the Russian Section of the General Staff who was sent to Moscow in April 1938, where he began work the next year as a Japanese *attaché* assistant. Japanese sources do not mention anything, however, about his stay in Poland (Hata (ed.) 1991: 116–117).

Thus, the most important task for Japanese military representatives in Poland in the 1920s and 1930s was to obtain information about the USSR and to deepen their cryptographic skills and general knowledge on intelligence operations. The *attachés* were responsible for this, particularly active among whom were Yamawaki Masataka and Sawada Shigeru. Because military cooperation with Poles went very well due to their efforts, they also tried to take advantage of their position and influence Japanese foreign policy in relation to Poland – a topic that goes beyond the scope of this paper (Pałasz-Rutkowska 1998: 138–143). It is possible only to cite a passage from a telegram sent by Tadeusz Romer, the Polish ambassador in Tokyo from 1937 to 1941, which confirms that the foundation of Japan's cooperation with Poland was the two countries' identical relation to the USSR:

*It happens to be the case that we have military officers in higher positions of the Ministry of War and the General Staff most of whom have been in Poland for shorter or longer periods of time/.../. They are friendly to our country and demonstrate a good understanding of our interests and our policy on the Soviet front. This circumstance has created fairly familiar personal ties between our embassy and leading circles in the army, in contrast to other foreign embassies in Tokyo.*

*The durability and solidity of our friendship with Japan is based on our mutual relation to Russia, which is treated by both countries on a footing of complete equality between them, and on essentially not transferring it to other areas, where Poland's and Japan's interests may be completely different<sup>44</sup>.*

## Military cooperation during World War II

After the outbreak of war in Europe on September 1, 1939, and evacuation of the Japanese embassy and military *attaché* office in Warsaw, which occurred a day after the evacuation of the Polish government on September 5, official contacts between Japanese military representatives and Poland were limited essentially only to Tokyo, where the Polish military *attaché* office continued to exist at the Polish embassy. Despite pressure applied by Germany, the Japanese military authorities did not change their relations with the representatives of Poland in Tokyo, even after the signing of the Tripartite Pact. In a letter to the minister of foreign affairs

<sup>44</sup> Romer, vol. 1: Kr.3/J/17 (ambassador Romer to minister of foreign affairs, July 5, 1939).

of the Polish government-in-exile, August Zaleski (1883–1972), dated October 10, 1940, ambassador Romer wrote:

*I have observed, even in the behavior of the local military authorities in relation to Polish officers employed in Japanese anti-Soviet intelligence, a distinct effort over the last few days to ensure them that their work continues to be valued and that the Japanese-German alliance has not changed the friendly attitude of their government to them in any way<sup>45</sup>.*

Japan continued, as in the 1920s and 1930s, to take advantage of help provided by representatives of the Polish intelligence service. Cryptologists probably continued to operate in Manchukuo, helping the Kwantung Army to break Soviet codes and providing information about the USSR<sup>46</sup>. Other officers of Department II, who had managed to escape from Nazi-occupied Warsaw, helped Japanese in Kaunas, Berlin, Königsberg, Riga and Stockholm<sup>47</sup>. The Japanese could not gather intelligence themselves in Europe, nor did they trust their ally Germany, particularly after the signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact on August 23, 1939. In exchange for information, they pledged to conceal Polish intelligence officers at their diplomatic posts in Germany, the Baltic countries and Scandinavia, and permitted them to send intelligence reports through Japanese diplomatic mail, mainly to the collecting center in Stockholm. Japan's official policy toward Poland changed only in the second half of 1941 after Germany launched its invasion of the USSR and in connection with worsening Japanese-American relations. Japan, which sought to create the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, had to support German policy in Europe. On October 4, 1941, our embassies were officially closed, and on December 11, after Poland – an ally of Great Britain – declared war on Japan, our two countries found themselves in opposing camps. However, despite severed diplomatic ties, unofficial military cooperation between Poland and Japan continued throughout the war.

Because I have already discussed this subject at fairly great length, I will only mention the most important facts that attest to the continuation of cooperation between the Japanese and Polish intelligence services in relation to the USSR<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Romer, vol. 2: R.233/40 (Romer to minister Zaleski in London, October 10, 1940).

<sup>46</sup> I could not find any documents but only information on the subject in e.g. Onodera 1985: 142; Chapman 1995: 227; Peplowski (1996: 170) maintains that a Polish intelligence post in Manchuria existed till December 1938 but in 1940 Romer in a cable to minister Zaleski (Romer, vol. 2: R.233/40) wrote that Colonel Pawłowicz, “until recently, chief of the post in Manchukuo prepared for me material concerning the Soviet Army to be presented to the Japanese”.

<sup>47</sup> Pałasz-Rutkowska & Romer 2009a: 235–302; Pałasz-Rutkowska & Romer 2009b: 215–78. Japanese co-operated with Polish also in Rome, see: Onodera Yuriko private archive: Heydrich to Ribbentrop, no. IVE5-K.52g.Ra. (Aug. 7, 1941); cf. Chapman 1977: 57–78.

<sup>48</sup> Pałasz-Rutkowska 1998: 170–181; Pałasz-Rutkowska & Romer 1995a: 285–317; Pałasz-Rutkowska & Romer 1995 b: 12–60.

At the beginning of the war, one of the most important centers of this unofficial cooperation was Kaunas, Lithuania, where Japan opened a new diplomatic post in 1939 headed by vice-consul Sugihara Chiune (杉原千畝 1900–1986). Because there were no Japanese citizens in Lithuania, there was no need for consular care, thus it is likely that the Japanese government chose that location because it afforded an opportunity to observe this part of Europe, mainly the Soviet Union, particularly in view of worsening relations between Japan and the USSR in connection with the Nomonhan incident. Sugihara wrote about the reasons for opening the consulate in Kaunas himself in a report he wrote in Russian, probably in 1969, at the request of a Pole or Poles who had cooperated with him during the war<sup>49</sup>.

Sugihara, who realized that he would have difficulty gathering information himself, made contact with Poles, including representatives of the command of Polish Underground (ZWZ) in Kaunas, the resident of Department II of the Polish General Staff in Lithuania, the commander of the Wierzba [Willow] intelligence unit, 2nd Lieutenant Ludwik Hryniewicz (1904–1993), and intelligence officers of the Grodno regional office of Department II, Captain Alfons Jakubianiec (“Jerzy/George Kuniewicz” or “Kuba”; 1905–1945) and Lieutenant Leszek Daszkiewicz, who used the pseudonym “Jan Stanisław Perz”<sup>50</sup>. In exchange for information about the USSR, Sugihara issued both of them Japanese passports and enabled the Polish underground to send mail via Japanese diplomatic post to Berlin and also to Stockholm, where one more representative of the Polish intelligence service resided, Major Michał Rybikowski (“Ian Jacobsen”, “Peter Ivanow”, 1900–1991). And when Sugihara had to leave Kaunas – among other reasons because of the widely known episode in which he issued transit visas to several thousand Jews<sup>51</sup> – he sent both Poles to Germany<sup>52</sup>. Jakubianiec was officially assigned to the Japanese military *attaché* office in Berlin as a translator, but in fact he assumed the function of commanding officer of Polish intelligence unit in Berlin. Daszkiewicz continued to accompany Sugihara, first in Prague – where his Japanese protector was the consul general – and subsequently in Königsberg, where Sugihara assumed the post of vice-consul general in March 1941. Like the consulate in Kaunas, the Königsberg consulate was meant to be an observation point, and Sugihara was to collect information about German and Soviet troop movements. After Molotov’s visit to Berlin in October 1940, intelligence agents informed that war between Germany and the USSR was inevitable, yet Germany failed to inform its ally Japan about all its political and military decisions. Daszkiewicz continued to aid Sugihara

<sup>49</sup> Published in Polish: Sugihara Ch. 1997: 131–140 (original from A. T. Romer private archive).

<sup>50</sup> See: Budzyński 1992: 203–13; Hryniewicz 1988: 16–18; Sugihara Ch. 1997: 134–5; Daszkiewicz 1948: 21–2.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. e.g.: Sugihara Y. 1990; Sugihara Y. 1993; Sugihara Y., Watanabe 1996; Watanabe 2000; Chūnichi Shimbun Shakaibu (ed.) 1995; Shiraiishi 1996: 60–9.

<sup>52</sup> Sugihara Ch. 1997: 134; cf. Daszkiewicz 1948: 24.

in collecting information until December 1941 when the Japanese diplomat was forced by the Germans to leave Königsberg.

The Japanese cooperated the longest with the Poles in Stockholm, where Major Michał Rybikowski and General Onodera Makoto (小野寺真 1897–1987) were posted<sup>53</sup>. Onodera was preceded by Colonel Onouchi Hiroshi (小野打寛 1899–1984) and Colonel Nishimura Toshio (西村敏雄 1898–1956), thanks to whom the North regional office of Department II was able to commence operations in January 1940. At the beginning of his stay in Stockholm, Onodera was interested primarily in whether the Germans would attack England or the Soviet Union first. Rybikowski also provided his Japanese superior information about the situation on the front in Europe and the activities of the USSR and Germany, in exchange for which Onodera helped him transfer mail to the West and warned him about Germans. This cooperation lasted until 1944. After Rybikowski departed, it was continued until the end of the war in Asia and the Pacific by the Polish *attaché* in Stockholm, Major Feliks Brzeskwiński (1896–1960).

## Conclusion

Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 shocked the world, the Poles included. From that moment on, the Poles took a liking to and admired the Japanese for their courage, devotion to their country, and unswerving pursuit of their ideological and political goals. Moreover, Poles hoped that Japan's defeat of Russia would improve the situation of Poland, and that the adoption by Poles of Japanese patterns of behavior would help Poland to regain its independence. Russia, in accordance with the principle that *your neighbor's neighbor is your natural friend*, became the element that brought Poland and Japan together for the next 40 years and shaped the official relations of our two countries till the end of World War II. The most important aspect for the Japanese, as was the case during the war, was information, mainly military intelligence, about our common, dangerous neighbor. Poland, which just entered the international arena after the First World War and sought to bolster its standing in the world, was interested in support for its foreign policy by a country recognized to be a power, Japan, and the counterweight good relations with Japan provided to its mainly difficult relations with the USSR.

Moreover, as publications of the era show, in general, the Poles admired the Japanese mainly because of *the spirit of Japan*. Colonel Antoni Ślósarczyk (1899–1985),

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<sup>53</sup> For details see: Onodera 1985: 93–207; Onodera 1993: 186–221, long fragments of the article in Polish see Onodera 1994: 97–113; cf. Pałasz- Rutkowska [&] Romer 1995a: 301–14; many documents concerning General Onodera in the late Onodera Yuriko private archives and those concerning Major Rybikowski in Polish Military Museum [Muzeum Wojska Polskiego] in Warsaw.

military *attaché* assistant in the Polish Legation in Tokyo (1931–1935), one of the most prominent writers on the samurai spirit and the martial spirit of the Japanese, who studied the principles of bushidō and the origins of Japan's armed forces, in his work on the *samurai* sketched an interesting and informative image of the soul of Japan. He wrote (Ślósarczyk 1939: 47–8):

*.../ the influence the samurai exerted upon the whole Japanese nation has endured down to this day and continues to manifest itself in the national psychology and customs. It is the basic component of that powerful moral cement called "the spirit of ancient Japan" – Yamato damashii. .../. Above all, it is the Japanese soldier who has become the heir to the ancient "way of the samurai" .../. [In the war against Russia – EPR] Nippon's fighting qualities truly shone to the fullest. Historically, this was of course not an unexpected phenomenon, but a logical conclusion of the millennia of the cult of military virtues prized so highly by the samurai.*

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## 論文の日本語レジュメ

Ewa Pałasz-Rutkowska

### 日露戦争が20世紀前半の日波関係に与えた影響について

日露戦争とその結末は、短期的にも長期的にも国際情勢に影響を与えたことに疑問の余地はなく、ポーランドと日本の関係のみならず、ポーランド自体にも直接影響を及ぼすことになった。短期的、つまり日露戦争の最中は、ポーランドの様々な政治勢力（ポーランド社会党、国民連盟など）が、ポーランドの独立の回復を含めた自らの目的を達成するためにこの戦争を利用することを画策し、日本政府の要人と直接接触することを求めた。それと同時に、鎖国を解いて近代化に着手してからわずか40年しか経っていない日本が、当時のポーランドにとって最大の敵であった強大なロシア帝国に勇敢にも戦いを挑んでいたことに、強い関心を持った。このことは、日本語文献の翻訳、日本を訪問した西洋人による著書の翻訳、およびポーランド人自身による著書や新聞記事などを含め、ポーランドで日本関連の出版物が当時としては数多く出版された事実からも明らかである。

長期的(1920年代～1930年代)には日露戦争が日波関係に与えた影響として、ソビエト連邦となったロシアに対する両国共通の敵対意識が支配するかたちで日波関係が続いていったと言って間違いない。このことは、大国となって間もなく、最も危険な隣国に関する正確な情報が何としても必要であった日本にとって特に重要であった。日本とポーランドの関係は、諜報機関の協力を含めた軍事協力が大半を占め、これは日本とポーランドが表向きは対立関係にあった第二次世界大戦中にも非公式に続けられた。

**Key-words:** Russo-Japanese War, Polish-Japanese Relations, Japanese Army General Staff, military *attachés* in Warsaw and Tokyo, *Virtuti Militari*, military and intelligence services co-operation, Bronisław Piłsudski, Józef Piłsudski, Waclaw Sieroszewski, Roman Dmowski, Akashi Motojirō, Yamawaki Masataka



## THE LITERARY IMAGE OF LOVE IN JAPANESE COURT CULTURE

### Introduction

Love as a source of inspiration and leitmotif has wound through Japanese literature since the dawn of its history. Feelings of love held an important place in the very first forms of verbal expression during the preliterate period. Love quickly came to be recognized by the first creators of literature to be a significant aspect of court life and dominated the subject matter of most writers.

The main questions to which I seek answers in this article pertain primarily to the functioning of courtly love as a leitmotif in Heian period (8th-12th centuries) *belles-lettres*. In the first part I shall examine the definition of love in lexical-semiotic terms; in the second part I shall present the image of love in the most ancient lyric and epic works. Because love constitutes the main criterion governing selection of literary topics and toposes, I need to precisely define my understanding of the following terms: literary motif, topic and topos. The precise distinction proposed by Raymond Trousson (1997) is useful for this purpose. In accordance with his conception, a “motif” is an element of extra-literary reality which defines basic situations and attitudes in literature. A motif is a kind of generalization, a broad conception of important ideas, phenomena and feelings – for instance, love, death, hate etc. In a concrete work, motifs undergo particularization and become literary topics. According to this definition, we can speak about love as a certain inventive motif around which specific topics or compositional schemes are created. Sometimes all these literary units are repeated in successive works in an orderly way. Then we can speak about – to use Ernst R. Curtius’s terminology – “received toposes”, or certain constant means of expression<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ernst R. Curtius initiated the contemporary understanding of the Greek term *tópos* or *tópoi* (set of toposes). In his opinion, toposes that originated in ancient rhetoric became clichés exploited in literature. The “topic repertoire” is a set of motifs, topics, plots or received symbols recurring in many works over the space of centuries which have become fixed in the literary tradition. Curtius, to be sure, referred the *tópoi* phenomenon to European literature, but Japanese literature offers numerous toposes as determinants of the cultural community of courtly society. See Curtius 1997: 86–110.

In courtly literature, the set of toposes that form the “thematic repertoire” of the concept “love” assumed the form of distinctly conventionalized or fictionally specified units. The most frequently occurring toposes include: “courtship” (*kyūkon* 求婚), “concealed love” (*shinobu koi* 忍ぶ恋), “love of wife” (*tsumagoi* 妻恋) and “fight for a wife” (*tsumaaraso* 妻争い).

### “Lexicographic portrait” of the concept of love

The lexical material concerning love that appears in courtly literature is very rich. Presentation and discussion of the equivalents of the word “love” in classical Japanese requires some preliminary explanation. Contemporary linguistic theories, especially conceptions about semantic-cognitive origin inspired by Wittgenstein’s philosophy of language<sup>2</sup>, hold that feelings by their very nature are indefinable. Anna Wierzbicka states that “feelings are something that is felt – not something that is experienced in words”<sup>3</sup>. In her opinion, feelings are devoid of internal structure; they can be described only in an indirect manner, by presenting external states, situations or thoughts associated with them. A similar position is taken by the cognitivists George Lakoff and Mark Johnson<sup>4</sup>, who posit that feelings are hard to show in the form of a conceptual structure, but can be described by providing their semantic representation, or linguistic manifestation. The linguistic manifestation of feelings forms a “lexicographic portrait”<sup>5</sup>, which consists of: the nouns for feelings, verbal descriptions of relations, adjectival definition of the object of love and idiomatic phrases<sup>6</sup>. Thus, using certain symbolic – otherwise known as cognitive – models<sup>7</sup> built on basis of the etymology of names for love, we can impose order on these words and the expressions associated with them<sup>8</sup>. In classical Japanese, etymological-semantic analysis of the most frequently appearing nouns for

<sup>2</sup> Zdzisław Krasnodębski calls the philosophical inquiries of Ludwik Wittgenstein the „phenomenology of speech”, as the central subject of Wittgenstein’s philosophic analysis is language. For Wittgenstein, language understood as a game constitutes an entirety together with other non-linguistic activities, and is an element of what he called a „life form” (*Lebensform*) common to all people. See Krasnodębski 1986: 211–49.

<sup>3</sup> Wierzbicka 1971: 31. All translations by this autor, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>4</sup> Lakoff & Johnson 1988: 142.

<sup>5</sup> The concept of a „lexicographic portrait” should be credited to Yuri Apresyan. It presents the full semantic structure of a feeling, also taking into account its definition by stating its metaphorical understanding. See Iwona Nowakowska-Kempna 2000: 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>7</sup> George Lakoff and Mark Johnson define the conceptual metaphore as a metaphoric method for apprehending phenomena and objects of human comprehension. The ontological metaphore shows certain abstract constructs, notions or feelings as concrete substantial things. See Lakoff & Johnson 1988: 147.

<sup>8</sup> Jakubowicz 2000: 27, 233.

the notion “love” (*ai* 愛, *nasake* 情け, *aware* あはれ, *koi* 恋, *omoi* 思ひ, *shinobi* 忍び, *suki* 好き and *irogonomi* 色好み), indicate the existence of three basic symbolic models – namely, “love as care”, “love as sorrow” and “love as desire”.

The first conceptual model, “love as care”, reflects a benefactor-caregiver relationship. In this sense, to love primarily means to care for and watch over one’s beloved. The second model, “love as sorrow”, describes a state of unfulfilled love, lack of contact with one’s beloved. This feeling of love is experienced the most fully when one contemplates it alone. The third model, “love as desire”, focuses on the sensual aspect of love. This is mainly the posture taken by the recipient of love and is manifested by the desire to possess the object of one’s love.

The first model, “love as care”, is represented by the noun *ai* (devotion, protectiveness), which is the word most frequently used to describe the feeling of love in contemporary Japanese. However, it appeared relatively rarely in Heian period romantic literature. Also in use was its verbal form *aisu* 愛す (to bestow affection upon, pamper). The noun *ai* originated in Buddhist terminology, which explains its presence in sutra texts and Buddhist *setsuwa* parables, in which it indicated a feeling of love with maternal or parental underpinnings<sup>9</sup>. The semantic field of the noun *ai* primarily emphasizes a sense of devotion and care – for instance, by a ruler in relation to his subjects, parents to their children, or people to animals<sup>10</sup>. In the sense of parental love, *ai* appears in *Man’yōshū* (*Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*, or, *for Ten Thousand Generations*), an anthology of poetry; in the tale *Mushi mezuru Himegimi* (*The Princess Who Loved Insects*)<sup>11</sup>, *ai* is used in the context of a princess’s strange fondness for various insects. In romantic literature, however, *ai* is not used to describe the feelings between a woman and a man<sup>12</sup>.

The noun *nasake* (feelings, emotions)<sup>13</sup> can also be classified under the first model. The Japanese noun lexeme *nasake* indicated all feelings that stemmed from the emotional nature of man. Its field of meaning encompassed such feelings and emotions as: friendship, feeling of closeness, fondness, sympathy and love. The expression *nasake aru hito* 情けある人 meant a man distinguished by his sensitivity and tenderness who is able to bestow his affection upon others. One of the heroines in *Ise monogatari* (*Tales of Ise*) wishes to meet the ideal man with a “sensitive heart”, expressed in Japanese as *kokoro nasake aramu* 心情けあらむ<sup>14</sup>. Sei Shōnagon counts emotionality and sensitivity (*nasake aru koto* 情け

<sup>9</sup> Shibusawa Tatsuhiko performs a thorough analysis of the meaning of *ai* in his article *Ai to iu kotoba*, See Shibusawa 1981.

<sup>10</sup> Kogo daijiten 1996.

<sup>11</sup> *The Princess Who Loved Insects* belongs to a collection of tales entitled *Tsutsumi chūnagon monogatari* (*The Tales of the Middle Counsellor*).

<sup>12</sup> Shibusawa 1981: 36.

<sup>13</sup> Akiyama 2000: 312.

<sup>14</sup> *Ise monogatari* 1971: tales 63 and 184.

あること) among the most desirable traits of a person (*medetaku oboyure* めでたくおぼゆれ)<sup>15</sup>.

Other variants of *nasake* used in literature were: the verbal form *nasakebu* 情けぶ (to be sincere, honest in one's emotions), the adjectival form *nasakenasakeshi* 情け情けし (sensitive, emotional) and the idioms *nasakemichi* 情け道 (literally: "path of love", or romantic relationship) and *nasakebumi* 情け文 (love letter).

The first cognitive model also encompassed words that, in the context of a male-female relationship, primarily meant care and protectiveness toward one's beloved. They include the noun *tokimeki* 時めき (granting of special favor to someone) and its verbal forms *tokimeku* 時めく (to receive special favor) and *tokimekasu* 時めかす (to grant special favor); also the noun *ushiromi* 後見 (watching over someone secretly) and the verb *ushiromiru* 後見る (to take care of someone secretly), which illustrate situations when a man financially and spiritually cared for a woman who was not his officially wedded wife.

The second model, "love as sorrow", is represented by the noun *koi*<sup>16</sup>. This word appears 800 times in the first anthology of poetry, *Man'yōshū*<sup>17</sup>. It frequently was written as *kohi* 孤悲, in which the first ideograph *ko* 孤 meant loneliness, and the second *hi* 悲 meant longing and sorrow. Semantic analysis of these ideographs indicates they conveyed a particular kind of romantic rapture dominated not so much by euphoria and ecstasy as an all-encompassing sorrow and nostalgia caused by loneliness, thus absence of one's beloved. The word *koi* contained the sense of a painful and bitter yearning for a person who has left forever (died or ended the relationship), left on a trip for a long time, or simply is not present.

The frequency of the word *koi* is likewise very high in later anthologies of Heian period poetry, also in the romantic verses appearing in court tales<sup>18</sup>. This is because it is one of the most frequently used words for feelings of love between a man and woman. The love poems in *Kokinwakashū* were called *koi no uta*. Five volumes were devoted to them, the same as poems about the seasons, which attests to the importance attached to the topic of love in poetry.

<sup>15</sup> Sei Shōnagon 1996: 134.

<sup>16</sup> Origuchi Shinobu traces the etymology of the word *koi* to the compound *tamagoi* ('inviting the soul'). In accordance with ancient religious beliefs, *tamagoi* symbolized a magical act performed by two persons close to each other. Origuchi sees the source of *tamagoi* in the *tamayobai* (spirit calling) ritual. After a person dies, his/her soul separates from the body and is lost, wandering around the fields, forests or mountains. A person close to the deceased would go to the places where the lost soul could be, calling it. When the soul was found, it penetrated into the body of the living person, thereby finding solace. In the *tamagoi* ritual, two persons in love invite each other's souls and, thanks to their mutual penetration, can thus unite their bodies. The invitation was a signal of readiness to experience love. See Origuchi 1966: 348–9.

<sup>17</sup> See Aoki 1969: 11.

<sup>18</sup> Akiyama 2000: 178.

In addition to its noun form, *koi* was also frequently used in other forms: the verb *kou* 恋ふ (to be lovesick), the adjective *koishi* 恋し (beloved, longed-for) and compound forms such as *koishinobu* 恋ひ忍ぶ (to long for one's beloved), *koinaku* 恋ひ泣く (to weep out of love), *koiwabu* 恋ひわぶ (to suffer because of love), *koishinu* 恋ひ死ぬ (to die of love) and *koiwataru* 恋ひ渡る (to love faithful love). All these forms express feelings of romantic longing and love that remains unfulfilled.

*Omoi*<sup>19</sup> is another word that belongs to the semantic field of the “love as sorrow” model. In contemporary Japanese, its meaning is bound up with the functioning of the human intellect and primarily indicates pensiveness and reflection. In classical Japanese, however, *omoi* did not connote activity of the mind, but manifestations of the working of the heart (*kokoro* 心). The phrase *kokoro ni omou* 心に思ふ<sup>20</sup> expressed a lofty emotional state, a natural reflex of longing for one's beloved. In lyric romantic poetry, the word *omoi* reflected feelings experienced in solitude due to the long-lasting absence of one's beloved, which causes one to be lost in thought about this person. In classical notation using the syllabic *kana* alphabet, the noun *omoi* had the ending *hi* (*omohi* 思ひ), which on the basis of phonetic association was replaced by the character *hi* 火, or “fire”. The meaning of this ideograph emphasized the heat of emotion experienced in *omoi* love. The dominant experience became hot, strong passion. Next to the noun form of this word, the verbal form *omou* (to think about one's beloved) was also often used, together with the expanded form *monoomou* もの思ふ, which meant approximately the same thing.

The second model also includes the word *aware*, which occurred in several variants in classical literature<sup>21</sup>. The oldest, original form was the exclamatory use of *aware* to mean “ooh!”, “aah!” – a reaction to all emotional experiences. This exclamatory form probably gave rise to other forms: the noun *aware* (strong romantic emotion, agitation, also sympathy and romantic nostalgia), the noun *awaresa* あはれさ (strong romantic emotion and nostalgia), the verb *awaregaru* あはれがる (to experience, feel deeply) and the adjective *awarenari* あはれなり (moving, pathos-filled, nostalgic, working on the senses, beautiful). The word *aware* can also be found in the concept *mono no aware* もののあはれ, which is most often translated as “the deep feelings inherent in” and expresses the unique emotionality and emotional approach to ephemeral beauty of the material as well as spiritual world.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 96.

<sup>20</sup> The expression used in *Kanajo, Kokinshū* (*Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems*) to signify feelings and experiences seated in the human heart which, when expressed in words, turn into verse.

<sup>21</sup> A thorough analysis of the term *aware* is performed by Shigematsu Nobuhiro. See Shigematsu 1971: 12–41.

Of all the words mentioned above, the noun lexeme *aware*<sup>22</sup> was used the most often to express the pathos of unhappy love. Prince Genji, mourning the death of his wife Murasaki no Ue, comes to the conclusion that it's not worth loving someone with too great and strong a love because if the beloved is lost, the love will yield only pain and suffering<sup>23</sup>. The meaning of *aware* here is close to the feelings of sorrow and despair. The description of the feelings experienced by Genji's father, the emperor, for his wife Kiritsubo assumes the same tone. After her death, the emperor unceasingly felt the great sorrow of love<sup>24</sup>.

Thus, in the description of love between a man and woman, *aware* most often expressed a feeling of romantic nostalgia and sympathy.

The next noun whose meaning fits within the semantic field of the "love as sorrow" model is *shinobi*<sup>25</sup>. This word expressed the emotional confusion and longing that arise when one spends the night alone and does not meet one's beloved. *Shinobi* was also one of the more frequently used poetic devices known as *kakekotoba* 掛詞 (pivot word)<sup>26</sup>. It had two broad complimentary meanings. The first was "romantic longing" and "pain of parting"; the second suggested "suffering from love" as well as "secret, concealed love", often forbidden and adulterous, passionate and difficult to control.

The third model, "love as desire", embraces a group of nouns expressing sensual love, desire and the longing to have one's beloved. The noun lexeme that represents this model the most fully is *suki*. It primarily denotes intense sensual attraction as well as deep romantic infatuation<sup>27</sup>. In addition to the noun form of *suki* (physical love, infatuation) there existed other forms: the verb *suku* 好く (to love, adore) and the adjective *sukizukishi* 好き好きし (loving, amorous)<sup>28</sup>. The adjective

<sup>22</sup> The word *aware* denoted a broadly conceived emotionality and sensitivity. It expressed all feelings ranging from friendship, love and sympathy to sorrow and despair. It appears about 364 times in *Genji monogatari* (according to a count performed by the author using a program to search *Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan dētabēsu* 2000).

<sup>23</sup> Murasaki Shikibu 1971: 519.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>25</sup> Akiyama 2000: 208.

<sup>26</sup> *Kakekotoba* – a figure of speech in Japanese *waka* poetry commonly used in *Kokinshū*. This word has a double meaning, which performs a double function in verse.

<sup>27</sup> *Kogo daijiten* gives two basic meanings for the word *suki*: 1. Infatuation with a person of the opposite sex, sexual attraction; 2. Deep interest in the arts: poetry, calligraphy, tea ceremony, flower arrangement. The second meaning of *suki* evolved only in the Medieval period of knightly culture. See *Kogo daijiten* 1996.

<sup>28</sup> The adjective *sukizukishi* has close semantic ties to the adjective *adaadashi* あだあだし, which indicated a person with fickle feelings who frequently changes his/her object of interest. The adjective *adaadashi* originated from the noun *ada* あだ, which meant "lack of trust, changeability, fickleness". The expression *ada naru otoko* あだなる男 thus described an amorous man, much like the noun *adabito* あだ人. In turn, the noun *adagokoro* あだ心 or *adashigokoro* あだし心 meant a fickle and amorous heart. It should be noted that all the derivatives of the lexeme *ada* had solely negative connotations.

*sukizukishi* also meant fickle and ephemeral affection. The term *sukizukishiki migokoro* 好き好きし御心 (fickle heart) appears frequently in descriptions of Prince Genji's amorousness. The compound *sukigokoro* 好き心 has a similar meaning – i.e. excessive amorousness and sensual sensitivity. A person distinguished by excessive amorousness was called *sukimono* 好き物, and indulging in love was called *sukigoto* 好き事.

*Suki* has close semantic links and a shared ideographic notation with the word *irogonomi* (sensual love). This word is a compound consisting of *iro* 色 (color, sensual beauty, love) and *konomi* 好み (passion, fondness, desire). *Irogonomi* expresses desire directed toward the entire image of human beauty perceived by the senses. The noun *irogonomi* and its verbal form *irogonomu* reflected a rich and varied love life, above-average activeness and passion in love. Literary characters associated with *irogonomi* – e.g. Prince Genji and Ariwara Narihira, the hero of *Ise monogatari* – were endowed with emotional sensitivity as well as an insatiable desire to make new amorous conquests.

The third cognitive model is also represented by the noun *kesō* 懸想 (desire, loving) and the verb *kesōbu* 懸想ぶ (to be in love, to desire, to wish to marry). A person in love was called *kesōbito* 懸想人, which most often indicated a man courting a woman.

As we can see from the descriptions above, the erotic aspect was an important semantic component of the words *suki*, *irogonomi* and *kesō*.

Love was also expressed with the help of a broad array of symbols and metaphors. Japanese romantic literature referred to an existing literary tradition which constituted a frame of reference not only for writers, but also for the tastes and preferences of the literary public at the time. This tradition included a particular set of conventions such as: choice of topics and motifs, figures of speech, words or expressions. These devices were mainly background elements in descriptions of moods and emotions which had been conventionalized, as they were all connected with specific and previously used stylistic instruments – *kakekotoba* (pivot word), *engo* 縁語 (verbal association)<sup>29</sup> and *jokotoba* or *joshi* 序詞 (preface)<sup>30</sup>.

One of the main elements of literary expression, especially in poetry, imposed upon authors by convention was the special relationship between the natural world and human emotions. The majority of poetic devices indicating love – metaphors (*hiyu* 比喩), symbols, similes – referred to the beauty of nature, changing seasons and rich world of fauna and flora. These symbols included: firefly *hotaru* 螢 (hot passion), chrysanthemum *kiku* 菊 (emotional fickleness), forget-me-not *wasuregusa*

<sup>29</sup> *Engo* – one of the main poetic devices popular during the Heian period. An *engo* is a group of two or three words appearing in verse and remaining within strictly specified semantic relations with each other based on associations.

<sup>30</sup> *Jokotoba* or *joshi* – a poetic device consisting of a group of words (five syllables together) appearing before a specified key word in order to properly introduce and embellish this word.

忘草 (transitoriness), autumn *aki* 秋, 飽き (melancholy, boredom), tears *namida* 涙 (suffering in love), cuckoo *hototogisu* 時鳥 (romantic sorrow).

In summing up the analysis above, it should be emphasized that the “lexicographic portrait” of the concept of love reconstructed from Japanese courtly literature enables us to learn the main feelings and states of mind associated with experiencing passion during this era. The lexical wealth characterizing descriptions of loving feelings attests to the broad conception of love, ranging over parental, promised, unhappy and sensual variants of love. All the aforementioned direct names for love as well as the symbols and metaphors used in romantic poetry shape a sophisticated means of expressing feelings.

### Lyrical poetry as the main mode of romantic communication

The first Japanese works portraying the experience of love come from ancient songs (*kayō* 歌謡)<sup>31</sup> passed on orally. Many examples of such songs can be found in the oldest Japanese chronicles – *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters, 712) and *Nihonshoki* (*Chronicles of Japan from the earliest times to A.D. 697, 720*) – as well as in the first anthology of poetry, *Manyōshū*. *Kayō* belong to the earliest poetic forms, whose structure was shaped by the need for vocal-musical presentation. Its sound layer was characterized by irregular syllabic construction and a division into stanzas; its content layer, by numerous parallelisms, repetitions and refrains. Love *kayō* told about loving feelings and sensual desire that arose in a spontaneous and natural manner. In the oldest Japanese poetry, eroticism was understood to be a basic human need and manifested in the desire for physical union between man and woman in the sexual act.

One of the most important toposes appearing in the majority of love *kayō* is “searching for a wife or candidate for a wife” (*tsumadoi* 妻問), which was distinctly bound up with the polygamous character of relationships between the sexes. The man is presented as a traveler who traverses the various lands of Japan in search of new wives and lovers. The woman is a passive figure who patiently waits until her longed-for man shows up and discovers her. Below is an example of these songs, taken from the *Kojiki*:

The god  
Tatipoko  
Unable to find a wife

<sup>31</sup> The subject matter of *kayō* songs was diverse. Mikołaj Melanowicz mentions urban and rural songs; work, play and convivial songs; religious and lay songs. He states that their subject matter as well as form continually changed. See Melanowicz 1994: 36.

In the land of the eight islands  
 Hearing that  
 In the far-away  
 Land of Kosi  
 There was a wise maiden,  
 Hearing that  
 There was a fair maiden,  
 Set out  
 To woo her,  
 Went out  
 To win her<sup>32</sup>.

The hero of this story is the god Tatipoko, who travels to the distant land of Koshi in search of a new beloved. There he meets the beautiful Nunakapa hime. In accordance with custom, he stands in front of her home and woos her by declaiming or singing his poem. He proudly presents himself to the object of his affection and declares how long he has had to travel to find her. The girl's response to his advances is both charming and inviting:

As soon as the sun  
 Hides behind the verdant mountains,  
 Then jet-black  
 Night will come.  
 Smiling radiantly  
 Like the Morning Sun,  
 With your arms  
 White as the rope of Taku fibers,  
 You will embrace  
 My breast, alive with youth,  
 Soft as the light snow;  
 We shall embrace and entwine our bodies<sup>33</sup>.

The man, in accordance with prevailing custom, should visit his beloved after nightfall and leave her home at dawn. The woman impatiently awaits his evening visit. In her poem, she promises the man delights of the flesh and fulfillment of his love, as she desires to fall asleep in his arms. Yet, being fully aware of the established division of roles and duties in love relationships, she does not expect an assurance of fidelity on his part.

<sup>32</sup> *Kojiki* 1968: 104.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 106-7.

The man is therefore the conqueror, while the woman is the “conqueree” awaiting his visits. Her poem is a profession of fidelity and love to one man.

Another interesting example of love in *kayō* is the song at the beginning of the *Man'yōshū* anthology, attributed to Emperor Yūryaku (456–479):

Your basket, with your pretty basket,  
 your trowel, with your little trowel  
 maiden, picking herbs on this hill –  
 I would ask you: Where is your  
 home?  
 Will you not tell me your name?  
 Over the spacious land of Yamato  
 it is I who reign so wide and far,  
 it is I who rule so wide and far.  
 I myself, as your lord, will tell you  
 of my home and my name<sup>34</sup>.

This poem is an illustration of a second popular topos: “telling each other’s names” (*nanori* 名乗<sup>り</sup>)<sup>35</sup>. It shows the efforts made by the young ruler who by chance meets a beautiful girl picking herbs and decides to wed her. He desires that his beloved reveal her name to him. In ancient Japan, the custom of “telling each other’s names”, or introducing each other, was among the basic elements of the nuptial ritual. The man introduced himself first, mentioning his name and social status. In this manner he expressed his desire to marry. Then he inquired about his beloved’s name. By answering his question, the woman expressed her agreement to his proposal of marriage.

Lyrical forms thus became the basic mode of romantic conversation and correspondence in Japanese literary tradition. Courtiers considered lyrical poetry, performing primarily a phatic function, to be the most appropriate form of expressing deeply moving experiences. Ki-no Tsurayuki views the source of poetry to lie in the human heart (*kokoro*), understood as the abode of all feelings and emotions.

<sup>34</sup> The first poem in the *Man'yōshū* anthology of poetry, translated by Donald Keene. See Keene 1993: 93.

<sup>35</sup> Sometimes partners did not reveal their names to each other (*nakakushi* 名隠し – „hiding names”), remaining unaware of whom they were meeting to the end. An example is the liaison between Prince Genji and Yūgao, who kept their real names secret from each other. *Genji monogatari* contains other examples of relationships in which the partners do not know each other’s real names. The mysterious Oborozukiyo, with whom the Prince has a passionate affair, carefully avoids revealing her real name. She turns out to be the younger sister of Kokiden – the greatest rival of the Prince’s mother. Ukifune, too, resists giving her name when she meets Prince Niou.

Japanese poetry has its seeds in the human heart and burgeons into many different kinds of leaves of words. We who live in this world are constantly affected by different experiences, and we express our thoughts in words, in terms of what we have seen and heard<sup>36</sup>.

Poetry thus understood is an expression and presentation of desires and feelings concealed in the heart. romantic experiences are undoubtedly among the profound emotions that naturally inspire the need to be expressed in poetic form.

In *Man'yōshū*, the first anthology of Japanese poetry, we find many such verses – love letters appearing under the name “questions and answers” (*sōmonka* 相聞歌). This form, borrowed from Chinese poetry, consisted of private poetic letters in question-and-answer format. Sometimes these love poems included “explanations” (*kotobagaki* 詞書) stating the place and circumstances in which they were written. They presented love in the context of married and family life, thus were very often sent to a particular partner, expressly indicated with the help of appropriate pronouns or nouns<sup>37</sup>. *Sōmonka* letter-poems also conveyed the feelings of a particular sender identified with the author appearing as the lyrical subject *ware* (I). The leading poets in this genre – Kakimoto Hitomaro (660–710), Ōtomo Tabito (665–731), Ōtomo Yakamochi (716–785) and Nukada Ōkimi (660–690) – strove to depict the intensity and authenticity of their feelings, to show love as great passion, in keeping with the “truth of things” concept (*makoto* まこと)<sup>38</sup>.

The following poem by Ōtomo Yakamochi is an exemplary profession of passionate love to a beautiful woman.

How I waste and waste away  
With love forlorn–  
I who have thought myself  
A strong man!<sup>39</sup>

This is an excerpt from a poem about unrequited love. In the depths of his heart, the poet experiences the bitterness of concealed passion, which he describes as madness. Even a tough guy proved to be weak and defenseless in the grip of so strong an emotion.

<sup>36</sup> Excerpt from *Kanajo* (Preface). See *Kokinshū* 1984: 387–400.

<sup>37</sup> The most frequently mentioned pronouns included the personal pronouns *kimi* 君 (“you” – indicates a man), *imo* いも (“you” – indicates a woman), *se* (“you” – indicates one’s husband), *imashi* いまし (“you” – indicates one’s wife) and the noun *tsuma* 妻 (indicates, depending on ideographic notation, a wife or husband).

<sup>38</sup> The term *makoto* denotes authenticity of experiences and feelings presented in literature.

<sup>39</sup> Poem by Ōtomo Yakamochi, translated by Donald Keene. See Keene 1993: 151.

A comparison of the image of love that emerges from the *Man'yōshū* anthology to that which emerges from the second anthology of poetry, *Kokinshū*, reveals that not only have the means of expression and style changed, but above all the poets' approach to the role of love in poetry. As Ariyoshi Tamotsu has emphasized (1981: 96), love as a literary topic – much as nature in the poetry of the courtly period – served to build poetic conventions whose main purpose became not so much re-creating the authenticity of feelings (*makoto*) as searching for beauty and elegance (*miyabi* みやび). This was manifested in the stylization of love and more intellectual approach to the topic. Poets ceased to describe solely their experiences relating to love and began to convey their own reflections on the subject of love, or what could be called the philosophy of love. The poetic portrait of love in *Kokinshū* sharply diverges from the spontaneous, natural and often physical love described in *Man'yōshū*. The new, intellectual approach to love entailed the subduing and refinement of feelings or even imposition of a contemplative-philosophical character on them. Many poems were devoted to attempts to define the phenomenon of love. They often began with the words “love is...” (*koishi to wa* 恋しとは). Consequently, poets stopped addressing their poems to a particular recipient. This led to the disappearance of the convention – ubiquitous in *Man'yōshū* – of using personal pronouns, which were replaced in *Kokinshū* by the noun “person” (*hito* 人) in the sense of “someone in general”. *Hito* was used by a man to denote a woman, as well as by a woman to denote a man. This word was often preceded by schematic, established designations such as: “darling” (*koishiki hito* 恋しき人) or “cold, heartless person” (*tsurenaki hito* つれなき人).

An anonymous author addressed his poem to a mysterious woman indifferent to his advances (*tsurenaki hito*).

Loving a heartless  
 unmerciful creature [*tsurenaki hito*] I  
 justly breathe laments  
 until the mountain echo  
 answers my piteous complaints<sup>40</sup>

The expression *tsurenaki hito* (heartless, unmerciful creature) symbolizes a beloved person in a fairly general way. The word *hito* (person) introduces a certain ambiguity and mystery, because it could mean a specific woman or it could suggest a beautiful woman in general.

The topic of a poem by the poetess Ono Komachi (? 834–900) was the transitoriness of feelings.

<sup>40</sup> Poem no. 521 *Tsure mo naki* (in *Kokinshū*), translated by Laurel Rasplica Rodd and Mary Catherine Henkenius, See *Kokinshū* 1984: 198.

That which fades within  
 Without changing its color  
 Is the concealed bloom  
 Of the heart of man in  
 This world of disillusion<sup>41</sup>.

This poem is an intellectual game that refers to Buddhist conceptions about the illusory nature of the world and human emotions. The unfaithful and fickle heart of man is compared to a flower whose color changes, though we do not perceive the change.

Ariwara Narihira experienced similar doubts rooted in the illusory nature of feelings.

Did you come to me,  
 Or did I go to you?  
 I have no idea  
 A dream or reality?  
 Was I asleep or awake?<sup>42</sup>

The poet, lost in the turmoil of his own emotions, wonders whether the love he feels for his beloved is a manifestation of the real world (*utsutsu* 現) or merely the dream world (*yume* 夢). The murkiness in his heart symbolizes his sense of being lost.

Love poetry sprang from the authentic experiences of its authors, occupying an important place in romantic conversation and correspondence. While it began as the main form used to express feelings of love, it came to be an artistic endeavor that provided its own aesthetic pleasures. Love and poetry were inseparably linked in the Heian period, as love spoke the language of poetry in everyday life as well as the literary world.

## The topic of love in epic works

In *monogatari* (courtly tales) and *nikki* (diaries) of the Heian period, love is the predominant motif. In contrast to the first epic works from the VIII century (i.e. the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* chronicles), courtly literature rarely contains images of the naked body and descriptions of sexual pleasure; it's not sex acts and their

<sup>41</sup> Poem no. 797 *Iro miede* (in *Kokinshū*), translated by Laurel Rasplica Rodd and Mary Catherine Henkenius, See *Kokinshū* 1984: 277–8.

<sup>42</sup> *Kokinshū* 1984: 133.

circumstances that are described in these works, but the internal experiences and emotional doubts and dilemmas of its heroes. The selection of romantic plots and toposes is subordinated primarily to the principles of courtly elegance (*miyabi*). Instead of erotic scenes, readers find highly sophisticated romantic rapture, emotion and longing. They are conveyed through lyric poetry, which is also present in narrative works. Heroes often speak about love in the language of poetry. Love is professed, described and conveyed in romantic verse, which assumes the short – 31 syllable – *tanka* form. Thus, in courtly tales<sup>43</sup> as well as diaries, the lyrical passages take the form of a romantic monologue or dialogue. While the narrative sections serve to describe feelings and emotions viewed through the eyes of an external narrator, the lyric forms express the heroes' feelings directly from their point of view.

The “topic repertoire” of love that appears in Heian period epic works is fairly uniform. It is mainly related to the age-old desire to win the heart of one's beloved. The most important literary toposes refer to this topic – namely, “courtship” (*kyūkon*), “marriage to a deity” (*shinkon* 神婚), “fighting for a wife” (*tsumaaraso*) and “concealed love” (*shinobu koi*).

The topos “courtship” is a continuation and development of the ancient topos “wife searching” (*tsumadoi*), known from *kayō* love songs. The man-conqueror who set off on a journey to distant provinces in search of the ideal wife often had to struggle with adversity of various kinds. In *kigi* chronicles, most journeys undertaken by ancient rulers or heroes were motivated by the desire to find a new wife. The most amorous rulers, about whose erotic travels much has been written, were the emperors Nintoku (V c.) and Yūryaku. A special variant of the topos “wife searching” is the topos “marriage to a deity” (*shinkon*). Tales of people marrying divine beings represented by spirits, deities or holy animals frequently appear in *kigi* and in *fudoki* (descriptions of lands). For example, *Kojiki* contains a description of a romance between the mountain spirit Miwa and the beautiful girl Ikutama-yoribime<sup>44</sup>. The spirit, in the form of a handsome young man, visits his beloved in her home. *Kojiki* presented their love as follows: “They fell in love, united and soon the girl became pregnant”<sup>45</sup>.

The “marriage to a deity” topos can also be found in the legend of Urashimako (*Tango fudoki*, Records of customs and land of Tango, 8th c.)<sup>46</sup>. The hero

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<sup>43</sup> The most expansive form of lyric professions of love are *uta monogatari* (poem tales), in which the narrative-descriptive parts perform a secondary role and serve only to explain and illustrate the main part, which consists of lyric poetry. The best-known examples of this genre are: *Ise monogatari* (*The Tales of Ise*, 10th c.), *Yamato monogatari* (*Tales of Yamato*, 10th c.) and *Heichū monogatari* (*Tales of Heichū*, 10th c.).

<sup>44</sup> *Kojiki* 1968: 150–1.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>46</sup> The oldest version of the tale comes from *Tango Fudoki* (Records of customs and land of Tango). In later versions of this legend, e.g. *Nihonshoki*, the hero's name is Urashima Tarō.

of the legend, the young man Urashimako, fell in love with the beautiful goddess Kamehime, whose feelings were reciprocal. He wed her and they lived in the Land of Eternal Existence. After some time had passed he grew homesick and decided to visit his family and friends. Upon parting, he received a small chest from his beloved, which he swore not to open under any circumstances. Unfortunately, he forgot about his pledge and opened it. Then he understood he would never return to Kamehime, and that he had lost her forever<sup>47</sup>.

Elements of the “marriage to a deity” topos are also evident in the construction of the Princess Kaguyahime character – the heroine of *Taketori monogatari* (*The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, 10th c.), who was presented as an other-worldly being who came to Earth from the Moon. In contrast to other such tales, none of the princess’s suitors succeeded in winning her hand in marriage.

In the Heian period, the man-conqueror no longer had to voyage to distant lands in search of the perfect consort, as the majority of amorous intrigues unfolded in the capital. But this does not mean that he ceased to woo women. A very popular topos in the literature of this period is “fight for a wife” (*tsumaarasoi*), in which many men competed with each other for the favor of a particular woman they desired. The oldest example is a story in *Kojiki* which tells of the rivalry between the deity Ōkuninushi and his 18 brothers for the hand of a beautiful woman. Thanks to his courage and kindness, Ōkuninushi defeats all his rivals and wins his beloved Inaba no Yagamihime.

In *Taketori monogatari*, male rivals battle for the hand of Princess Kaguyahime. All the candidates were guided solely by their desire to win the Princess, who was renowned for her beauty. They behaved like mad men ready to risk anything for love. In the end, however, only five of them had the mettle to face true danger in the name of love. The Princess assigned them perilous tasks (*nandai* 難題) to perform<sup>48</sup>. The one who demonstrated his courage and obtained the thing she desired would win her hand. Unfortunately, none of them succeed, because the deceit and dishonesty they use in pursuit of their goals doom them to failure.

In *Utsubo monogatari* (*The Tale of the Hollow Tree*, circ. 970), the object of the “fight for a wife” (*tsumaarasoi*) was Princess Atemiya. Over a dozen suitors of the highest aristocratic rank vie with each other for her hand. They do not, however, have to overcome dangers as their counterparts did in *Taketori monogatari*. Instead, they shower the princess with love letters assuring her of their serious intentions

<sup>47</sup> Section of *Tango fudoki* entitled *Urashimako – Shimako from the beside the Bay*, translated into Polish by Wiesław Kotański, (cf. 1961: 58–63).

<sup>48</sup> The tasks the Princess assigned the suitors were as follows: Prince Ishizukuri was to bring her the stone cup of the Great Buddha; Prince Kuramochi, a pearl branch from the tree growing on holy Mount Hōrai; Minister Abe Miushi, the skin of a fire-rat living in China; Great Counselor Ōtomo, a jewel inside a dragon’s throat sparkling in five colors; and Counselor Isonokami, a swallow’s egg.

and give her magnificent gifts. One of them, an official in the ministry of war, builds her a richly furnished home and provides her with numerous servants. Outraged by Princess Atemiya's indifference toward him, he lodges an official complaint against her in the emperor's palace<sup>49</sup>. In the end, the princess rejects the advances of all the suitors, choosing service in the court and the love of the heir to the throne.

The "fight for a wife" topos can also be found in *Genji monogatari*. The woman fought over is Princess Tamakazura, daughter of Tō no Chūjō and the late Yūgao. Tamakazura, raised in the provinces as a child, comes to the capital thanks to the efforts of Prince Genji. The Prince decides to adopt the young princess and behaves as an exemplary stepfather at first. But when the little girl matures, Genji begins to view her as a beautiful woman who reminds him of his former lover, Yūgao. Sensual passion wins out over fatherly love, and Genji becomes one of her many suitors<sup>50</sup>.

„But tell me: is there in any of your old stores a proper, upright fool like myself?” He came closer. „I doubt that even among the most unworldly of your heroines there is one who manages to be as distant and unnoticing as you are. Suppose the two of us set down our story and give the world a really interesting one.”

“I think it very likely that the world will take notice of our curious story even if we do not go to the trouble.” She hid her face in her sleeves.

„Our curious story? Yes, incomparably curious, I should think.”

Smiling and playful, he pressed nearer.

“Beside myself, I search through all the books,  
And come upon no daughter so unfilial.

“You are breaking one of the commandments.”

He stroked her hair as he spoke, but she refused to look up. Presently, however, she managed a reply:

“So too it is with me. I too have searched,  
And found no cases quite so unparental.”

Somewhat chastened, he pursued the matter no further. Yet one worried. What was to become of her?<sup>51</sup>

In the excerpt above, Prince Genji communicates his true intentions to Princess Tamakazura very clearly. Tamakazura is surprised, even shocked, by his bold advances.

<sup>49</sup> Excerpt from *Utsubo monogatari*, translated into Polish by Wiesław Kotański (cf. 1961: 176–81).

<sup>50</sup> The plot element of romance between stepfather and stepdaughter is frequently used in *Genji monogatari*. The classic example is the marriage of Prince Genji and Murasaki-no Ue, who was raised by the prince as a daughter until she reached adulthood.

<sup>51</sup> Murasaki Shikibu 1981: 436.

Other men in addition to Prince Genji compete for the princess's hand: her half-brother Kashiwagi, who is unaware of their kinship; Yūgiri, Prince Genji's son; Prince Hotaru, who is Prince Genji's half-brother; and Minister Hige-kuro. All the rivals shower the princess with love letters and gifts. In the end Tamakazura's father, Tō no Chūjō, decides to give his daughter to Minister Hige-kuro.

The topos "concealed love" (*shinobu koi*), which is most often "love for someone else's wife" (*hitozuma koi* 人妻恋), can be found in many courtly tales. The scheme in this case is: a man, unhappily in love, is unable to resist his deep desire and imprudently initiates a secret romance with a woman meant for another man.

An example of this topos can be found in *Genji monogatari* – namely, Prince Genji's love for his stepmother Fujitsubo. Like his late mother, Fujitsubo was for Prince Genji the embodiment of absolute beauty and kindness. The Prince has to break through the apparent indifference of his stepmother, who adroitly conceals her feelings for him. In the end they meet to consummate their mutual passion. The Prince takes advantage of the opportunity that arises when Fujitsubo, due to illness, moves back to her family home, where he visits her at night. This one tryst weighs heavily on the rest of their lives. Fujitsubo gets pregnant and gives birth to a son whose resemblance to Prince Genji is undeniable. Nevertheless, her husband – the emperor – publically recognizes the baby as his child.

The lovers' next meeting proved to be unforgettable for both of them.

Determined that there would not be another meeting, she was shocked to find him in her presence again. She did not seek to hide her distress, and her efforts to turn him away delighted him even as they put him to shame. There was no one else quite like her. In that fact was his undoing: He would be less a prey to longing if he could find in her even a trace of the ordinary. And the tumult of thoughts and feelings that now assailed him – he would have liked to consign it to the Mountain of Obscurity. It might have been better, he sighed, so short was the night, if he had not come at all.

"So few and scattered the nights, so few the dreams.

Would that the dream tonight might take me with it."

He was in tears, and she did, after all, have to feel sorry for him.

"Were I to disappear in the last of dreams

Would yet my name live on in infamy?"

She had every right to be unhappy, and he was sad for her<sup>52</sup>.

Fujitsubo worries the whole time that her relationship with her stepson will be revealed and fears the reactions and obloquy of her milieu. Following the death of her husband, the emperor, she decides to enter a convent – not for religious

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<sup>52</sup> Murasaki Shikibu 1981: 98–9.

reasons, but as a way to find peace in hiding from her unhappy love for her stepson and to atone for the sin she had committed.

Fujitsubo was tormented by feelings of guilt and apprehension. Surely everyone who saw the child could guess the awful truth and damn her for it. People were always happy to seek out the smallest and most trivial of misdeeds. Hers had not been trivial, and dreadful rumors must surely be going the rounds. Had ever a woman been more sorely tried?<sup>53</sup>

Several years later, Prince Genji finds himself in the same situation as his father. The pattern of adulterous love repeats itself – only the characters change. This time, Prince Genji must face up to the infidelity of his second wife, Princess Nyosan. The princess and her stepson's friend, Kashiwagi, fall madly in love. She gets pregnant and gives birth to a son, Kaoru, whom Prince Genji – just as his father before him – recognizes as his own.

In addition to adulterous liaisons, the topos “concealed love” (*shinobu koi*) also reflected romantic relationships whose unacceptability stemmed from the difference in social rank between the lovers. An example of such a romance was that between Ariwara Narihira and Fujiwara Takaiko<sup>54</sup> (the future Empress Nijō – wife of Emperor Seiwa (858–876)). The two had felt the flame of passion for each other for many years. Their relationship developed in secret, but became the object of rumors and suspicions very quickly. Ariwara visited his beloved contrary to the wishes of her family, who, with their own interests in mind, considered Takaiko an excellent candidate to become the future empress. The secret romance carried on by the two mainly yielded suffering due to the barriers that separated them – the difference in social rank between them and the opposition of Takaiko's parents. External factors kept the lovers apart while simultaneously stoking the flames of desire between them. Blinded by passion, Ariwara resorted to committing a crime. He kidnapped Takaiko, but her two brothers – Mototsune (836–891) and Kunit-sune (?–?) – gave chase. It is they who are portrayed in the sixth story as horrible demons (*oni*) who devour a woman. The kidnapping fails. Ariwara, realizing that his passion had driven him to evil, strives to atone<sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 398.

<sup>54</sup> Fujiwara Takaiko (842–910) – daughter of Fujiwara Nagara (dates of birth and death unknown). Her father wanted her to become the empress, thereby helping him advance his court career. In 865 Takaiko entered the court of Emperor Seiwa and became his wife. She soon gave birth to a son, the heir to the throne and future Emperor Yōzeia (876–884). As the empress, she assumed the sobriquet Nijō.

<sup>55</sup> *Ise monogatari* 1972: 137–8.

As the tales presented above show, passionate love demanded great determination and sacrifice from both partners in the pursuit of its fulfillment. Lovers severed ties with family members, abandoned the moral norms they had professed and even grew oblivious to common sense. The greater their mutual inaccessibility, the stronger their passion for each other. Attempts to cure their inflamed hearts merely led them to sink into internal confusion, suffering and longing.

The episodes cited above primarily show difficult love, which – particularly in the toposes “fight for a wife” (*tsumaaraso*) and “concealed love” (*shinobu koi*) – was an unhappy and complicated feeling. The reasons for the emotional complications could be social barriers (i.e. differences in social rank) or moral difficulties stemming from involvement in other people’s relationships (love triangles). Love was a difficult long-term feeling and often slipped out of control.

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## 論文の日本語レジュメ

Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka

### 日本の宮廷文化における愛の文学的印象表象

愛は日本の歴史が始まって以来、インスピレーションとライトモチーフの源として日本文学の中で脈々と受け継がれてきた。愛の感情は、文字使用以前の時代に言語表現の最初の諸形式の中で重要な位置を占めていた。愛は宮廷生活の重要な側面であると日本文学を最初に築き上げた者たちによってすぐさま認識されるようになり、ほとんどの作家の主題として用いられた。本論文は主に平安時代(8世紀～12世紀)の純文学におけるライトモチーフとしての宮廷愛の役割について考察を与える。前半部では、語彙・記号論的観点から見た愛の定義について考え、後半部では、古代の叙情詩と叙事詩における愛の印象イメージを提示する。

**Key words:** courtly love, Heian period, *irogonomi*, *aware*, topos of *kyūkon*, topos of *shinobu koi*, topos of *tsumaaraso*, *kayō*, *sōmonka*, *Manyōshū*, *Kokinshū*, *ochō monogatari*

## MAD ABOUT RADIGUET. TÔZOKU AND MISHIMA YUKIO'S CLASSICAL AESTHETICS<sup>1</sup>

The whole literary output of Mishima Yukio 三島由紀夫 (1925–1970), including both the fiction and the drama, which is not homogenous in character and differs from the Japanese literature of the post-war period, consists of numerous literary works, the contents or form of which derives not only from the tradition of classical Japanese literature but also seventeenth century French Classicism and literary works of Ancient Greece, particularly ancient tragedy. Mishima's clear predilection for classical aesthetics seems to be especially striking against the background of a very limited influence of European Classicism on the development of Japanese literature. Where does his interest in the classical literary output belonging to the treasury of European literature, rare and culturally as well as historically remote from the world of contemporary Japanese literature, come from?

This article deals with the early period of the writer's life, represented by Mishima's first novel, *Tôzoku* 盗賊 (The Thieves, 1948). Because of the range of the topic, it is only a tentative answer to the above question. It becomes part of this author's broader study into the issues of the classical aesthetics in the works by Mishima Yukio written in the years 1941–1960.

However improbable it may seem, the first and most important source of Mishima's fascination with European classical literature was the French writer Raymond Radiguet (1903–1923), who was closely connected with the artistic bohemian circles of Montmartre and Montparnasse of the 1920s, including Jean Cocteau, Pablo Picasso, or Max Jacob. Radiguet became famous thanks to his two novels: *Le diable au crops* (*The Devil in the Flesh*, 1920) and *Le bal du comte d'Orgel* (*Count Orgel Opens the Ball*, 1924), which directly imitated the classical style typical of the novels by Madame de La Fayette and Pierre Ambroise François Choderlos de Laclos and are completely different from the style of his era. In the literary world, Radiguet exists as an outstanding writer endowed with great talent, whose creative skills could not develop because of an unexpected death at the age of twenty.

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<sup>1</sup> A Japanese-language version of this paper appeared as Kubiak Ho-Chi 2001: 9–28.

The significance of Radiguet and his influence on Mishima are clearly visible in the writer's numerous articles dealing with his master. The following among them seem to be the most important: *Dorucheru haku no butōkai* (ドルチェル伯の舞踏会, *Count Orgel Opens the Ball*, 1948), *Radige byō* ラディゲ病 [Radiguet's disease, 1952], *Reimon Radige* レイモン・ラディゲ (Raymond Radiguet, 1953), *Radige zenshū ni tsuite* ラディゲ全集について [about the Complete Works of Radiguet, 1953], *Radige no shi. Atogaki* ラディゲの死。あとがき [the death of Radiguet, a post-face, 1955], *Radige ni tsukarete. Watashi no dokusho no henreki* ラディゲに憑かれて。私の読書の遍歴 [mad about Radiguet, the history of my reading, 1956], and *Issatsu no hon – Radige* «*Dorucheru haku no butōkai*» 一冊の本ラディゲ「ドルチェル伯の舞踏会」 [the only book: *Count Orgel Opens the Ball* of Radiguet, 1963]. All Mishima's comments on Radiguet are highly emotional. The Japanese writer remains under the influence of Radiguet's "charm". He is "blindly in love" with him and "mad" about him. He talks about "Radiguet's fever" and even "Radiguet's disease", which he names after his idol. He admits that he has neither fallen in love nor been charmed by any literary protagonist, but his affection for Radiguet has lasted since his youth. Radiguet was the god for young Mishima, who called his master's novel *Count Orgel Opens the Ball* "The Bible of his youth"<sup>2</sup>.

It seems that the role played by Radiguet in moulding the young Mishima's literary taste and his writing method cannot be overestimated but only underestimated. The French writer and his, in Mishima's opinion, great novel were considered by him as models to which he would refer throughout his youth and which had reinforced in him for ever not only the ideal of literary construction, but also the ideal of life, perceived as a short and brilliant literary career ending in a tragic death of the young writer.

Before that, Mishima's model was classical Japanese literature taught to him by the teachers of Gakushūin (The Peers School) connected with the Japanese Romantic School. Now, it was Mishima himself who chose the model. The interesting thing was that his model writer was part of a completely different cultural circle and his style belonged to seventeenth century French Classicism which was practically unknown in Japan.

Classical writers also considered the model as an extremely important thing. According to Przybylski, the very term "Classicism" contains in itself the concept of a model as the word *classicus* denoted a writer who was so perfect that he could be regarded as a model for generations to come. A classical writer looked for models, who became his inspiration and constituted the measure of the beauty of his work. The shape of the literary piece was determined by the writer's imagination, intuition and literary taste and the model was intended to prevent a chaotic expression of his

<sup>2</sup> Mishima 1975a, vol. 31: 167.

own ego, fits of fantasy and “thoughtless innovation”<sup>3</sup>. The young Mishima, choosing Radiguet as his model writer, seems to be motivated by similar reasons.

Mishima's reception of *Count Orgel Opens the Ball* was a two-stage process. Each of the stages is different and unique and they both seem to reflect a similarity existing between Mishima's literary ideals and the literary ideals typical of classical European writers.

The first stage is connected with the period when Mishima accidentally came across Radiguet's novel at the age of fifteen or so. He was reading a lot of works translated from foreign languages at that time. The first book he found was *Salome* by Oscar Wilde by which he was actually charmed. Searching through various translations from western literature, Mishima came across Radiguet's novel<sup>4</sup>. His initial fascination did not result from the plot and structure of the novel but the quality of the Japanese translation and the language: “There are a few translations of *Count Orgel Opens the Ball*, a masterpiece by the prematurely dead Radiguet. But the best one belongs to Horiguchi Daigaku 堀口大学. I was absolutely in love with his translation of *Count Orgel Opens the Ball* which I considered a masterpiece of the Japanese language. I have read this book published by Hakusuisha 白水社 a countless number of times. When I read it for the first time at the age of fifteen I was charmed by it, although I could not understand many difficult parts. (...) When I was young I was ever more attracted by the original cool elegance because the translation was full of – for that period – insightful observations of the author about man's psychology”<sup>5</sup>.

Thus in the beginning it was not Radiguet but Horiguchi, writing beautiful Japanese, who charmed Mishima and inspired his imagination. Mishima says that Horiguchi's style is “mechanical but at the same time it is so pathetic, breathtaking, unique”. The writer admits that he used to end his sentences with the expression *datta* だった, for example *suru no datta* するのだった, *suginu no datta* すぎぬのだった, so characteristic of Horiguchi, and copy the latter's use of archaic words, because he was under the influence of his master of translation<sup>6</sup>.

The beauty of the language of Horiguchi's translation attracted the young Mishima to Radiguet's novel. He was fascinated by the elegant, elaborated and elevated translation of Horiguchi, as well as by the rhythmically chanted *nō* 能 songs which he admired and by the sophisticated style of both the poetry and fiction of the Heian 平安 period. It seems that the word (*logos*) and its musical aspects (*rythmos* and *melos*), which were so important for European classical writers, must have greatly influenced Mishima in his early years.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Przybylski 1966: 92–5.

<sup>4</sup> See Mishima 1975b, vol. 27: 211.

<sup>5</sup> See Mishima 1975a, vol. 31: 167.

All translations by this author, unless otherwise stated.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

*Count Orgel Opens the Ball* was read or rather studied by Mishima on countless occasions. With the time passing, the writer discovered newer and newer deeply hidden layers of the novel: "I underlined with a pencil various phrases which I liked and, as I was growing up, I found the things which I used to admire childish. So I erased the old lines and underscored new places, which seemed wonderful to me then. My book is full of traces of such erasing"<sup>7</sup>.

After the first, superficial infatuation with *Count Orgel Opens the Ball*, Mishima was astonished by the psychological analysis of the novel which seemed to be something "terribly elegant, impossible to copy, classy"<sup>8</sup> to the young man at that time. The characteristic thing is that in the first period of his fascination with *Count Orgel Opens the Ball*, the young Mishima's attention mostly focused on the novel's aesthetic qualities. Not only the style but also the psychological analysis appeared to be "elegant" and "classy". For him, the beauty contained in the form of the work was more important than the contents.

The second, matured, stage of reading *Count Orgel Opens the Ball* started in the last war years and lasted throughout the post-war period. The first step was to understand thoroughly the psychological analysis which constituted the plot of the novel: "After the blind admiration for Radiguet, I started to examine the sources from which he drew his knowledge and after reading *The Princess of Cleve*, *Adolph* and *Phedre*, I realized the real value of Radiguet and understood that he was the peak situated on the very top of the mountain range. I perceived the anachronistic and tragic character of *Count Orgel Opens the Ball*. I saw the secret of Radiguet's art and his ability to create something elevated from the simple triangle story. I also understood the beauty of the novel personified by Countess Mahaut who went through a hassle of long-concealed passions and finally changed into a great heroine, equaling the heroines of classical plays"<sup>9</sup>.

Mishima admires the knowledge of the young Radiguet who could speak from a fifty-year-old-man's experience. He realizes the abstractness of Radiguet's novel and perceives his writing method which seems very attractive to him thanks to its "crystalline structural transparency"<sup>10</sup>. He praises the way Radiguet constructs his story which is a chain of events culminating in an inevitable, catastrophic incident: "I always see in it a structure, the optics of which allows the existence of things which constitute the essence and lead exclusively to the consequences culminating in a solution. Such a way of reinforcing the novel's climax, modeled on classical tragedy, has become an indispensable element of my own writing method. Although I have tried to get rid of it many times, I have never succeeded"<sup>11</sup>. Thus

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

the novel method borrowed by Radiguet from the French classicists became also the fundamental writing method in the case of Mishima's works.

The second stage of studying *Count Orgel Opens the Ball* coincided with a very difficult period in the writer's life when his long-cherished values were annihilated by the war defeat of Japan and Mishima had to redefine himself as a man and writer in the new situation. Throughout the war period, Mishima cherished his romantic dreams of a tragic death on the battlefield. He wanted to follow Radiguet and be remembered as a prematurely dead literary genius. This is why he was bitterly disappointed by the unconditioned capitulation of Japan of August 15, 1945. The subject of his works in that time, such as *Chūsei ni okeru ichisatsujin jōshūsha no nokoseru tetsugakuteki nikki no bassui* 中世に於ける一殺人常習者の遺せる哲学日記の抜粋 (fragments of the Philosophical Journal left by a serial killer from the Middle Ages, 1944) or *Chūsei* 中世 (the Middle Ages, 1945), was always connected with death. A foreboding of the forthcoming end of the world and reflections on death which so brutally became a part of the writer's youth and adolescence were present in all his writings of that time. Paradoxically, the war was the only period in Mishima's life when he felt that he shared his individual tragic experience with the entire nation<sup>12</sup>.

However, death, which he had dreamt of, did not come. Mishima survived the numerous bombardments of Tokyo which killed thousands of people. Moreover, he deliberately missed a chance to die. At the end of the war, when every newly drafted soldier joined a kamikaze unit, Mishima did not object when during the doctor's examination, he was wrongly diagnosed as having tuberculosis and was sent home. He knew that joining the army meant a death sentence. The end of the war was the end for young Mishima's dreams of a beautiful death. Moreover, all the ideas that were to constitute the writer's legacy turned out to be anachronistic and outdated. The writers of the Japanese Romantic School who used to be his models and promoted him were arrested and condemned. Isoda Kōichi argues that the young writer matured and that his personality was moulded in the Japan of the 1930s in an exclusive society. His approach to life was centered on pro-imperial thought. Consequently, he must have felt lost and disappointed when he could not write in a spirit of the ideology of death and cult of the Japan of old times any longer. How could he pass on his "dangerous thoughts" to the new generation living in the times of the reign of democracy, progress and rationalism?<sup>13</sup>

Mishima did his best to make publishers interested in his short stories, which were very successful during the war, but he failed. Nakamura Mitsuo 中村光夫 (1911–1988), the editor of Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房 publishers, shamed him by scoring Mishima "minus one hundred and twenty". Nakamura became Mishima's

<sup>12</sup> See Mishima 1975g, vol. 30: 434.

<sup>13</sup> See Isoda 1990: 249–250.

friend and a lover of his fiction a few years later and the two would often laugh at the past incident. It is, however, certain that at that time the young writer was unable to accept this disqualifying evaluation of his work. The post-war period was no easy for beginners. Works by experienced and esteemed writers belonging to the old generation were the first to be published. Nagai Kafū 永井荷風, Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎, Shiga Naoya 志賀直哉, and many other writers who were well known before the war, became the most esteemed artists. Mishima who had been a very successful young writer and had been regarded as a genius by a small literary group was no longer an admired artist and became a forgotten and rejected simple student<sup>14</sup>. He found it difficult to become a beginner again and enter the hermetic world of Japanese *bundan* 文壇. His literary attempts to akin to *shishōsetsu* 私小説, which was very popular in Japan, gave him neither creative satisfaction nor popularity with new readers<sup>15</sup>. The young writer was struggling to find a new way of expressing his “ego” and therefore took up the challenge of writing a novel. To write a novel is undoubtedly a dream of every writer. It is in a novel, and not in a short story, that they can show their artistic maturity. But how should he write to make his works comprehensible to people living in the time of complete chaos and destabilization? How could he find a language that could unify the writer with the community? Seventeenth century classicists would have referred him to a “model”. Przybylski says, “Despite constantly repeated legends, the seventeenth and even the eighteenth centuries were the era of unbelievable chaos, terrible uncertainty and this is why Classicism always spoke of models which protected the poets from the caprices of their free wills widespread mental anarchy. (...) The model was to prevent and did prevent a poet from losing the language unifying him with the community”<sup>16</sup>. Mishima, who reached a crossroads, seemed to follow the classicists’ advice. He decided to copy his greatest master, Radiguet, and his novel *Count Orgel Opens the Ball* in order to write his first novel.

Mishima started writing his first novel, *Tōzoku*, as early as January 1946. He wrote the first four chapters, that is, about two-third of the novel. The last two chapters were finished only two years later – in the spring of 1948. The fact that such a relatively short novel took him two years to complete is closely related to the writer’s difficult personal situation. The first three post-war years were really hard for Mishima. His beloved sister, Mitsuko, died unexpectedly of typhoid fever, and

<sup>14</sup> Cf Mishima 1975g: 438.

<sup>15</sup> Mishima wrote two such short stories, namely *Misaki nite no monogatari* 岬にての物語 [a tale from the Cape], written in 1945 and published in the renowned literary journal *Gunzō* 群像 in November 1946 and *Tabako* 煙草 (Cigarette), produced in the second half of 1945 and published in *Ningen* 人間, another noted literary journal, in June 1946, thanks to Kawabata Yasunari’s support.

<sup>16</sup> Przybylski 1966: 95.

the writer found it extremely distressful. In May 1946, Mishima suffered another disappointment, namely the marriage of a girl he loved (she became the main female protagonist of his novel *Kamen no kokuhaku* 仮面の告白, 1949, English *Confessions of a Mask*). The writer describes that period in one of his works: "The war ended in 1945. In October 1945 my younger sister died. I became a student at the Department of Law of Tokyo University. The novel was born out of my personal experiences dating back to that period. Moreover, the motives that induced me to write it were not as clean as they might seem to have been. I, who had never written anything longer than 180-page handwritten piece of text, craved to amaze people by a longer novel, taking advantage of the fact that it was the post-war period. For me the greatest work in the history of literature was a novel by Radiguet. In my childish dreams, I decided to compete with him"<sup>17</sup>.

Of course, the novel Mishima was talking about was *Count Orgel Opens the Ball*. The plot of Radiguet's novel (the French writer himself modeled his work on *La Princesse de Clèves*<sup>18</sup> [1689; English translation *The Princess of Cleves*, 1689] psychological novel by Madame de La Fayette) is based on a masterly analysis of a love triangle. The protagonists are Countess Mahaut d'Orgel, her husband Count Anne d'Orgel and their friend François de Séryeuse. The novel consists of short untitled chapters in which the omniscient narrator describes the escalation of feelings of love and friendship. It is thanks to him that the reader knows the characters' thoughts but he does not find anything about their appearances and characters. The narrator introduces Countess Mahaut in a short aphoristic prolog, written in the courtly style, so typical of Madame de La Fayette. Mahaut is a tragic heroine experiencing the tragedy of desire and innocence. She loves and admires her husband, though he does not love her so much. He is even unfaithful to her from time to time but for him such behavior is only one of his duty as a cosmopolitan who is made to have love affairs to satisfy his self-esteem and social expectations. François de Séryeuse, by contrast, is blindly in love with Mahaut and his affection is a real catalyst for Anne d'Orgel's love for his wife. François, who is aware of his feelings, dares not declare his affection because of his friendship with Count d'Orgel. Meanwhile Mahaut, who had never been unfaithful to her husband even in her mind, can not bear the situation. When she realizes this, she does not declare her love to François, but writes a letter to his mother. Mahaut begs her for help, because she wants to rid herself of the object of her affection. She is lost and feels pangs of conscience. Eventually she confesses this, in her opinion horrible, sin to her husband. The latter, however, cannot believe that his wife might love anybody but him and assumes that her confession was a result of her tiredness and illness. He is preoccupied with the idea of a huge mask ball, which he has undertaken to prepare for his friends. François de

<sup>17</sup> Mishima 1975e, vol. 27: 46.

<sup>18</sup> See Bernard Pingaut's forward to *Le bal du comte d'Orgel*. Paris: Gallimard, 1983: 12.

Séryeuse is helping him willingly with the preparations. Eventually, Anne d'Orgel learns of Mahaut's affection for François. He cannot ignore it because his friend's mother knows about the affair. He, however, takes into consideration neither his own distress nor his wife's painful experiences. His cynicism and hypocrisy make him keep up appearances and struggle to restore superficial order and marital bliss in order to avoid a scandal. Consequently, he decides that the ball will take place and François de Séryeuse will be one of his guests.

Radiguet's story is set in aristocratic circles in France at the beginning of the 1920s. Mishima's characters also come from aristocratic families. In addition, the intrigue is carried out at more or less the same time as the subtitle reads *An Incident from the Aristocratic Circles of the 1930s*.

The protagonists of *Tōzoku*, Akihide 明秀, the son of Count Fujimura 藤村, and his mother are taking a holiday in a seaside resort. The young man often meets beautiful Yoshiko 美子 coming of the splendid Harada 原田 family. Their friendship soon develops into love. When people learn about this affection, Akihide's parents feel obliged to ask for Yoshiko's hand in marriage on his behalf. However, the independent and extravagant girl turns down the honest and relatively naive boy. At first, Akihide does not care much about his refusal but, with the passage of time, he starts to feel unhappy. Thinking about this incident by the sea, he comes to the conclusion that this unfortunate love for Yoshiko had changed into a fascination with death. He believes that the affair was brought on him by fate and his affection was in fact a desire for death. Then Akihide meets another girl, Kiyoko 清子, who was also rejected by a beloved person. When they tell each other about their misfortune and learn about their plans to commit suicide, they become close friends. All their friends regard them as lovers but it is rather a sense of brotherhood and their desire to die that unite them. When the newly married couple commits suicide on their wedding day, everyone is so shocked that they can offer no rational explanation for the tragedy. Some suggest that Akihide and Kiyoko were too happy to live on. Paradoxically, this tragedy of rejected love is mistaken by the world for excessive happiness.

In the last chapter, the reader finds the explanation for the novel's title and is provided with more information about the suicidal motive. In the climactic scene of the sixth chapter, the bad lovers who had rejected Akihide and Kiyoko accidentally meet at the Christmas ball. It is a month since the young couple committed suicide. When they exchange traditional greetings, they meet face to face and can suddenly see the brutal truth. They realize that "Everything in them which was really beautiful and eternally young was stolen by some extremely sinful thieves"<sup>19</sup>. Since then, immortal beauty and everlasting youth belonged to Akihide and Kiyoko, the two dead lovers.

<sup>19</sup> Mishima 1975d, vol. 2: 172.

Although the well-known romantic theme of eternal beauty which must be annihilated, present in Mishima's earlier works, reappears in *Tōzoku*, the young writer uses a technique he has never applied on such a scale, namely the method of psychological analysis. He creates an omniscient narrator who wonders about the characters' motives and analyzes their thoughts and actions (Radiguet has done the same in his novel *Count Orgel Opens the Ball*). He controls and directs both the protagonists' behavior and the reader's perception. Radiguet's aphoristic and lofty style, modeled on Madame de La Fayette's way of writing, is visible in the very first sentence of *Tōzoku*: "A man who conceals all his feelings because of his character seems to be a person who can cope with the worst situation. But in the heart of such a man there hide the most surprising current stories and secrets, which will unexpectedly lead to an old-style tragedy"<sup>20</sup>. Throughout his novel the writer asks questions reminding the reader of the rhetoric style of Radiguet: "Should her humility be ascribed exclusively to her age? Can a person grow so old within a year? Was not her sudden loss of youth connected with a sort of unfaithfulness?"<sup>21</sup>.

Donald Keene criticized the style employed by Mishima in *Tōzoku*. He calls it a mannerism and considers the story to be improbable. He places the novel among Mishima's early works, permeated by the idea of death<sup>22</sup>. One cannot disagree with him completely because after reading *Tōzoku* a feeling of dissatisfaction appears, caused by the schematic plot totally cut off from reality. But one must perceive the novelty of this work, which manifests itself in the author's desire for maximum precision and for the accuracy of thought as well as the avoidance of romantic escalation of feeling, which were so typical of his early works. Although he cannot get rid of all his old habits, such as the excessive use of Chinese characters in the formal sphere and the exaggerated exploitation of death motif, in *Tōzoku* Mishima does his best to be so rational that he attempts to employ reason to explain the irrational. In <*Tōzoku*> *nōto*. 1946 「盗賊」ノート。1946 defines the idea which is to become the basis for the main thought of the novel: "Radiguet is a romantic writer, who sees a novel in normal psychology. I, by contrast, am a realist, who wants to present unreal romantic psychology"<sup>23</sup>.

According to Noguchi Takehiko 野口武彦, this "unreal romantic psychology" is what Akihide calls "some primitive impulse of tragedy". The impulse appears when Akihide, rejected by Yoshiko, decides to die. Analyzing his feelings, he comes to the conclusion that his affection for Yoshiko has changed into the love of death but at the same time he realizes that death was present in his subconsciousness much earlier<sup>24</sup>. He experienced a strange sensation during his very first meeting

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>22</sup> Keene 1984: 1179–80.

<sup>23</sup> Mishima 1957: 180.

<sup>24</sup> Hasegawa & Noguchi (ed.) 1976: 277.

with Yoshiko: “What made him tremble when he first saw Yoshiko? There can be no doubt that whenever he imagined the moments when he attracted Yoshiko, he got afraid of the future, which was getting out of hand”<sup>25</sup>.

In fact, whenever he found himself in Yoshiko’s presence, he was seized with some strange fear: “How many times was he seized with fear while holding Yoshiko’s hand, springy like young leaves?... What if she leaves? Undoubtedly, at the very bottom of his fear there hid a kind of primitive impulse of death, similar to the experience for a man who had run the risk and dies for the feeling that permeates the joy of children watching circus stunts of warfare”<sup>26</sup>. Noguchi Takehiko argues that Akihide anticipates the loss of Yoshiko and has a feeling that this will make him commit suicide. His love must be tragic in order to change into death. Noguchi believes that the characters of Radiguet’s novel are involved in quite normal love situations which are somehow overshadowed by a tragic and elevated mood. But in *Tōzoku* the strange love of the protagonists, permeated by the specter of death, rises above the level of normality and does not resemble the love depicted in Radiguet’s *Count Orgel Opens the Ball* in any respect<sup>27</sup>.

Undoubtedly, despite the superficial similarity of style, Mishima’s novel can hardly be considered a copy of Radiguet’s work. But did not Mishima intend to write a novel imitating Radiguet’s best techniques but surpassing his *Count Orgel Opens the Ball*? Reading the notes made by Mishima, one can easily observe the Japanese writer’s desire to emphasize the difference between him and Radiguet and not to stress the similarities. Besides the above-quoted difference between Radiguet, the romantic, and Mishima, the realist, the author points to yet another contrast: “Morality, which was the central theme of Radiguet’s work, historically belongs to Catholic tradition and is also one of the contemporary French techniques. It varies a bit in character from the morality of *The Princess of Cleve*. I, by contrast, followed the rules of historical and literary tradition of Japan and ignored morality as it played only a minor role in the history of Japanese literature”<sup>28</sup>.

Countess Mahaut in Radiguet’s *Count Orgel Opens the Ball* is a model wife, loving, faithful and fearing extra-marital affairs whereas Yoshiko in *Tōzoku* is in fact created in opposition to the ideal. She has many lovers and does not feel obliged to marry Akihide. Moreover, she does not care much about her reputation.

There is also some difference between the two structures of the two novels. Radiguet constructed his novel as a whole while Mishima not only divided *Tōzoku* into chapters, but also entitled them and enriched with epigraphs, quotations from his favorite writers and poets, such as Wilde, Strindberg, Baudelaire, and others.

<sup>25</sup> Mishima 1975d: 16.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>27</sup> Hasegawa & Noguchi (ed.) 1976: 277.

<sup>28</sup> Mishima 1957: 180.

The question is whether there is anything that really allows us to relate the two novels, or not? Apart from such scare elements in Radiguet as, the aristocratic origin of the protagonists and the technique of narration, there is only one such characteristic feature, namely the “timelessness” of both works. In *Tōzoku*, a novel written directly after the war, there is no hint that Japan has just gone through the terror of war. Keene argues that Mishima, a young man at the time, turns his back on the present and returns to the issues connected with the refined lifestyle of the aristocracy of the 1930s. He does not follow the general trend, a tendency to think of the future and build new democracy. Besides, Mishima does not refer even indirectly to the important events of the period he writes about, such as the rebellion in the Emperor’s army of February 26, 1936, the famous *Ni-ni-roku-jiken* 二二六事件<sup>29</sup>.

Mishima, who felt completely out of place among post-war writers and did not want to deal with the issues of war crimes, found a comfortable shelter. Radiguet had nothing in common with the writers of his epoch and his style of writing was completely different from theirs. In his essay titled *Reimon Radige* (1954), Mishima admires Radiguet for his “timelessness” and compares him to Marcel Proust, Paul Valéry, and André Gide, the three writers who, in his opinion, did not carry on the “fruitless” work of the dadaists and surrealists but adopted the classical attitude of “timelessness”: “In Radiguet’s novels, time is rejected and the writer stays hidden. A piece of writing, like an ancient drama, becomes a pattern of vivid passions, presented in pure space”<sup>30</sup>.

Radiguet’s “anti-time” approach directed Mishima’s attention towards a possibility of finding his own way of writing through the return to the themes of literature regarded as classical. While writing *Tōzoku*, Mishima published an article with the title *Waga sedai no kakumei* 我が世代の革命 (A Revolution of Our Generation, 1946). Sakita Susumu 崎田進 considers this piece of writing as the young poet’s classical manifesto<sup>31</sup>. Mishima, who had distanced himself from the *Sengoha* writers group, regarded the values established by European classicists as his own principles. In his words, “Originality is a pearl which can be found only in the sea of universalism” and “We will not pay attention to what is called the love of novelty in literature”<sup>32</sup>.

The above quotations seem to be evidence of Mishima’s respect for the values appreciated by European classicists, namely universality, commonness, timelessness, and eternity, and his dislike of easy originality. The values equilibrium was upset after the lost war forcing the *Sengoha* 戦後派 writers to deal with existential

<sup>29</sup> Keene 1984: 1179.

<sup>30</sup> Mishima 1975c: 216.

<sup>31</sup> See Sakita 1984: 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

problems and look for new, individual means of expression. His quest for a new writing method resulted in a situation in which Mishima and *Sengoha* writers were poles apart in style. The *Sengoha* writers considered the power of impulse and feeling which were to be the manifestation of real humanism, the most important element of literature, while Mishima used reason to control emotion: “We know the power of a blind impulse, which seems to be the source of literature. But we also know pure reason (underline by me), which is indispensable to use if we want to express the impulse by means of words”<sup>33</sup>.

Mishima’s aim was to suppress sensitiveness by means of reason and this seems to be the main motive for his interest in Radiguet. The young author of *Tōzoku* who wanted to control his own emotions, suppress his concealed passions, and express feelings in the form of literary fiction, did not manage fully to achieve these goals in his first novel. However, this work, modeled on Radiguet’s work of fiction, was the beginning of Mishima’s struggle to overcome his romantic sensitiveness and the first step towards the introduction of the fundamental norms of classical aesthetics into his own technique of novel writing.

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<sup>33</sup> Mishima 1975f, vol. 25: 4.

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## 論文の日本語レジュメ

Beata Kubiak Ho-Chi

### ラディゲに夢中—『盗賊』と三島由紀夫の古典美学

小説と戯曲を共に含めた三島由紀夫(1925–1970)の全作品は数多くの文学作品から  
なっており、その内容や形式は古典日本文学の伝統だけではなく、フランス17世紀の古  
典主義や古代ギリシアの文学作品、特に古典悲劇にも端を発している。

本論文は、レイモン・ラディゲの小説『ドルジェル伯の舞踏会』(*Count Orgel Opens the  
Ball*, 1924)をモデルとした三島の処女作『盗賊』(*The Thieves*, 1948)に代表される三島の  
作家人生の初期に的を絞り、最初でありつつ最も重要な創作の原点となった20世紀のフ  
ランス人作家、レイモン・ラディゲの諸作品を分析することで、日本人作家三島が抱く西洋  
古典文学に対する深い関心の根源を明らかにする。

**Key-words:** Mishima Yukio, *Tōzoku*, Raymond Radiguet, *Count Orgel Opens the Ball*,  
classical aesthetics, ancient tragedy, Madame de La Fayette, *The Princess of Cleve*, French  
Classicism

Aleksandra Skowron

## THE CHRISTIAN GOD AND THE LOGIC OF MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM – NISHITANI KEIJI'S INTERPRETATION OF CHRISTIANITY

The Japanese philosopher Nishitani Keiji<sup>1</sup> (1900–1990) was one of the most eminent members of the second generation of the Kyoto School of Philosophy<sup>2</sup> founded by Nishida Kitarō<sup>3</sup> (1870–1945). The aim of this article is to analyze Nishitani's interpretation of Christianity, especially his reflection on the Christian notion of God. The author presents Nishitani's Buddhist interpretation of God and the love of God, omnipotence and omnipresence, which was influenced by Nishida Kitarō's 'logic of absolutely contradictory self-identity'.

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<sup>1</sup> The order of Japanese names and surnames that appear in this article complies with the traditional Japanese notation – surname first. Nishitani Keiji graduated in philosophy at Kyoto Imperial University. Nishida was both his teacher and mentor. The theme of his considerations deals not only with Buddhism, Zen and Eastern culture but also European philosophy and thought. He discusses German mysticism, and Kierkegaard's, Nietzsche's and Heidegger's considerations. His research focuses on religion-related concepts as well as the religious dimension of existentialism. Nishitani's Zen practice plays an important role in his philosophy. He is considered to be one of the greatest representatives of the second generation of the Kyoto School of Philosophy. Among his most widely recognized works are: *History of Mystical Thought* (Jpn. (Japanese) *Shimpi shisō shi*), *The Philosophy of Fundamental Subjectivity* (Jpn. *Kongenteki shutaisei-no tetsugaku*), *God and Absolute Nothingness* (Jpn. *Kami to zettai mu*), *A Nihilism* (Jpn. *Nihirizumu*), *Religion and Nothingness* (Japanese title: *Shūkyō to wa nani ka* [*What is Religion*]), *On Buddhism* (Jpn. *Bukkyō ni tsuite*). See: Abe 1991: 150–2; Brown & Collinson & Wilkinson (eds.) 1999: 145; Craig (ed.) 1998, vol. 7, 16; Heisig 2001: 184; Horio 1992: 96–7; Abe (ed.) 1992: 155–7.

<sup>2</sup> The **Kyoto School of Philosophy – a group of 20th century Japanese philosophers who outlined an original system of thought via considerations concerning both intellectual and spiritual traditions of East Asia and the philosophy and religion of the West.** The three leading representatives of the Kyoto School of Philosophy are: Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945), Tanabe Hajime (1885–1962) and Nishitani Keiji (1900–1990).

See <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/kyoto-school/>

<sup>3</sup> Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945) – his thoughts are referred to as 'Nishida philosophy' (Jpn. *Nishida tetsugaku*). Nishida's efforts blossomed to shape the major philosophical discourse movement called the Kyoto School of Philosophy. Nishida emphasizes that he is mainly interested in the most direct and fundamental stand. As he points out, "Nothingness" means 'absolutely contradictory self-identity'.

For details see Yusa 2002.

The article is based on the analysis of one of Nishitani's books *Shūkyō to wa nani ka* (*What is religion?*, 1961)<sup>4</sup>. The book consists of six essays out of which the first four had been previously published, between 1954 and 1955, in a series entitled *Gendai shūkyō kōza* (*Lectures on Contemporary Religion*)<sup>5</sup> by Sōbunsha in Tokyo (Nishitani 1983: XLVII). For the purpose of this article, the English translation of this book by Jan Van Bragt will be quoted. It was published for the first time in English in 1983 titled *Religion and Nothingness* – Nishitani was convinced to agree to such a translation of the title (Nishitani 1983: XLII).

In analyzing Nishitani's views, the author focuses on the philosopher's (Nishitani's) interpretation of Christianity while concurrently she relates to Buddhist terms and concepts. Nishitani's reflections on the religious experience and on the Absolute are essential in this respect. The thesis of the article is a statement: religious experience plays a significant role in the context of Nishitani's considerations concerning the Absolute. What is more, Nishitani's reflection on the Absolute is inseparably connected with the reflection on the human condition in the world. Thus it is crucial to present some theoretical assumptions regarding the nature of the Absolute in Nishitani's philosophy and it is worth pointing out that these assumptions are not separated from the individual human experience. Moreover, for Nishitani, a man can experience the Absolute regardless of religious beliefs – in this case, regardless of the fact that he is a Buddhist or a Christian. Thus, Nishitani's interpretation of Christianity, which agrees with Nishida's 'logic of absolutely contradictory self-identity', shows a new picture of the Absolute. This new picture goes beyond the limits of what traditionally is ascribed to the Christian God.

## Main concepts of Nishitani's philosophy

The key to understanding Nishitani's view on Christianity is Nishida Kitarō's philosophy. Suzuki Daisetz Teitarō<sup>6</sup> (1870–1966) also influenced Nishitani's theories

<sup>4</sup> The first essay of *Shūkyō-to-wa nani ka* was translated into English by Janice D. Rowe under the title "What is religion?" and published in *Philosophical Studies of Japan*, vol. 2 in 1960. However, Jan Van Bragt (translator) and James Heisig (editor of *Religion and Nothingness*) were of the opinion that the phrase *Religion and Nothingness* was more suitable for the title of the English version of the entire book. See: Nishitani 1983: XLI–XLII (Translator's Introduction); Waldenfels 1966: 383.

<sup>5</sup> The author uses quotations from Van Bragt's translation.

<sup>6</sup> Suzuki Daisetz Teitarō – (1870–1966) was the promoter of Zen in the West. In his works he also refers to some other Buddhist schools (Amidistic). Out of all the Zen masters, it was Bankei Yōtaku (1622–1693) whom Suzuki valued the most. Suzuki and Nishida met in person in 1887. Suzuki practiced Zen under the guidance of Imagita Kōsen (1816–1892) and, following his death, under the guidance of Shaku Sōen (1859–1919). He, alongside his wife, established a journal entitled *Eastern Buddhist*. The same year he became the professor at Ōtani University. In 1933 he received his Ph.D. (Jpn. *bungaku hakushi*). What is more, he was the visiting professor at some

as did Nishitani's dealings with the Zen<sup>7</sup> school. Thus, when explaining Nishitani's philosophy, the author refers to the views of both Nishida and Suzuki who, just like Nishitani, practiced Zen.

The author takes Nishida's theory of the 'logic of absolutely contradictory self-identity' (Jpn. *zettaimujunteki jikodōitsu-no ronri*)<sup>8</sup>, also called the 'logic of paradox' (Jpn. *hairi-no ri*), as the key to understanding Nishitani's thought. Nishida is of the opinion that the structure of reality is based on one principle, namely the logical principle of paradox, which is formally expressed as  $A=A$  and simultaneously  $A\neq A$ . According to the 'logic of paradox', "[n]either sole 'yes' nor sole 'no' constitutes the truth, only such state of simultaneous negation and affirmation (which is unimaginable for us) is considered the truth, everything else is regarded as partial truths" (Kozyra 2007: 31). It is worth noticing that Nishida, who was in that case influenced by Suzuki, suggests that the 'logic of absolutely contradictory self-identity' ('logic of paradox') is not alien to the Eastern way of thinking, especially to *Mahāyāna* Buddhist<sup>9</sup> philosophy (Kozyra 2004: 49). As its counterpart Nishida recognizes the 'logic of simultaneous negation and affirmation' (Jpn. *sokuhi*)<sup>10</sup>, which occurs in certain Buddhist sutras, as well as the 'logic of mutual interfusion

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European and many American universities such as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia and Cornell. He also translated into English books like, *Aśvaghosha's Discourse on Awakening of Faith in Mahayana* (Jpn. *Daijōkishinron*), *The Lankavatara Sutra* as well as Shinran's *Kyōgyōshinshō*.

See: Kozyra 2004: 341, 358; Abe (ed.) 1986: 219–24, 235–46.

<sup>7</sup> Zen (Skt. (Sanskrit) *dhyāna*, Chin. (Chinese) *chan*, Jpn. *zen*) – a faction of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism which refers to the 'enlightenment' of historic Buddha. Zen refers to twenty-eight Indian patriarchs of whom the last one was Bodhidharma (Chin. Putidamo, Jpn. Bodaidaruma, 5th and 6th century A.D.). The first Japanese masters were Kakua (12th century A.D.) and Myōan Eisai (1141–1215). In Japan one can distinguish between such Zen Schools as *rinzai*, *sōtō*, *ōbaku*. Zen is placed in opposition to Amidism which calls upon its followers to rely on 'other power' (Jpn. *tariki*) – the power of Amida Buddha. However, the negation of one's own ego is a basic question in Zen as well. The masters of Zen speak of the act of 'enlightenment' which means seeing of the true structure of reality. Zen masters utterances very often take the form of paradox judgments called *koans* (Jpn. *kōan*). See Maryniarczyk (ed.) 2004: 257–8.

<sup>8</sup> Abbreviation Jpn.=Japanese.

<sup>9</sup> The concept of perfect altruism is important in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism (Skt. *mahāyāna*, Chin. *dacheng*, Jpn. *daijō*). The ideal of Bodhisattva (Skt. *bodhisattva*, Chin. *pusa*, Jpn. *bosatsu*) who, being an embodiment of 'great compassion', devotes all his efforts to others and desires that all beings experience 'enlightenment', plays an important role here. *Mahāyāna* Buddhism was created as an alternative to *Hīnayāna* Buddhism (Skt. *hīnayāna*, Chin. *xiaosheng*, Jpn. *shōjō*) which is connected with the ideal of *arhat* (who only cares about one's own liberation) and the soteriological egoism. The following approach is an expression of the negative view of *Hīnayāna* Buddhism. See: Mejor 1980: 172–4; Kozyra 2004: 19.

<sup>10</sup> *Sokuhi* – literally means 'is and is not' because *soku* means 'is' and *hi* means 'not'. Nishida says, "I want to make clear that religious reality cannot be grasped by conventional objective logic, but it reveals itself to the 'logic of contradictory self-identity', or what you call 'the logic of *sokuhi*'". See Yusa 2002: 330.

of all phenomena' (Jpn. *jijimuge*)<sup>11</sup> characteristic of the *Kegon*<sup>12</sup> school of Buddhism (Kozyra 2004: 49). It should be noted that there are many Buddhists who would not agree with such interpretation of their religion and Nishida was fully aware of this (Kozyra 2007: 98).

In this article, its author refers to the phrase 'absolutely contradictory self-identity' because Nishitani indirectly also refers to this concept when he analyzes the vision of reality in the experience of Buddhist 'enlightenment'. To describe the structure of reality as 'absolutely contradictory self-identity', Nishitani uses the Japanese word *egoteki* which in the translation presented by Van Bragt means 'circuminsessional relationship'.

'Enlightenment' (Skt. *bodhi*, Chin. *wu*, Jpn. *satori*)<sup>13</sup> means awakening, an insight into one's 'true self', into one's true nature (Suzuki 2004: 134). Nishida states that 'enlightenment' is the discovery of the paradox structure of reality (Kozyra 2004: 48). It is worth pointing out that the concept of 'non-self' (Skt. *anātman*, Chin. *wuwo*, Jpn. *muga*) is acutely essential in Buddhism. It emphasizes that there is no such thing as a distinctive, independent 'self' (Kozyra 2004: 67). However, according to the 'logic of paradox', 'non-self' is contradictorily self-identical with the 'self'. Nishitani (1983: 124) underscores that it is the paradox that indicates the true being of a thing and a man<sup>14</sup>.

'Absolute nothingness' (unity of negation and affirmation) and 'relative nothingness' (negation) are terms which both originated in Nishida's philosophy where they are clearly distinguished. However, Nishitani does not do that in such a distinctive manner and therefore the article's author will try to systemize his somewhat unclear reflections to avoid misinterpretation.

'Absolute nothingness', introduced by Nishida, is understood as 'absolutely contradictory self-identity'. In his interpretation, "absolute nothingness is self-identical with the being" (Kozyra 2007: 39). Crucial is that it cannot be described by adopting the principles of formal logic. In this respect it cannot as well be objectified in any

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<sup>11</sup> *Jijimuge hokai* – "[t]he mode of existence in which all phenomenal things are mutually unhindered and interfused". See Inagaki 2007: 131.

<sup>12</sup> Sutra of the Flower Garland, which is characteristic of the *Kegon* School, is connected with the 'logic of mutual interfusion of all phenomena' (Jpn. *jijimuge*). Nishida considers it an equivalent of the 'logic of paradox'. The *Kegon* school emphasizes that in spite of their self-identity, all phenomena retain their distinctiveness and uniqueness. The concept of oneness as well as the differentiation mentioned in the school are something original. There is not any aspect of unification or disappearance of all the differences. See: Kozyra 2004: 49, 384, 387; Kozyra 2007: 49.

<sup>13</sup> Abbreviations: Skt.=Sanskrit; Chin.=Chinese; Jpn.=Japanese.

<sup>14</sup> It must be added that the 'self' is also called 'individual mind' (Skt. *citta*, Chin. *xin*, Jpn. *shin*) in the works devoted to Zen. It is so as the 'self' expresses the relative aspect of reality concerning individual and unique features characteristic of a specific being. It must be remembered that the relative dimension is always self-identical with the absolute dimension. "All 'individual minds' are not 'individual minds' that is why they are 'individual minds'". See Kozyra 2004: 49–51.

way. As pointed out by Kozyra (2007: 41), “neither sole negation nor sole affirmation is enough to describe the essence of ‘absolute nothingness’, the essence which is ‘absolutely contradictory self-identity’. It is only due to the ‘logic of paradox’ one can adequately describe ‘absolute nothingness’ which cannot be separated from the being as it is and it is not the being”<sup>15</sup>.

‘Relative nothingness’ in Nishitani’s philosophy, understood as the negation of existence, meaning, or value, is of crucial importance. He describes such ‘experience of nothingness’ in a very detailed and profound way. As Nishida’s disciple, Nishitani accepts most of the views of his mentor; however, Nishitani deals with certain aspects that Nishida only pays marginal attention to (among others, a deep analysis of ‘relative nothingness’ in the context of universal existential dilemmas). It is worth remembering that neither Nishida nor Suzuki completely reject formal logic. Nishida is of the opinion that formal logic complies with a certain aspect of reality. However for him, such logic is not able to present the overall structure of reality (Kozyra 2007: 31). On the other hand, Suzuki claims that human thought is one of the dimensions of what lies beyond the comprehension of discursive thinking (Suzuki 2004: 92). The uniqueness of Nishitani’s approach expresses itself in the emphasis on the fact that realization of ‘absolute nothingness’ occurs through the experience of ‘relative nothingness’. In this sense, ‘relative nothingness’ is present in Nishitani’s considerations also in the positive light despite the fact that most of the time various authors point out only the negative aspects. A man who does not break through ‘relative nothingness’ will not experience ‘absolute nothingness’. As a consequence, a man will be overwhelmed by the meaninglessness of the world, impermanence and death.

The realization of ‘absolute nothingness’ equals negation with simultaneous affirmation. It means freedom from the dualism of life and death, from existential suffering, impermanence and transience despite the fact that a man does not leave relative dimension even for an instant.

Nishitani presents the whole range of reactions to the experience of nothingness, from the instant feeling of meaninglessness through some deeper existential experiences as far as to the ‘great doubt’ (Jpn. *daigi*)<sup>16</sup>, which can become the

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<sup>15</sup> It is worth paying attention to a similar meaning of the Buddhist term ‘true emptiness’ (Chin. *zhenkong*, Jpn. *shinkū*) which cannot be in any way captured as the object of cognition. It is also known as the ‘emptiness of being and non-being’ (Chin. *wufayoufakong*, Jpn. *muhōuhōkū*) as it is not the being nor lack of the being. Moreover, it negates both affirmation and negation. See Kozyra 2004: 73–5.

<sup>16</sup> ‘Great doubt’ (Chin. *dayi*, Jpn. *daigi*) is a term that refers to the words of master Luohan Guichen (Jpn. Rakan Keijin, 867–928) who stated that ‘enlightenment’ is the ‘shattering of the sphere of doubt’. The masters of Zen attempted to help their disciples to reach such a state of frustration where they are devoid of anything to lean on, any term or concept, anything their minds, working on the principle of dualism of the subject and the object of cognition, could rely on. Only such a state makes it possible for a breakthrough, namely ‘enlightenment’, or in the words

turning point where the perspective of perception changes. The change of the perspective means breaking through the dimension of 'relative nothingness' and realization of the 'absolute nothingness', which is *śūnyatā*<sup>17</sup>. Unless this happens, nothingness can appear as some kind of transcendence and therefore is merely 'relative nothingness'.

Nishitani uses a concept of *ek-stasis*<sup>18</sup> when explaining the process of describing a being through its negation. As pointed out by Nishitani (1983: 108), "[w]hen the field of consciousness is broken through, allowing nihility to open forth at its ground, and when things are »nullified« and become unreal or deactualized, subjective existence takes this nihility as a field of *ek-stasis* and reverts nearer to an

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of Nishida – for the perception of reality as being 'absolutely contradictory self-identical'. The methods of 'strange words and incomprehensible actions' (Jpn. *kigen kikō*) and of 'koan practice' (Jpn. *kanna*) can be applied to bring the effect of frustration considered above. The method of 'strange words and incomprehensible actions' was particularly common in the classical period of Zen (8th and 9th centuries). The aforementioned method is based on the direct relation between the master and the disciple and entails spontaneous and unexpected behaviors of the master that were to evoke some sort of 'shock therapy'. *Koans* are the paradox utterances, symbols and metaphors of the Zen masters that contain many layers of meaning. The classification of those utterances as far as their content and functions are concerned proves that the masters touch upon various aspects of reality which is 'absolutely contradictory self-identity'. Dahui Zonggao (Jpn. Daie Sōkō, 1089–1163) is considered to be the theoretician of the 'koan practice'. He emphasized the question of 'great doubt'. According to him, it was only due to the accumulation of frustration which resulted from the inability of a logical solution of the *koan*, epistemological dualism (the distinction between the subject and the object of cognition) could be exceeded. The disciple, when attempting to tackle the inability of the solution of the *koan* in a rational manner, was to get himself in the state of 'great doubt' constantly concentrating on the key verse of *koan*. This method became quite common in the 12th century. Much attention is paid in the *Rinzai* school to the creation of 'great doubt' even to the present day. The 'great doubt' is connected with the permanent wrestling of the mind with the paradox as it works according to the principles of formal logic. See Kozyra 2004: 103–7, 155, 329, 331, 343.

<sup>17</sup> Nishitani formulates his own paradox interpretation of the term *śūnyatā*. In the works on Buddhism *śūnyatā* (Skt. *śūnyatā*, Chin. *kong*, Jpn. *kū*) is usually characterized as a term meaning 'void/emptiness', or literally 'being empty'. *Śūnyatā* is "neither a philosophical vacuum nor a philosophical non-being". This term means the inability to describe or grasp reality. See: Mejer 2001: 209; Kozyra 2004: 386.

<sup>18</sup> *Ek-stasis* – Nishitani uses the term *ek-stasis* in reference to the situation in which being is defined through self-negation, in other words, in reference to nothingness. *Ek-stasis*, as understood by Nishitani, represents the direction 'from being to nothingness'. Nishitani states that the turn in Heidegger's considerations was not without a reason. Heidegger had thought through his previous stance and changed his view into the one leading 'from nothingness to being'. In Heidegger's interpretation, *ek-stasis* is "oriented on the being namely the emergence of *Dasein* from the nothingness of defined senses". In this respect nothingness manifests itself as being. In Schelling's interpretation *ek-stasis* means 'going beyond oneself' that is to ensure a man with freedom, which, in other words, is direct experience of the Absolute. Nishitani uses this term replacing the concept of the Absolute with nothingness. See: Nishitani 1983: 68; Schelling 1990: 15 (Introduction); Maryniarczyk (ed.) 2002: 98.

original subjectivity”. A man objectifies nothingness and his own existence through describing his being in relation to ‘relative nothingness’. In this context, however, there is no authentic liberation. Nishitani and Nishida are of the opinion that it is only possible if the perspective of the perception of reality is changed permanently and ‘absolutely contradictory self-identity’ of true reality is experienced.

It should be noted that if we look at ‘absolute nothingness’ or, in other words, the ‘logic of paradox’ only in a theoretical way it will lose its existential and religious dimension, and for this reason, its real sense. Nishida (1993: 91) stated, “religion can be philosophically grasped only by a logic of absolute affirmation through absolute negation. As the ‘religious self’ returns to its own bottomless depths, it returns to the [A]bsolute and simultaneously discovers itself in its ordinary and everyday, and again in its rational, character”. As pointed out in this statement, the ‘logic of paradox’ must be seen in its existential and religious dimension, which is connected with the inquiry about one’s ‘self’ and the ultimate reality. A similar approach is seen in Nishitani’s philosophy. For him, the structure of reality – ‘original form of reality’ – cannot be conceived in a scientific way, but only in a religious one. He emphasizes that religion begins with the question “[f]or what purpose do I exist?” (Nishitani 1983: 3). What is more, for Nishitani (as well as Nishida<sup>19</sup>), authentic existence is not to be sought only in Buddhism since it is characteristic of every truly religious life (Nishitani 1983: 261). That is why he analyzes such religious traditions as Christian mysticism and looks for similarities and differences between them and the Buddhist philosophy.

### **The true God (the true Absolute) as ‘immanent transcendence’ in Nishitani’s philosophy**

“For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, for we are also his offspring”<sup>20</sup>.

The quoted verse indicates that despite his transcendence, the Christian God is not completely separate from the world as a transcendent supreme being. In other words, the transcendence of God should not be understood as the negation of immanence. A man as well as all other beings cannot be perceived as exclusively distinct from the absolute dimension (God). This quotation, taken from the New Testament, constitutes an important foundation as well as an inspiration for interpretations of Christianity presented by the Kyoto School.

<sup>19</sup> The religious experience means the experience of ‘absolutely contradictory self-identity’ for Nishida. It is thus the universal act. Nishida emphasizes that the considerations upon it can be found in any religion, albeit to a different extent. See Kozyra 2007: 71–3, 94–5.

<sup>20</sup> [Acts 17: 28]. Cf. e.g. *The Holy Bible* 1945.

In Nishitani's philosophy a man and all other beings cannot be considered either as exclusively immanent or exclusively transcendent. He presents a reflection on the Christian experience from the Buddhist point of view, in accordance with Nishida's 'logic of absolutely contradictory self-identity'. According to Nishitani, Christianity stresses the transcendent aspect of the Absolute (God) which is not the true nature of the Absolute. In Nishitani's opinion, such an approach means focusing only on one of the dimensions of reality, transcendence, and ignoring the dimension of immanence. Nishitani looks for such verses in the Bible which could be interpreted in accordance with the 'logic of absolutely contradictory self-identity', in other words – in accordance with the way he understands Buddhism<sup>21</sup>. This does not mean, however, that he has limited knowledge of Christianity. The method undertaken by him is similar to the 'selective identification'<sup>22</sup> used by Nishida. It is worth mentioning that in Nishida's philosophy one can also find some interpretations of Christianity based on the 'logic of paradox', since he believes that the experience of 'absolutely contradictory self-identity' is not completely alien to the Christian tradition (Kozyra 2007: 97). As he (Nishida 1993: 70) states, "a God merely transcendent and self-sufficient would not be a true God. God must always, in St. Paul's words, empty himself. That God is transcendent and at the same time immanent is the paradox of God. This is the true [A]bsolute". According to Christian doctrine God created the world out of love, and for Nishida this notion points to the self-negation of the Absolute, which is not merely 'transcendently transcendent' (Nishida 1993: 100), but 'immanently transcendent'<sup>23</sup>.

One may doubt the sense of such interpretations. However, the members of the Kyoto School studied philosophical and religious concepts which were different from Buddhist tradition trying to incorporate them in some way into their own systems of thought since they treated them as the various expressions of the same religious experience. Suzuki (1962: 369) wrote: "[w]hen references are made to Christian symbolism such as 'God', 'Father', 'Son', 'Holy Spirit', 'begetting', and 'likeness', the reader may wonder in what sense a Buddhist interprets these terms. But the truth is that symbols are, after all, mere symbols and when their inner signification is grasped they can be utilized in any way one chooses". Suzuki, like Nishida and Nishitani, interprets the relation between God and the relative as a paradox. Thus, he (Suzuki 1962: 377) is of the opinion that, "[i]n truth they are one, the Self is God and God is the Self. But the traditional notion of God is full

<sup>21</sup> The author would like to remind the reader that not all factions of Buddhism understand it in the same way which means that not all would agree with the paradox interpretation present in the writings of Nishida or Nishitani.

<sup>22</sup> The method of 'selective identification', adopted by Nishida, means that he chooses certain elements from various philosophical systems. Then, he interprets them according to his own assumptions and uses them in his theory. See Kozyra 2007: 29.

<sup>23</sup> For more details considering 'immanent transcendence' see Kozyra 2007: 73–4.

of dualistic flavor and whenever the term is used we are reminded of its mythical background”.

In Nishitani's philosophy the most essential issues with regard to Christianity are such concepts as nihility, doubt and faith – all of them treated from the Buddhist point of view. However, what is more important is that the notion of God as presented in Nishitani's thought, as well as in Nishida's and Suzuki's, differs from the notion of God in Christian doctrine. At first, Nishitani's approach may seem strange, incomprehensible or even shocking for the reader with a Judeo-Christian background. Nishitani refers to the relation between God and man as well as to the Buddhist notion of 'non-self' which states that something like a permanent, unchangeable, substantial 'self' does not exist. The concept of 'non-self' is crucial for the Buddhist teachings and almost all Buddhist schools accept it as true and basic<sup>24</sup>. However, the concept of 'non-self' should not be regarded as nihilistic, rather it just indicates that the 'true self' and the reality are unattainable, free from dualism between the object and the subject of cognition.

Nishitani holds the view that the aspect of self-negation (of self-emptying, in other words, of making oneself empty) is inseparable from God himself. For Nishitani the very fact that God is God must be inevitably related to the self-negation (self-emptying) of God. Whereas in the case of Christ, *ekkenōsis*<sup>25</sup> is realized by the fact that God became a man (Nishitani 1983: 58–9). Nishitani (1983: 59) states: “[w]ith Christ we speak of deed that has been accomplished; with God, of an original nature. What is *ekkenōsis* for the Son is *kenōsis*<sup>26</sup> for the Father [is self-negation of the Father – A.S.]. In the East, this would be called *anātman*, or non-ego [‘non-self’ – A.S.]”<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> For details see Fischer-Schreiber & Ehrhard & Diener 1991: 8.

<sup>25</sup> However, it should be noticed that Christianity does not make a distinction between the terms *kenōsis* and *ekkenōsis*. Christianity rather refers to the notion of *kenōsis* and omits the term *ekkenōsis* almost wholly. In this case the author considers the literal meaning of the quoted words. *Κένωσις* (*kénōsis*), the word of Greek origin, the noun, derived from the verb *κενόω*, which means: *to empty, to deprive, to make somebody devoid of something*. The word *εκκένωσις* (*ekkénōsis*) has a similar meaning. However, adding the prefix *εκ* puts emphasis on the meaning. The prefix *εκ* means *from the inside, from the interior, of something or somebody*. It can also indicate the source of origin. So the word *εκκένωσις* (*ekkénōsis*) can be interpreted as being deprived of something. See Perschbacher 2001: 123, 236.

<sup>26</sup> *Kenosis* (gr. *kénōsis*) – in its literal meaning – renunciation, a Christian concept referenced from the Bible [Phil. 2: 7]. Christ descended to take the form of a man to live among the people and die on the cross. The whole concept of his life and death is interpreted in the categories of descent. In Protestantism, *kenosis* is often interpreted as Christ's self-suspension or even deprivation of all attributes of God. *Kenosis* bears a great importance in the theology of salvation. See Gadacz & Milerski (eds.) 2002, vol. 5, 439.

<sup>27</sup> In reference to the terms *kenōsis* and *ekkenōsis*, one might say that Nishitani uses these in the following context: Self-negation of God is included in his nature. 'Non-self' is the absolute dimension. The 'self' is contradictorily self-identical with 'non-self' but in order for the 'self' to

The notion of God presented in Nishitani's philosophy refers to the idea of God and the Absolute as well, both of which can be found in Nishida's works. That is, the idea of God which is understood in accordance with the aforementioned 'logic of absolutely contradictory self-identity'. For Nishida the true Absolute is not limited by anything, even by its own negation because it is contradictory in itself, which means that it contains its own self-negation (Kozyra 2007: 73–4). Nishida (1993: 69) says: “[b]ecause God, or the [A]bsolute, stands to itself in the form of a contradictory identity – namely as its own absolute self-negation, or as possessing absolute self-negation within itself – it exists and expresses itself through itself”. This means that the Absolute is truly absolute, because it is not absolute – it cannot be separated from the relative. However, what is the relation between a man and the Absolute (God), which is not separated from the relative? As stated by Nishida, “[a] man, as an element of the world of ‘absolutely contradictory self-identity’, always touches the Absolute which cannot be contradictory to anything” (Kozyra 2007: 467), since it is ‘absolutely contradictory self-identity’. According to Nishida, a man both is and is not self-identical with the Absolute. Religious transformation involves seeing the other dimension of reality – that is the aspect of self-identity, although this does not mean that the first dimension (diversity and contradiction) has been rejected. Only because of this self-negation can a man experience real oneness with God (the Absolute) without losing his individuality (Kozyra 2007: 75–6, 78). A man can find his ‘true self’ through religious experience of total and absolute self-negation.

In Nishitani's philosophy the paradox of God is particularly visible with reference to God's love and perfection, both of which transcend the personal dimension; they are ‘impersonal’ but do not exclude what is ‘personal’ (Nishitani 1983: 59, 60). In his words they are ‘personally impersonal’ (Nishitani 1983: 60). In that context it is worth quoting the following statement by Nishitani: “[i]t should be clear that this *perfectness* of God [the true Absolute – A.S.] is something qualitatively very different, for instance, from the *personal* absoluteness of God who singled out the people of Israel as his elect, who commands with absolute will and authority, who loves the righteous and punishes the sinful” (Nishitani 1983: 60). The same may be said about ‘personally impersonal’ love. The above quotation clearly indicates that Nishitani is well aware of the difference between his approach and both Christian and Judaic tradition.

Suzuki concludes that there is something divine in every human being since he inquires about God in the first place (Suzuki 2004: 112). However, he claims that true God (the true Absolute) is “neither Christian nor Jewish God” (Suzuki 2004: 69).

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realize ‘non-self’, a deprived ‘self’ must occur. It is only then that faith appears – full realization of the ‘absolutely contradictory self-identity’. In the interpretation of Nishitani, kenosis is God's deprivation of himself which means that God is internally contradictory, and thus contradictorily self-identical with the relative dimension – with man. *Ekkenōsis* is a man's deprivation of himself, namely the negation of his ego, which leads to the discovery of contradictory self-identity with God.

Omniscience and omnipresence of the true God refers to ‘absolutely contradictory self-identity’ of one and all, instant and eternity (Suzuki 2004: 75, 86–7). Suzuki distinguishes between Godhead<sup>28</sup> and God the Creator who is paradoxically self-identical with Godhead. Here God symbolizes the dualistic knowledge and Godhead is free from dualism (Suzuki 2004: 95). Suzuki is well aware that for Christians such considerations constitute blasphemy.

Nishitani does not analyze deeply the notion of God as such, since he rather focuses on all men, not necessarily Christian, who face the problems of evil and sin. He is trying to answer the question concerning the essence of religion. In Nishitani’s opinion (1983: xlvii–xlviii) this question is actually a question concerning one’s own existence. Moreover, he (Nishitani 1983: 15–6) states that it is uncertainty and doubt that contribute to the foundations of the existence of religion. According to him, the question concerning the essence of religion is related to the experience of ‘relative nothingness’. ‘Relative nothingness’ is not only the negation of existence but also of any meaning, and if experienced in an extreme manner, it leads to overwhelming despair and desperation. However, the experience of ‘relative nothingness’ is not to be avoided since the overpowering negation may lead to the ‘great doubt’ which is a spiritual breakthrough that reveals a new perspective of the perception of reality, namely the perspective of ‘absolutely contradictory self-identity’.

The concept of an internally contradictory God constitutes the theoretical foundation of Nishitani’s interpretation of Christianity. An internally contradictory God means that God contains his own self-negation. He obviously refers to Nishida who stated that only the paradox is the Absolute as it stands in opposition to nothing else. According to Nishitani, only such definition of the Absolute can explain the contradictions included in the notion of the Christian God.

## **A New interpretation of God’s love and God’s perfectness**

“You have heard that it was said, «You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.» But I say to you, Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father who is in heaven; for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust. For if you love those who love you, what reward have you? Do not even the tax collectors do the same? And if you salute only your brethren, what more are you doing than others? Do not even Gentiles do the same? You, therefore, must be

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<sup>28</sup> The distinction between God and Godhead is characteristic of Eckhart’s (approx. 1260–1327) thought, although it should be noted that Suzuki uses the terms God and Godhead in Buddhist context and, in result of this, he defines these notions in a different way.

perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect”<sup>29</sup>. After having quoted the fragment of the New Testament, Nishitani refers to the Buddhist concept of non-differentiating love, in other words to ‘great compassion’ (Skt. *mahākarunā*, Chin. *taibei*, Jpn. *daihi*). In order for his considerations to be understood, it is necessary to expand upon the issue of ‘great compassion’. In *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, ‘enlightenment’ is not the selfish goal towards which an individual is heading since the Buddhist practitioner should lead others to liberation. Therefore it is important to point out that not only the living beings, but the whole world should be liberated. A man is contradictorily self-identical with all that exists and when this paradoxical dimension is revealed, a man can experience oneness with everything that exists, although simultaneously everything retains its distinctiveness. It is the looking at reality from the paradox perspective that makes perfect mutual compassion possible (Kozyra 2004: 265–7).

Suzuki refers to the term of ‘great compassion’ as well. He stresses that ‘compassion’ (Skt. *karunā*) and ‘supreme wisdom’<sup>30</sup> (Skt. *prajñā*) are two inseparable aspects of reality with one not being able to exist without the other. The term *karunā* can be referred to God’s love and *prajñā* – to God’s wisdom. According to Suzuki, Zen excessively focuses upon the aspect of wisdom – ‘enlightenment’, and neglects the aspect of compassion (Suzuki 2004: 60).

Nishitani refers to the love of God as ‘great compassion’ concluding that the love of God, which is non-differentiating, belongs to the sphere of ‘non-self’<sup>31</sup> which is by its nature contained in the perfection of God. By the realization of the perfection

<sup>29</sup> [Matt. 5: 43–48]. For details see Nishitani 1983: 58. Cf. e.g. *The Holy Bible* 1945.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Ultimate wisdom’ (Skt. *prajñā*, Chin. *banruo*, Jpn. *hannya*) – in *Hīnayāna* Buddhism the connection to the concept of *prajñā* exists as one of the three elements that constitute the essence of the ‘eightfold path’ that is supposed to be taken by a disciple if he wants to achieve the state of liberation. Those three elements are: morality, concentration and wisdom. However, in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism *prajñā* is one of the perfections (Skt. *pāramitā*). There are either six or eight perfections enlisted that are to be aimed at by a disciple of *Mahāyāna*. The six perfections are as follows: generosity (‘the gift’), morality, patience, energy, ecstasy (‘meditation’), cognition (‘wisdom’). There are ten perfections above human beings (who are one of the ways of transmigration – who are one of the modes of existence). Apart from the ones mentioned above, there are: ‘dexterous handling of the means of liberation’, ‘vow, noble resolution’, ‘wonderful power’ and ‘complete cognition’. Initially Zen masters used the terminology based on the tradition of Indian Buddhism in their utterances. Huineng (Jpn. Enō, 638–713) the sixth patriarch of Zen, made a breakthrough here. He distinctively underlined the paradox meaning of the term ‘ultimate wisdom’. He referred to it as transcendent and non-transcendent. What is more, Huineng coined a new notion – ‘non-thinking’ (Skt. *aksāna*, Chin. *wunian*, Jpn. *munen*) to express that the ‘enlightened’ ‘does not think when he thinks’. Dōgen Kigen (1200–1253), the founder of the Japanese School of Zen – *Sōtō*, also referred to the ‘paradox logic’ in his utterances concerning the ‘ultimate wisdom’. See: Mejer 2001: 186, 192, 194; Kozyra 2004: 60, 234, 385.

<sup>31</sup> Nishitani (1983: 60) here speaks of this concept in the following way, “Non-ego (*anātman*) represents the fundamental standpoint of Buddhism, where it is called the Great Wisdom (*mahā prajñā*) and the Great Compassion (*mahā karunā*)”.

of God, a man becomes his son (Nishitani 1983: 59, 60). “Christ embodies this perfection of God through the love by which he »emptied himself« of his equality with God to take on the shape of a servant among man” (Nishitani 1983: 59). The Absolute is realized as absolute only when it is not separated from the relative and does not constitute a sphere merely transcendent to a man. The oneness with the true Absolute is the experience of being one with the world, since ‘one is all and all is one’<sup>32</sup>. At the same time it must be noted that according to the ‘logic of paradox’ the Absolute contains its own self-negation. As pointed out by Nishida, this is the meaning of God’s love (Kozyra 2007: 83). God’s love is determined by nothing and belongs to the nature of the Absolute.

Nishitani underlines the meaning of God’s love in a special way. He calls it a non-differentiating love. Such love is completely different from the human love. Nishitani considers it as a Christian equivalent for the Buddhist concept of ‘great compassion’ connected with the term ‘non-self’. According to Nishitani the true meaning of the Christian God can be expressed through the reference to the Buddhist concept of ‘non-self’.

### Definition of faith in Buddhism and Christianity

“In Christianity, faith is considered to be a grace flowing from divine love (...) faith in Christ means both man’s witness to and appropriation of God’s redeeming love, and also God’s actualization of and witness to his own divine love in man” (Nishitani 1983: 26). The author would like to remind the reader that, according to Christian tradition, a man is not contradictorily self-identical with the Absolute. Nishitani however, understands God in a different way. In his (Nishitani 1983: 26) opinion, “[t]he acceptance of divine love is called faith”. Such acceptance of God’s love is possible by self-negation, although the love of God, as understood by Nishitani, is not a grace bestowed upon a man by the transcendent Absolute which is regarded as an antithesis of the relative (including a man). Faith, as the acceptance of God’s love, is not a result of the individual efforts of a man despite the fact that the ‘individual self’ must freely choose the self-negation. It should be noted

<sup>32</sup> ‘One is all and all is one’ (Jpn. *ichi soku issai, issai soku ichi*) is a citation from the Sutra of the Flower Garland (Skt. *Avatamsaka sūtra*, Chin. *Huayanjing*, Jpn. *Kegonyō*). This Sutra is connected with the ‘logic of mutual interfusion of all phenomena’ (Jpn. *jijimuge*) which in Nishida’s understanding is an equivalent of the ‘logic of paradox’. The *Kegon* School emphasized that despite their identity, all phenomena retain their distinctiveness and uniqueness. The Sutra under consideration shows this in a picturesque fashion. When Sudhana, a Buddhist disciple, enters the tower, he spots a countless number of towers inside it, looks at them from the outside simultaneously looking down from every peak of each of them. Thus he is everywhere and at the same time nowhere. Both the towers and him permeate even though they do not lose their individuality and distinctiveness. See: Kozyra 2004: 49, 384, 387; Kozyra 2007: 49.

that Nishitani as well as Nishida is of the opinion that faith is not the result of the efforts of the ‘individual self’. Nishida refers to the aspect of grace, although he understands it in a different way than in the Christian tradition. Moreover, he emphasizes the paradoxical dimension of faith which is not possible without the act of will of a man, although this act of will itself is not enough. Another power is necessary, the power of God, which responds to the human will of self-negation.

Nishitani expresses the same idea by referring to the words of St. Paul, “inspired by God”<sup>33</sup> and comments that “our very being becomes »God-breathed« through spiration of God himself” (Nishitani 1983: 28). Spiritual rebirth means absolute affirmation stemming from absolute negation. Nishitani thinks that faith is both negation and affirmation, which complies with the ‘logic of absolutely contradictory self-identity’ (the ‘logic of paradox’). Faith brings ‘spiritual death’ when a man experiences the true meaning of a sin but it also signifies eternal life. Affirmation, however, does not depend on the arbitrary will of an individual (Nishitani 1983: 27–8), since the ‘self’ cannot free itself from itself (Kozyra 2007: 85). Salvation appears exactly at the point where a man realizes total lack of ability of self-negation.

Salvation is the love of God that is distinct from ordinary human love (Nishitani 1983: 27). Nishitani relates to the words of Jesus who said, “[d]o not think that I have come to bring peace on earth; I have not come to bring peace, but a sword” (Nishitani 1983: 27)<sup>34</sup>. The love Jesus speaks of is like a sword, “[f]or whoever will save his life will lose it, and whoever loses his life for myself will find it” (Nishitani 1983: 28)<sup>35</sup>. The love of God is a sword that allows a man to see the paradoxical dimension of reality, thus finding his true nature. Referring to the experience of ‘absolute nothingness’ (the Absolute which is both negation and affirmation), one may say that God’s love is the combined aspect of affirmation and ‘great compassion’ as total acceptance.

While discussing the notion of faith in Nishitani’s philosophy it is important to elaborate upon the Buddhist distinctions between ‘self-power’ of a man (Jpn. *jiriki*)<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> [2 Tim. 3: 16]. Cf. e.g. *The Holy Bible* 1945.

<sup>34</sup> [Matt. 10: 34]. Cf. e.g. *The Holy Bible* 1945.

<sup>35</sup> [Matt. 16: 25]. Cf. e.g. *The Holy Bible* 1945.

<sup>36</sup> ‘Self-power’ (Jpn. *jiriki*) – in order to receive the grace of Amida Buddha it is necessary to reject one’s own powers which are connected with the conviction that the ‘self’ exists as individual and distinctive. Amidism is one of the factions of Japanese Buddhism wherein a key practice is to entrust yourself to Amida Buddha (Skt. *amitābha* – infinite light, *amitāyus* – infinite life, Jpn. *Amida*) and to be reborn in the Pure Land (Skt. *sukhāvati*, Jpn. *jōdo*). The infinite light is a symbol of transcendent wisdom and infinite life is a symbol of unconditional love, that of ‘great compassion’. Amida Buddha as the Bodhisattva Hōzō (Skt. *Dharmākara Bodhisattva*, Jpn. *Hōzō Bosatsu*) took forty-eight vows in which he obliged himself to save all beings, liberating them from suffering. In the 18th vow he assured that he who will faithfully say *nembutsu* (Jpn. *namu Amida butsu*) will be reborn in the Pure Land. *Namu Amida butsu* (Skt. *namo amitābhāya buddhāya*) literally means ‘Praise Amida Buddha of Infinite Light’. The Pure Land was created with the power of Buddha who wants to liberate all creatures from suffering. All who will enter the Pure Land will experience

and 'other-power' of the Absolute (Jpn. *tariki*)<sup>37</sup>. Both Nishida and Suzuki discuss the two concepts. According to Nishida, the core problem is that the internal contradiction of 'self-power' is often overlooked. He is of the opinion that true faith is not possible through efforts of the 'self' – it is the result of 'absolutely contradictorily self-identical' relations of a man and the Absolute (Kozyra 2007: 84–5). Suzuki expresses the same idea using different words. He emphasizes that the distinction between 'self-power' and 'other-power' is the result of looking at reality only from the relative perspective. However, when a man goes beyond this perspective, when he sees both the relative and the absolute dimensions of reality, there is no such distinction (Suzuki 2004: 100–1). Apparently, this does not mean that a man has lost all intellectual abilities, including the distinguishing skills. This dimension of distinctions (the dimension of contradiction) still exists, although another dimension (the dimension of self-identity) has been discovered (Kozyra 2004: 150).

For Nishitani, faith means the 'absolutely contradictory self-identity' of negation and affirmation. The 'individual self' must be completely negated in order for the 'true self' to be found. Faith does not depend on the will of a man, although at the same time a man must be ready to accept it. Faith perceived in this way, with reference to Christianity, is not entrusting oneself to the Absolute (God) which is completely transcendent in relation to the world. It is, however, the realization of the 'absolutely contradictory self-identity' of the Absolute (God) and the world.

### The ideal of love in human relations

As mentioned before, non-differentiating love, which is a reference to the Buddhist definition of 'great compassion', accepts all people, good and evil. However, one more important aspect is underlined by Nishitani. He refers to the Christian vision of love and states that for a man reborn religiously, the love of neighbor must

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there 'enlightenment' with no effort. Hōnen (1133–1212), Shinran (1173–1262) and Ippen (1238–1289) popularized Amidism in Japan. Amidism entails the following schools in Japan: *yūzū nembutsushū*, *ji-shū*, *jōdo shū*, *jōdo shinshū*. See: Maryniarczyk (ed.) 2004: 257; Shinran 1973: 203, 207, 229, 257, 280, 292 (Glossary); Kaczorowski (ed.) 2008: 175; Takakusu 1949: 168, 174.

<sup>37</sup> The relation to the Buddhist notion of 'other power'. 'Other power' (Jpn. *tariki*) is the power of a vow taken by Amida Buddha. The conviction that the decadence of Buddhism (the time of 'the last and decadent Dharma' (Jpn. *mappō*)) was under way, was common in Japan in the period between the 12th and 14th centuries. According to this conviction a man is not able to experience 'enlightenment' using his own effort. It may happen only when he entrusts himself to 'other power'. Then, by the power invested in the vow by Amida Buddha a man will be reborn in the Pure Land (Skt. *sukhāvātī*, Jpn. *jōdo*) to experience 'enlightenment'. However, the concept of 'other power' goes far back to the past. It had appeared in India first. Nāgārjuna pointed to the question of 'other power' in his Sutra of *Dasabhumī*. See: Maryniarczyk (ed.) 2004: 256–7; Takakusu 1949: 167.

be the love that accepts and the sword that punishes (Nishitani 1983: 28). In this respect Nishitani (1983: 28) quotes the Bible, “[t]hose whom I love, I reprove and chasten”<sup>38</sup>. When Nishitani refers to the Christian concept of love, he interprets it in the Buddhist way which goes along the lines of the ‘logic of paradox’. It is clearly seen here that for him a man reborn in faith leads others to the discovery of the true nature of reality in a spontaneous way. In this sense the acts of a man reborn in faith are the punishing sword and the total acceptance. In other words, the acts of such a man (of a man reborn in faith) are a negation that is contradictorily self-identical with the affirmation directed to other beings. It is so because such actions are to lead others to the self-negation of one’s ‘self’. At the same time, however, it is only the self-negation that makes it possible to experience affirmation, to see the ‘true self’, the true structure of reality. Thus, according to Nishitani the concept of a man reborn in the Christian faith is understood in the same way as the Buddhist concept of the ‘enlightened’ who realizes ‘great compassion’.

It is worth adding that ‘great compassion’ can take many forms and is not connected with clearly defined ethical norms (Kozyra 2004: 267). Nishitani (1983: 58) is of the opinion that, “[i]t is a non-differentiating love that transcends the distinction between good and evil, justice and injustice”. The love of which Nishitani speaks is the love understood in the way characteristic of the ‘logic of paradox’. Consequently such an approach brings with itself a new interpretation of the Christian concept of love, an interpretation which refers to several key Buddhist terms. It is important to underscore that according to Nishitani this non-differentiating love embraces all as it is (Nishitani 1983: 58). Nishida is of a similar opinion as he states that the Absolute, being undetermined, cannot be an antithesis of evil, but has to contain it as its own negation. It is only in this way that absolute love, that which embraces both a good and evil man, is possible (Kozyra 2007: 86). A conclusion can be drawn that such love is not only characteristic of God but can also be experienced by human beings. A man can see oneness with the world by discovering his self-identity with the Absolute. It is an essential issue to remember that this love, as it is being considered here, concerns not only people. The love of neighbor is actually total acceptance of the whole world as it is here and now. Here Nishitani refers to St. Francis of Assisi<sup>39</sup>, although he points out that St. Francis’s

<sup>38</sup> [Rev. 3: 19]. Cf. e.g. *The Holy Bible* 1945.

<sup>39</sup> St. Francis of Assisi, known as the poor fellow of Assisi, his proper name was Giovanni Bernardone, (1181 or 1182–1226), was a mystic, a priest, the founder of the Franciscan Order, Poor Clares Convent, and the Tertiary-Franciscan Order. He led a careless life when he was young. His breakthrough occurred upon meeting a leper. He then began severe ascetic practices and zealous praying. Additionally, he was helping those afflicted with leprosy. He then renounced his family fortune. From the year 1224 he had stigmata. He called upon the people to live in poverty and encouraged the love of neighbor. He valued all creation and the whole reality, not limiting himself to the human dimension. See Gadacz & Milerski (eds.) 2002, vol. 4, 87–8.

interpretation of Christian doctrine is rather unique and not shared with all Christians. St. Francis of Assisi treated not only people but also the sun, water, fire and wind as his comrades (Nishitani 1983: 281). In his *Canticle to the sun*, St. Francis says: “[b]e praised, my Lord, with all your creations, especially with the noble brother, the sun” (Jacovelli 1985: 125). He apparently felt oneness with the world, even in the moments of extreme physical pain when he had part of his face cauterized due to a disease (Nishitani 1983: 281).

For Nishitani, the ideal of love in human relations, in other words an interpretation of the Christian love of neighbor, constitutes a reference to the Buddhist concept of ‘great compassion.’ Christian love of neighbor in Nishitani’s interpretation goes beyond the dualistic distinctions. It is both a complete negation and affirmation as only in this form can it lead others to religious rebirth. According to Nishitani, the love of neighbor is actually a complete acceptance of the whole world – here and now, Buddhist influence can be clearly seen – just as in Buddhism, the ‘enlightenment’ of one man means the ‘enlightenment’ of the whole world.

### The problem of evil and sin

Thomas Merton<sup>40</sup> stresses that the aspect of evil (the Devil) is present throughout the Bible, from tempting man in Paradise until the last pages when the final defeat of evil takes place (Merton 1988: 122–3). Evil is something fundamental. It is not an individual act as it lies at the grounds of everything that exists. Nishitani agrees with the Christian tradition stating that all men sinned in Adam (Nishitani 1983: 23). He interprets it accordingly with the ‘logic of paradox’ that “the sinfulness of the self and the sinfulness of all mankind make themselves present in an elemental sense as *one* reality, and are actualized and appropriated as such in the self. It is, so to speak, an appropriation of the evil of all men within the evil of the self, and, at the same time, of the evil of the self within the evil of all men” (Nishitani 1983: 23). It is an exact description of the ‘absolutely contradictory self-identity’ of the one and all in the categories of evil and sin. Nishida states that contradiction is present everywhere, in every aspect of life, and that the concept of original sin in Christianity should be understood in such context (Kozyra 2007: 166). However, Nishitani focuses upon a Christian who does not see the

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<sup>40</sup> Thomas Merton (1915–1968) was a Trappist monk, a priest, a writer and theologian. His interests included monasticism, ascetics and mysticism in the West as well as the philosophy and religions of the Far East. According to Merton, a man is to intend to unite with Christ. It can only be done through true knowing of himself, the existential transformation as well as contemplation and ascetics. True contemplation is to lead to the opening of himself to God and the world, and not to turning inward. See Gadacz & Milerski (eds.) 2002, vol. 6, 496–7.

paradox structure of reality but faces the problem of the fundamentality of evil with all its due consequences. It should be pointed out that the Christian God is perceived as the ultimate goodness and the source of all goodness. St. Augustine<sup>41</sup> said, “[d]eprive yourself of this and that, and look, if you can, at sole good, it is then you will see God who is the good not thanks to other good, but who is the good of all good” (Tatarkiewicz 1988: 197). Nishitani pays attention to a crucial question: Why does evil exist in the world created by God, who is goodness and sheer love (Nishitani 1983: 42)? In this context the problem of God’s wrath is considered as ‘absolute negativity’, and the contradiction between the love of God and the omnipotence of God reveals itself clearly (Nishitani 1983: 44). All the paradoxes that a Christian faces reflect separation – between transcendence and immanence, between *sacrum* and *profanum* – which can cause the source of great suffering for a man. It is the lack of any hope, of any possibility, which causes a man to be able to accept the love of God. “When the self becomes the actualization of sin seen as a Great Reality, when sin is appropriated, then the ensuing despair – that is, the loss of all hope of the possibility of escape, and the awareness of the self that it is nothingness and powerlessness – needs to be seen as a nothingness become a field somehow capable of receiving redeeming love from God” (Nishitani 1983: 25). Self-negation is not an internal act of the individual. According to Nishitani, it is correlative to the kenosis of God. What is more, self-negation cannot be determined by either evil or good (Nishitani 1983: 26) since faith also means self-negation in the ethical dimension (Kozyra 2007: 84). However, this does not result in moral indifference since a man who experiences contradictorily self-identity with the whole world, which is the true essence of reality, is moved by ‘great compassion’ (Kozyra 2004: 264–5).

Such principles of ‘great compassion’ do not mean that man becomes perfect in moral domain. As pointed out by Nishitani (1983: 44), “when the conversion of faith becomes reality, then salvation is realized even though man remains a sinner unable to rid himself of evil. Here divine omnipotence is realized as the absolute affirmation that permits evil even while persisting in its absolute negation”. Those words are a distinctive reference to Nishida’s views. According to him, the Absolute cannot be the ultimate good as antithesis to evil. However, this statement should

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<sup>41</sup> St. Augustine (354–430) – initially he was the follower of Manichaeism, then his views changed to academic skepticism, then he turned to Platonic philosophy and, eventually, converted to Christianity. His views constantly evolved and were subject to transformations which were later reflected in his writings. He was of the opinion that in order to achieve happiness a man needs to get to know God and his soul. Such knowledge is the grace sent by God, given in the form of ‘enlightenment’. Because of this the mind sees the truth, in other words, this is direct intuition. Only good humans are awarded with such grace. St. Augustine described God as the ultimate being, the reason for all being, the source of cognition, the ultimate good. He proclaimed the advantage of God above all creation, of the soul above the body, and of the will above the mind.

See Tatarkiewicz 1988: 193–9.

not lead to the assumption that the Absolute is evil. Nishida emphasized that the Absolute cannot be described either as good or evil in the relative meaning of these two terms (Kozyra 2004: 270). Neither of these two terms expresses the true nature of the Absolute, which is ‘absolutely contradictory self-identity’.

When considering the issue of evil, Nishitani focuses on the contradiction of Christianity which deals with God’s goodness and the presence of evil in the world. To this question Nishitani gives a Buddhist answer when he states that the suffering caused by this contradiction is caused by the dualism of good and evil in which a man lives. What is more, this authentic, existential meeting with the issue of evil and sin in this world can become the reason for a true religious breakthrough.

### **Relation of God and a man – *creatio ex nihilo***

Nishitani states that all contradictions that torment a man are connected with the concept of the ‘creation *ex nihilo*’ – ‘act of creation out of nothing’. The act of creation in itself is not essential as much as the fact that all creation comes out of nothingness, of nothingness that is the negation of existence, so, as Nishida would put it, of ‘relative nothingness’. According to Nishitani, if the assumption is made that God created the world out of nothingness, which is completely distinct from him, one can say that there is a big gap between God and all creation. Consequently, Nishitani inseparably connects such an approach with the existence of evil in the world. Considering the issue of evil being present in a world created by God, Nishitani (1983: 44) claims that “man’s ability to commit evil arises out of the nihility that lies at the ground of his existence by virtue of his having been created *ex nihilo*”.

According to Nishitani, if *nihilum* constitutes the ground for all being, all beings are completely distinct from the Creator. “God is not his creatures; creatures cannot be God” (Nishitani 1983: 38). Such a statement expresses a dualism between the absolute dimension and relative dimension, in the case considered: between God and nothingness in which all creation took place, dualism between God and creation. For Nishitani it is dualism that is the cause of all human suffering and evil generated by humans. In other words, for Nishitani the concept of the ‘creation *ex nihilo*’ is a symbol of dualism in which a man lives.

What is more, it is worth pointing out that what Nishitani understands as the foundation of Christian theology: “God is not his creature; creature cannot be God” (Nishitani 1983: 38) is an example of the principle of non-contradiction characteristic of formal logic – a rule that proclaims that A is A and A is not non-A. However, Nishida points out that formal logic constitutes only one dimension of the ‘logic of paradox’ (Kozyra 2007: 31).

Ontological relation between God and his creations is a permanent problem of Christianity. Nishitani underlines that the relation between God and creation should become an existential enquiry in the life of a religious man (Nishitani 1983: 37). It is so that the ontological relation between God and a man presented in this way expresses a complete distinction of the relative dimension from the absolute dimension which a man experiences when he faces the problem of the meaning of his own existence, the existence perceived as being completely separated from the absolute dimension. Thus the perception of the Absolute as being completely separated from the relative causes a man to claim that even though searching for it he can find it nowhere in the world. In this respect he (Nishitani 1983: 37) quotes St. Augustine who said, "Lo, heaven and earth exist: they cry out that they have been created". It is worth pointing out that St. Augustine was of the opinion that all creations were to perish and were completely dependent on eternal God. However, God directly bestowed his grace onto human beings (Tatarkiewicz 1988: 196–7). Nishitani refers here to the important problem of the separateness of God and the world. "If things are telling us that they were created by God, then they also are telling us that they are not themselves God. To that extent, we do not encounter God anywhere in the world" (Nishitani 1983: 37). However, at the same time a Christian experiences the grace and might of God as he believes that it is God that gives and takes away life (Nishitani 1983: 38). Both Nishitani's and Suzuki's interpretations of the omnipresence of God are different from those offered by Christianity. Suzuki claims that the omnipresence of God cannot be understood in a way that God is present everywhere. Omnipresence should be perceived as zero, which is infinity, and infinity, which is zero (Suzuki 2004: 86–7). Such an approach can be related to the view that what is absolute (God) is nothing and at the same time everything. It is so because according to Suzuki the Absolute cannot be described in any objectified way. From such perspective, the Absolute is 'absolute nothingness' which on the paradox principle is self-identical with every element of the relative world. At the same time, however, the world and 'absolute nothingness' are distinct from each other. It is important to add that the Absolute, being both everything and nothing, is everywhere and at the same time nowhere.

Nishida's concept of 'ultimate *topos*' (Jpn. *kyūkyokuteki basho*), which is 'standpoint without standpoint', is worthy of consideration here. This concept expresses the spatial aspect of reality which is 'absolutely contradictory self-identity'. According to the 'logic of paradox', space can in no way be objectified. 'Ultimate *topos*' is nowhere and everywhere at the same time (Kozyra 2007: 47–9). Nishitani as well refers to 'absolutely contradictory self-identity' when he speaks of the omnipresence of God. Despite the fact that God (the Absolute) and the world (the relative) are completely distinct, at the same time they contain each other. Thus, the author draws attention to the fact that in Nishitani's opinion, God (the Absolute) is nowhere and everywhere at the same time. At this point in his considerations,

however, the aspect of space is not important for him but rather, the relation between the 'individual self' and God.

According to Nishitani, omnipresence means that God is absolutely transcendent and absolutely immanent (Nishitani 1983: 39). He agrees with Nishida who stated that "God that is only transcendent is not true God (...) However, God that is immanent is reduced to the subjectivity of human consciousness, and does not deserve to be named God" (Kozyra 2007: 95). Suzuki (2004: 34) as well refers to the issue as he says, "[i]f God puts himself beyond the world he created, if he separates himself from the world, or intends to do so, he is no longer God just like the world separated from God is no longer the world. God has to exist within the world, and the world must be within God". As long as a man does not experience 'absolutely contradictory self-identity' of immanence and transcendence, he lives within the assumption that these two aspects of reality are something completely distinct. However, the Absolute is always transcendent as far as the 'individual self' is concerned and, at the same time, the Absolute is self-identical with the 'individual self'. The Absolute includes the 'individual self' just as it contains its own negation. When a man sees this aspect of the relation with the Absolute or, in other words, when he discovers the paradoxical dimension of reality, the transcendence of God turns out to be immanence that is closer to him than what he had perceived before as his own 'self'. In a spiritual experience of the Absolute as 'absolutely contradictory self-identity', transcendence is no longer an antithesis of immanence. Here it is worth pointing out the relation between the 'individual self' (Jpn. *shin*) and Buddha<sup>42</sup> in Nishida's philosophy. Nishida claims that this relation should be understood according to the 'logic of paradox' which can be found in the teachings of Zen masters. Buddha is transcendent in relation to the 'individual self' and, at the same time, is self-identical with it. Thus, Buddha is absolute transcendence and absolute immanence. The 'individual self' is Buddha – (Jpn. *shin soku butsu*) – 'enlightenment' is nothing other than seeing reality from this perspective (Kozyra 2004: 48–51). According to Suzuki (1994: 120), *satori* (Skt. *bodhi*, Chin. *wu*, Jpn. *satori*) means that "God is myself and yet not quite myself. God and I are not one and the same being; they are two, yet one; they are one, yet two". In this respect Nishitani agrees with Nishida and Suzuki. However, Nishitani is concerned with a man who does not see that the Absolute (in this case, God) is both transcendence and immanence. He points out that every human being, not only a Christian, encounters absolute negation which is represented by God. In this context God's omnipresence (omnipresence of absolute negation) is experienced not

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<sup>42</sup> Buddha-nature (Jpn. *bussō*) – the absolute dimension which is characteristic of all kinds of beings, the living and the non-living. According to the principles of Zen, every man, together with all other beings, is the nature of Buddha, in spite of often not being aware of it. See Fischer-Schreiber & Ehrhard & Diener 1991: 38.

only by Christians (Nishitani 1983: 38). “God is omnipresent as one who graciously bestows being and one who absolutely takes it away” (Nishitani 1983: 38). In this way Nishitani refers to death as ‘relative nothingness’. Consequently, according to Nishitani the contradictions within the Christian doctrine<sup>43</sup>, namely the issue of complete distinction of God from the world and at the same time his omnipresence – the presence of God’s goodness in the world, might turn out to be the contradictions of the general state of a man only expressed in the language of Christianity as one of many religions. Separation between life and death, good and evil, the relative and the Absolute is manifestation of dualism which is the foundation of the human perception of reality. Therefore the experience of the omnipresence of God is the experience of ‘relative nothingness’ understood as the negation of existence, meaning or universal values.

According to Nishitani (1983: 38), “encountering omnipresence of God existentially must begin with the sense of having been cast out into the middle of the desert of death. When the omnipresent God is accepted at the existential standpoint, it becomes a paradox for the existence of the self that finds God at every turn and every moment, like being in a desert from which one cannot escape, but within which one cannot survive either. The omnipresence of God, then must make itself present as something that deprives us of a locus to stand in self-existence, a locus where we can live and breathe”. It should be noticed that the above Nishitani’s statement could also be regarded as a definition of the Zen concept of ‘great doubt’ considered to be the indispensable condition of ‘enlightenment’.

Nishitani stresses that according to Christian doctrine God created the world out of nothingness and therefore nothingness is not transcendent to the being but absolute immanent in the being. “That a thing is created *ex nihilo* means that this *nihil* is more immanent in that thing than the very being of that thing is ‘immanent’ in itself. This is why we speak of ‘absolute immanence’” (Nishitani 1983: 39). He also points out the self-contradiction of such conceived ‘absolute immanence’ – “[i]t is an immanence of absolute negation, for the being of the created is grounded upon a *nothingness* and seen fundamentally to be nothingness. At the same time it is an immanence of absolute affirmation, for the nothingness of the created is the ground of its *being*. This is the omnipresence of God in all things that have their being as a *creatio ex nihilo*” (Nishitani 1983: 39–40). Nishitani presents here a new interpretation of ‘creation *ex nihilo*’. In this interpretation, ‘relative nothingness’ which is the negation of being is at the same time contradictorily self-identical with it (being). The discovery of this self-identity is the immanence of the absolute

<sup>43</sup> It is worth pointing out that in the Western thought connected with Christianity, philosophers attempted to tackle the problem of contradiction as well. Such efforts appeared in the works of, e.g., Pascal, who perceived paradox as the tragic character human life consists of, and Kierkegaard, who saw it as absurdity.

See Płuzański 1970: 8.

affirmation. In this respect, for Nishitani the ‘creation *ex nihilo*’ is an expression of ‘absolutely contradictory self-identity’.

If Nishitani understands absolute immanence as nothingness, then what is absolute transcendence for him? As stated above, ‘relative nothingness’ is self-identical with being. When this paradox relation is considered from the relative dimension it seems like transcendence; however, it is important to point out that this paradox does not constitute a distinct sphere from the world – as it means ‘immanent transcendence’.

It is life that stands in opposition to nothingness and death and at the same time is contradictorily self-identical with them. In other words, the omnipresence of God is death which is life, and life which is death. The omnipresence of God as ‘absolute negativity’ is capable of bringing a man to the experience of ‘absolute nothingness’ (it is important to point out that it may happen so only if a man has experienced ‘relative nothingness’). Thus the omnipresence expresses absolute negation and absolute affirmation – ‘absolutely contradictory self-identity’ of negation and affirmation, of life and death. In this respect the Absolute – in the case being considered it is God – is both life and death. The existential dimension of the paradox that characterizes reality – the issue of mutual paradox relation of life and death – symbolizes, as understood by Nishitani, the omnipresence of God to which Nishitani lends a new meaning. For Nishitani, the possibility of meeting God anywhere in this world means the omnipresence of contradictory self-identity of life and death which cannot be either attributed to any exact place or captured within a notion. Despite the fact that a man usually does not notice the paradoxical dimension of reality, the paradox is present everywhere and nowhere at the same time as it can in no way be objectified. Thus, using Nishida’s terminology, omnipresence as a paradox relation between life and death is ‘ultimate *topos*’<sup>44</sup>.

Nishitani is of the opinion that the relation between the omnipresent and transcendent God is ‘impersonally personal’. According to him (Nishitani 1983: 40), “[i]t is what we should call an »impersonally personal relationship« or a »personally impersonal relationship«”. Such conclusion differs completely from Christian interpretation of personal as antithesis of impersonal (Nishitani 1983: 40). This, however, does not mean an irrational approach but the ‘logic of paradox’, since the relation of the Absolute (God) and a man is relation of ‘absolute contradictory self-identity’.

According to Nishitani (1983: 41), the problem of God’s omnipotence is connected with God’s omnipresence and ‘relative nothingness’. In his opinion, in most trivial activity, a man confronts (not necessarily being conscious of it) the nothingness of his own ‘self’ and the omnipotence of God. Any, even most trivial, activity

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<sup>44</sup> The ‘logic of absolutely contradictory self-identity’ was described by Nishida as the ‘logic of *topos*’ (Jpn. *basho-no ronri*). See Kozyra 2007: 47.

is connected with the omnipotence of God (Nishitani 1983: 42). In other words, at any point of his life a man is confronted with the issue of dualism between life and death. Life perceived as a negation of death can appear and then go by any moment. Thus, for Nishitani the omnipotence of God deals with the issue of life that is always on the edge of death, an existence that can be terminated at any time. In this respect, the omnipotence of God concerns not only a Christian, but every man, every existence. As pointed out by Nishitani (1983: 43), “[t]hus the omnipotence of God must be something that one can encounter at any time (...) Moreover, it must be something encountered as capable of destroying both body and soul, something that makes man fear and tremble and presses him to a decision”. Without this dimension, the aforementioned omnipotence is only an empty concept, as only when a man doubts and negates his own powers may there be an authentic religious breakthrough. Omnipotence understood in this way puts a man in the situation in which neither activity, nor the lack of it, can bring a result, and a man’s own power turns out insufficient to solve the problem<sup>45</sup>. An act of will of the ‘individual self’ is essential for such self-negation. However, self-negation does not depend on the ‘individual self’ acting as a subject. It is thus possible to see the true structure of reality which, as stated by Nishida, is “a response to the calling of the Absolute” (Kozyra 2007: 77).

Nishitani claims that only when the omnipotence of God becomes the source of true fear and trembling<sup>46</sup> can one speak of it being authentic, and such an experience does not leave a man indifferent, but imposes a change in his life (Nishitani 1983: 43). Such perception of the Absolute is caused by the influence of existentialism<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> The aforementioned considerations by Nishitani relate to the Buddhist concept of ‘self-power’ (Jpn. *jiriki*) which states that a man cannot experience ‘enlightenment’ using his own effort. However, Nishida claims that an act of will is necessary for ‘enlightenment’ to occur. In Zen the emphasis was put on the determination and the faith of a disciple. See: Kozyra 2004: 108–9; Kozyra 2007: 76–7.

<sup>46</sup> Fear and trembling, these words are associated with the book by Kierkegaard (*Fear and trembling*) to whose thought Nishitani refers as well.

<sup>47</sup> The influence of existentialism is clearly marked in the considerations of Nishitani. Existentialism is not only a philosophical concept but also a cultural phenomenon. It is presented in many fields like religion, psychology or art in its broadest meaning. It is, however, worth mentioning what distinguishes existentialism from other currents in philosophy. First of all, it is the critique of the schematic and abstract approach distinctively present in the Western philosophical tradition. Existentialism grew as an opposition to scientific systems, philosophical included, which perceived reality in categories of universal truths to which the whole world, together with man, is subjected. Existential philosophy focuses upon the human existence underlining its subjective dimension. The possibility of making a choice which constitutes the quintessence of the human existence, is crucial. In this respect, actions of a man are not determined. According to the existential philosophy, a man constantly makes some kind of a choice connected with responsibility. The issue of death, the tragic nature of human life, and the despair originating from it, are also touched upon in existentialism. The question of “going beyond one’s ‘self’” is bound with these concepts. It means confronting the tragic dimension of human existence. Such an approach stresses that human

on Nishitani, although in Zen, the realization of the Absolute, which is 'non-self', means peace. Kierkegaard<sup>48</sup> claims that only by referring to the absolute dimension – God, can a man find himself. However, it is connected with the discovery of the tragic nature that has always been present in human life. Then, made to fear and tremble, a man is faced with a dilemma: to believe, or to plunge into the tragic nature of existence (Prokopski 2007: 29). The omnipotence of God causes a man to discover the futility of his existence, and such experience may lead to self-negation. By the true acceptance of the omnipotence of God a man realizes that affirmation and negation are one, although contradictory (Nishitani 1983: 43). Such realization is the experience of faith, understood by Nishitani in the paradox manner, namely as simultaneous negation and affirmation. A man discovers this dimension of the world of which he was not aware before. The omnipotence of God does not seem threatening anymore as it takes up another meaning. For it is absolute negation that exposes a man to affirmation which means that he finds the 'true self', which is both his 'true self' and the 'true self' of the world. In other words, thanks to the authentic experience with divine omnipotence, reality appears to be what it really is. Suzuki (2004: 75) describes this situation saying that the omnipotence of God means being an angel in an angel, a stone in a stone. It is nothing else but a reference to the Buddhist notion of 'suchness'<sup>49</sup> which means that every creature, living or non-living, is just what it is.

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existence cannot be captured in concepts and terms which are clearly theoretical, and which are applied to relate to things. However, what is existential in Nishitani's considerations goes far beyond what existentialism in the European understanding entails. The anxiety that accompanies human existence is the result of the inability to see the true structure of reality. True existence is not connected with the subjective choice but with the negation of one's 'individual self'. This negation is indispensable as ego veils both the 'true self' and the 'true life'. See: Kostyszak (ed.) 1989: 5–8; Craig (ed.) 1998, vol. 3, 493; Nishitani 1983: 183.

<sup>48</sup> Søren Aabye Kierkegaard (1813–1855) was a Danish philosopher and a theologian as well as a writer devoted to the subject of religion. He criticized the institutionalized form of Christianity, although it was mainly man that was the focus of his attention. He was of the opinion that the existence of man could be neither captured in any systematic way nor brought to any general level. He presented three phases of the life of man: esthetic, ethical and religious. Then, he added three in-between phases. Among these three basic phases the first one is life during which a man aims to satisfy his egoistic needs. The second one concerns duty and responsibility. During the third phase a man reaches the true existence that is subjective and unique for each and every man. The essence of the existence cannot be conveyed. A man entails what is eternal and what is momentary. The aim is the synthesis of those two aspects, the lack of this synthesis is despair. This synthesis, however, does not mean coming back to the original oneness. Good means the uniting of what is eternal and what is momentary, the uniting sometimes called salvation or eternal happiness. See Maryniarczyk (ed.) 2004: 603–7.

<sup>49</sup> 'Suchness' (Skt. *tathāta*, Chin. *ru*, Jpn. *nyo*) – the final and true nature of all phenomena, the true experience, the final truth. As pointed out by Suzuki, "[s]uchness is not their [emptiness and non-emptiness – A.S.] synthesis but their self-identity as concretely realized in our everyday experience".

See: Shinran 1973: 223 (Glossary); Suzuki 1962: 213; Kozyra 2004: 388.

Nishitani is of the opinion that the concept of the 'creation *ex nihilo*' in Christianity is an expression of complete distinction between God and the world. This distinction is the source of anxiety and suffering for a man. Thus, he proposes a paradox perspective from which to look at the question of the 'creation *ex nihilo*'. It is worth noting that the issue of omnipresence and omnipotence of God is connected with the concept of complete distinction between God and the world. According to Nishitani this problem can be resolved when a man, looking at omnipotence or omnipresence from relative ground, experiences 'relative nothingness' (negation of being, meaning, worth) in an extreme manner. Thus, a man can find the absolute dimension, namely, contradictory self-identity of negation and affirmation.

## Conclusion

According to Nishitani, the starting point of all religions is the very moment a man asks himself the question, "[f]or what purpose do I exist?" (Nishitani 1983: 3). Such a question lays the grounds for the negation of all – for doubt that goes beyond the distinction of the object and the subject of cognition, and at the same time it touches upon the most basic issues such as the meaning and the worthiness of being. Thus Nishitani (1983: 261) claims that the revelation of existential authenticity is connected with every religious life, not only the Buddhist one. The experience captured in the form of symbols and myths lies at the base of every religion. Without this experience, religion would not have any meaning as it would only be reduced to dogmas.

To Nishitani, the views quoted above became the foundations for considerations over the authentic message of Christianity. Nishitani analyzes Christianity in the context of such experience, namely 'great doubt', as well as the discovery of one's own 'true self' (that is of the paradox structure of reality). Nishitani interprets Christianity according to the 'logic of absolutely contradictory self-identity' at the same time emphasizing that there is a similar message in the Christian Bible, although it is to a lesser extent than it is in Buddhism. It does not mean, however, that Nishitani fails to see the difference between his interpretation and the views characteristic of the Christian tradition. He shows that there are two approaches intertwining in Christianity – the first approach states that transcendence is completely distinct from immanence whereas the second one indicates that transcendence and immanence are not completely distinct. The author would like to point out that if one assumes that the structure of reality is in accordance with the 'logic of paradox', those contradictions are completely natural. Nishitani concludes that the interpretation of Christianity based on the 'logic of paradox' conveys its authentic message. Due to this reason, Nishitani keeps searching for the authentic message of Christianity which, in his opinion, is contained in the paradoxes of the religion.

These paradoxes become, for Nishitani, the foundations for further interpretations of Christianity in terms of the 'logic of absolutely contradictory self-identity'. At this point it is important to pay attention to the fact that there are many contradictions within Christianity, of which the majority, if not all, of the followers are aware of. It does not mean, however, that all of them pay much attention to those paradoxes. There are some, however, for whom, "the incomprehensible and contradictory Christian truths of faith become the source of irresolution and suffering rather than the feeling of comfort they desire" (Płużański 1970: 17). It happens so because those contradictions are nothing else but "the contradictions within a man" (Płużański 1970: 16).

In Nishitani's considerations, the issue of internal contradiction of the Absolute is of great significance. It is worth noticing that according to Nishida's theory, the Absolute contains its own self-negation and only because of this internal contradiction it is absolute. Nishitani underlines that Christ is the symbol of self-negation – *ekkenōsis*, being deprived of the 'self'. Self-identity with the absolute dimension can only be discovered due to the 'death of ego'.

The relations between a man and God, God's love, the love of neighbor (love in human relations) take up their true meaning only when presented in the context of reality being 'absolutely contradictory self-identity'. In his considerations Nishitani quotes those fragments of the Bible that indicate the perception of reality as it is done in the aforementioned way. For instance, Nishitani (1983: 277) states that there is an indirect message about the paradox structure of reality in the biblical perception of the love of neighbor. In this way Nishitani presents the issue of doubt, faith, sin and evil that do not concern a Christian only, but all men.

Nishitani unusually emphasizes the meaning of God's love – non-differentiating love. According to him, in Christianity it is the same as 'great compassion' in Buddhism (Nishitani 1983: 58–60). A man who sees the paradox structure of the world feels oneness with all the creatures, both the good and the evil, the living and the non-living. It is only due to such paradox structure that a man can experience the love of God while at the same time experiencing the omnipotence of God from which he feels fear and trembling. Consequently, it is then that a man experiences the love of God and can see the contradictory self-identity with the whole world, oneness, which does not mean losing individual features. According to Nishitani, a man experiencing God's love would not be possible without his existential experience of God's omnipotence, just as God's omnipotence, in the face of which self-negation of the 'self' occurs, would not be possible without God's love.

It is important to point out that religious transformation is possible only when a man fears and trembles – when a man doubts his own strength and experiences the tragic nature and the futility of his own existence. According to Nishitani, such a transformation is possible only when there is an authentic experience of

the omnipotence and omnipresence of God. Fear and trembling render it possible for the ‘individual self’ to be negated, the ‘individual self’ which discovers its contradictory self-identity with the Absolute.

In the end it is important to point out that for Nishitani an existential religious act is of the universal character, independent of any doctrine. According to him, behind all the symbols and words there is a hidden perception of the world in which ‘one is all and all is one’.

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## 論文の日本語レジュメ

Aleksandra Skowron

### キリスト教の神と大乘仏教の論理－西谷啓治によるキリスト教釈義

本論文の目的は、西田幾多郎(1870-1945)によって確立された哲学である京都学派の後継者の一人、西谷啓治(1900～1990)が提唱したキリスト教の仏教的解釈について分析することである。西谷の主張を理解するためには、キリスト教における神の概念と神と人間の関係性についての彼の考察が重要である。

西谷の解釈を前にすると疑問を呈することがあるかもしれない。しかし、実存的信頼性の啓示が仏教だけでなく、あらゆる宗教的な生活と繋がりをもっていると西谷は言っている。従って、西谷はキリスト教の真の教えを考究しつつ、それを何らかの形で自己の思想体系へ組み込むことを試みた。さらに、この宗教的経験の概念こそが西谷のキリスト教に対する思索の中で重要な役割を果たしたと考える。

西谷の哲学は絶対性と相対性の関係だけでなく、宗教的経験もが西田幾多郎の“自己同一性絶対矛盾の論理”に基づいて理解されている。つまり、西田の理論は実存的且つ宗教的側面から把握しなければならないことを注視する必要がある。

上記の枠組みにおいて、西谷のキリスト教の神と神の愛に対する解釈、すなわち全能と遍在と、そこに西谷が付与する新しい意義を分析する。

**Keywords:** Nishitani Keiji, Buddhism, Christianity, philosophy, nothingness, God, absolutely contradictory self-identity, paradox, logic.



Adam Bednarczyk

## 褻晴の境目にて —「女絵」「男絵」の観点から『源氏物語』の絵合—

### はじめに

絵合とは、左右の二方に分かれて判者を定め、持ち寄った絵を出陳し、その優劣を判定して輸贏を競う遊戯である。古代中世の絵合を論じる和田英松の先行研究で、『源氏物語』の絵合については、「平安朝に於いては、源氏物語意外には、繪合の事が見えないのでありますが、…紫式部が繪合を考案して、仕組み、これを物語中に加へたものでありませうか、または今日傳はつて居る文獻には見えないけれど、他の物合と同じやうに、繪合を行はれた事があつたので、それによって、式部の心に描いた繪合の一章を書きあらはしたものでありませうか、別に考定すべき徴證もないのでありますが、兎に角架空の事にしても、この繪合の巻は、繪合の研究にとつては、重要なものであります」(和田1928:34)と記される。その絵合の重要性の理由は、絵合巻に描写された絵画への貴族社会の関心のみならず、宮廷での多面的な社会関係および政治的な背景をさらに反映する貴重な記述となることである。また、この催物で陳列された絵画をめぐる記述によって、当時の絵に対する態度の有様も把握できる。つまり、絵合で出品された絵を見ると、これらを二種、所謂「女絵」と「男絵」に大別できる。このような区別は、式部が叙述した絵合において重要な役割を果たし、行事の経緯にも影響を与え、また絵画に関わる仕来りの根拠となったと考えられる。そこで、本論では文芸史上最初の絵合について、「女絵」と「男絵」を中心に捉えながら、これらの文化的・社会的な機能と意味を論述したい。

### 絵合と天徳内裏歌合

四辻善成著の『河海抄』を見ると、源氏「物語」の時代は醍醐朱雀村上三代に準ずる歟桐壺御門は延喜朱雀院は天慶冷泉院は天曆光源氏は西宮左大臣如此相

當する也」(四辻1967:2)とある。物語中の主要人物・事件・行事が逐一醍醐村上朝の史実に当てはまるのは疑わしいが、『源氏物語』に描かれた令泉院御前の絵合の典拠としては村上天皇天徳四年内裏歌合が挙げられている。峯岸(1952:11-2)、清水(1980:259)、石田(1980:112-5)、吉野(2003:11-7)などによると、四辻の見解は誤らず、物語原文と村上天皇の主催による歌合を照合してみれば、全要所が一致するのである。また、清水は「河海抄は物語の冷泉帝を史上の村上天皇に、光源氏を一世の源氏西宮左大臣高明に準じたものであると解していた基本線から、冷泉帝御前の絵合の行事にはとくに西宮記によって天徳歌合を引用した」と述べている(清水 1980: 259)。従って、十世紀頃、多様な物合が開催されても、『源氏物語』の作者はなぜ絵合を書いた折に天徳歌合を模したのであろうか。

史上最古の絵合の実例は永承五年正子親王家で行われた催物であるが、清水が気付いているように、約五十年前、「紫式部の寛弘のころ、ましてそれより百年前の延喜天暦のころは物合として絵合が行なわれ、絵そのものが独立に鑑賞されたとは考えにくい。また、その絵が物語絵であったとはいっそう考えにくい。なぜなら、物語の地位は低く、とうてい天子の御前に出せるものではないからである…おそらく紫式部は物語執筆にあたり、準ずべき絵合の実例は持たなかった」(清水 1980: 263-4)。作者が帝の前での絵合を執筆した、そして天徳歌合を模倣した理由に関する示唆は物語原文に入ったと考えられる。

さるべき節会どもにも、この御時より、と末の人の言ひ伝ふべき例を添へむと  
おぼし、私さまのかゝるはかなき御遊びもめづらしき筋にせさせ給て、いみじき盛  
りの御世なり(紫 1994: 184)

冷泉帝の御前で催された絵合は「めづらしき筋」のことであったが、「この御時よりと末の人のいひつたふべき例を添へむ」<sup>1</sup>、つまり、しばしば引き用いられた村上「天曆聖主」<sup>2</sup>の宮廷の礼儀と同様に冷泉帝の御代が前例を創始し、かつ果敢なき風雅の天徳歌合と同じに、「はかなき御遊び」である絵合のような新趣向が現れ、物語は「私さま」のことしか書かないが、冷泉帝の御代は「いみじき盛りの御代なり」ということになる。また吉野は、『源氏物語』の絵合が物語成立の直前である円融・一条期の不遇に対して、村上朝の代表的な文化企てとして捕捉されていくことになる一大行事である天徳歌合への言及により、延喜天暦両朝の「聖代」の理想化という側

<sup>1</sup> 『河海抄』は「此御時よりとすゑのいひつたふべき例そへんと」をあげ、「天下明徳皆自虞舜始史記第二  
五帝本紀例は始、自聖代者也」と注するのである(四辻 1967: 183)。

<sup>2</sup> 『小右記』天元五年二月十七日の条を参照。

面を示すと主張している(吉野)。この「聖代」催しの一例である天徳歌合と同様に、絵合などの新例によっては、冷泉朝の「聖代」の出現が示されているわけである<sup>3</sup>。

『源氏物語』の絵合における天徳四年内裏歌合との間の関係、そこから表面化してくる物語内の過去をめぐる問題などは特に吉野が論じたものに指摘された(吉野 2003: 11)。『河海抄』によって光源氏が源高明によそえられるという要点を考えるならば、まず左右の方人について述べるべきである。絵合巻の催しは両氏との葛藤で、つまり斎宮女御方(左方)と弘徽殿女御方(右方)とが競う絵合の背後には、光源氏家と藤原氏の権中納言家との政権争いがあるが、天徳歌合にはそのような要素が見出しがたい。従って、両氏の対立は天徳内裏歌合になかったもので、絵合には関わらない。しかし、源高明は、右方の筆頭で、判者の補佐の任務も全うしている。歌合の九年後、安和の変という謀反のため、左遷されたのである。この高明の左降は光源氏の須磨退居の場面に想起される表現であることが指し示されている。また、絵合に光源氏が左方筆頭で、歌合には左右逆になり、高明は右方筆頭であったが、最後には絵合の場面と同様に左が勝つものが見られる。高明の左遷および源氏の絵合に勝利したのは共通項とする二つの出来事である。政治的な件から敗走したらしい須磨に流謫した源氏は遂に都に戻り、再び文化の中枢を担い、後宮争いにおいて主導権を握って絵合に優勝を獲得した。これに対して、歌合における高明の政治的文化的中枢への中心的な参与には、吉野が気付いたように、「砂上の楼閣のごとき印象が生じる」のである。なぜなら、高明は左遷によって、最終的に政界から退いた。両者に関する出来事は史上の時系列の逆の順序で喚起されたが、絵合で須磨の絵日記の陳列なしには源氏は高明を乗り越えることができないと考えられる(吉野 2003: 12-4)。

冷泉「聖代」と村上「聖代」との繋がりには絵によっても現実化している。太田が「須磨の絵の披瀝は国魂の奉納という姿を現出させ、古代的な帝王の姿を冷泉帝に持たせることによって聖代を現実させている」と主張する(太田2001: 271)。光源氏の須磨の絵は、小林の意見を引きつつ、高度の鳥瞰的な視線によって眺望さ

<sup>3</sup> 冷泉朝の「聖代」などの根拠は文芸史における「延喜天曆准拠説」と結び付いている。この説は『河海抄』に確立したと言われており、加藤の説明によると、「源氏物語の天皇たち—桐壺・朱雀・冷泉を、それぞれ史上実在した醍醐・朱雀・村上に比定し、その時代の史実をふまえて源氏物語は書かれているとする」説である。延喜天曆准拠説の根拠として挙げられているのは、『河海抄』に見られる「桐壺—醍醐」説や「光源氏—源高明」説をはじめとして、桐壺巻の寛平遺誠、絵合巻の「延喜の御手つから」、明石巻の「延喜の御手より」等といった例を含む『紫明抄』にも継承されている。桐壺巻の冒頭とする「いづれも御代にか」さえ、不特定の王朝であるが、加藤が目するように、次第に醍醐朝と重ねられていき、延喜天曆時代の史実が物語に踏まえられていることは、今日でも広く認められている(加藤 1990: 104-106)。

せる世界を「集約する表現媒体」(小林 1999: 491-496)だけではなく、この絵によっては特に冷泉帝の聖代が仮構されると解できる。また、冷泉「聖代」の成り立ちえた根拠に関して、吉野の見解では、「須磨の絵日記による光源氏方の勝利、さらに絵の藤壺への終着というかたちで、物語の表面に括りつけられていることになる。史上の「聖代」ならざる冷泉「聖代」の現実には、須磨流離という物語内の歴史が喚び込まれ、その成立の淵原として定位されていく」と言える(吉野 2003: 17)。

須磨の絵日記の他、絵合に梅壺女御の方が出品した「延喜の御手づから事の心書かせたまへる」巻を窺うことができる。この文章において延喜天曆准拠説の一つの根拠としての「桐壺—醍醐」説と関係がある「延喜の御手づから」という表現は「この物語に最初に登場する絵が、亭子院の描いた(描かせた)長恨歌の絵であることは先に見た。その「亭子院」と「延喜」とが響き合いながら、「桐壺」で提示された皇統授受に関わる問題を「絵合」が引き継ぐ様相を示している」と見なされる(甘利 1991: 35)。

## 絵合の背景

光源氏が須磨・明石の流謫の生活を終えて帰京した二年余りの春三月に催された絵合は梅壺女御の入内に関係がある。物語中には次のように語られている。

上は、よろづの事にすぐれて絵をけうあるものにおぼしたり。たてて好ませ給へばにや、二なく描かせ給。斎宮の女御、いとをかしうかせ給べければ、これに御心移りて、渡らせ給つゝ、かき通はさせ給。殿上の若き人／＼もこの事まねぶをば、御心とどめてをかしきものに思ほしたれば、ましてをかしげなる人の、心ばへあるさまにまほならずかきすさび、なまめかしう添ひ臥して、とかく筆うちやすらひ給へる御さま、らうたげさに御心しみて、いとしげう渡らせ給て、ありしよりけに御思ひまされるを、権中納言聞き給て、あくまでかど／＼しく今めきたまへる御心にて、我人に劣りなむやとおぼしはげみて、すぐれたる上手どもを召し取りて、いみじくいましめて、又なきさまなる絵どもを、二なき紙どもにかき集めさせ給う(紫 1994: 173)

冷泉帝は以前から権中納言(頭中将)の姫君弘徽殿女御に親しんでいたが、帝は絵を嗜み、前斎宮梅壺(秋好)が絵を立派に描くので、しばしば斎宮の所に渡り通い、互いに絵を描きかわして寵愛するようになった。権中納言は、梅壺女御

への対抗心、即ち負けまいと思う競争意識から、弘徽殿女御のため、評判の絵師をかかえ、帝の好みに合わせるように細心な注意を払う最高の料紙に優れた名画を描かせて蒐集している。権中納言は、「物語絵こそ心ばへ見えて見所あるものなれ」とて、おもしろく心ばへある限りを選びつゝかゝせ給。例の月次の絵も見馴れぬさまに、言の葉を書きつけて、御覧ぜさせ給」（紫 1994: 173）ということである。それに対して、源氏は「あながちに隠して、心やすくも御覧ぜさせず、なやましきこゆる、いとめざましや」と権中納言を嗤うものの、競争上、斎宮を後援し、また「古代の御絵どものはべる、まゐらせむ」と冷泉帝に約束した。その後、紫上と供に二条院の御厨子に納められた当世向きの絵を調べに赴いた。二条院においては、「絵ども入りたる御厨子ども開かせたまひて、女君ともろともに、「いまめかしきはそれ／＼」と、選り調へさせたまふ。「長恨歌」「王昭君」などやうなる絵は、おもしろくあはれなれど、「ことの忌あるはこたみはたてまつらじと選りとどめ給ふ」（紫 1994: 174）とあるが、源氏が須磨の謫居中に描いた日記絵の箱を取り出し、特に浦々の景色がはっきり描かれてある絵を選出した。結局、中宮の前に催された絵合の時には権中納言、源氏が蒐集された絵画の中で特に諸人の興味を惹く物語絵、梅壺方では由緒ある古い物語絵、弘徽殿方では新作の物語絵が出品された。

従って、冷泉帝をめぐって光源氏と権中納言との対立は、『源氏物語』に叙述された絵合の行事の起因になったことが明らかである。伊井（1990: 17）、太田（2001: 259）などのように、絵合の開始の背景は絵の嗜好が政治にまで影響を及ぼすようになっていたことを窺わせる場面である。また、その絵合を経て冷泉朝は固めていくことになったと考えられる。

## 権中納言の「物語絵こそ心ばへ見えて見所あるもの」と「例の月次の絵」

前斎宮女御の絵を描くこのについて、原文は「いとをかしょうかゝせ給べければ、…心ばへあるさまにまほならずかきすさび」（紫 1994: 173）とあるのにより、秋好の絵の風情は型通りでない描き方であった。しかし、この手すさびに書かれた絵は実際にどのような絵をさすかとは明らかではない。後述するが、当時の貴族女性の間で評判の良い物語は、男女の恋愛・宮廷の生活などを描く絵を含む絵物語として流行っていた。絵物語に重なり合う「女絵」と呼ばれる紙絵は女性の生活において重要で、教育的な役割などを果たしたと考えられる。梅壺女御も物語を題材とした絵を享受したのみならず、自らで「心ばへあるさま」を描いたと推測

させる。従って、権中納言は、恐らく冷泉帝の関心を惹いている絵の有様を知りつつ「物語絵こそ心ばへ見えて見所あるもの」を描かせて集め始めたであろう。また、「物語絵」以外、権中納言は「見馴れぬさま」の「例の月次の絵」も制作させた。寺田によると、この絵は「十二月年中行事図屏風などとして今日残っている、「四季の絵」とも言われるもの」(寺田1968:140)を意味すると思われる。清水は「紫式部の寛弘のころ、…絵そのものが独立に鑑賞されたとは考えにくい。また、その絵が物語絵であったとはいっそう考えにくい。なぜなら、物語の地位は低く、とうてい天子の御前に出せるものではないからである」(清水1980:263-4)と述べたことによって、「物語絵こそ心ばへ見えて見所あるもの」は藤壺中宮臨席の非公式的な絵合の出品となり、「例の月次の絵」等のような絵は公式の帝御前の絵合の出品として提出されたのは明確であろうが、権中納言が冷泉帝のために描かされた献上品としての物語絵は興味深い記述であると考えられる。

### 「長恨歌、王昭君などやうなる絵」

絵を選出するために二条院に赴いた光源氏は多くの絵を取り出したものの、「長恨歌、王昭君などやうなる絵は、おもしろくあはれなれど、「ことの忌あるはこたみはたてまつらじと選りとどめ給ふ」(紫1994:174)という場面が見られる。唐の玄宗皇帝と楊貴妃との恋愛についての物語および漢の元帝に仕えていたが、胡国に遣わされた官女の物語という不吉な話題の両作は和漢にわたる物語絵のたぐいだったものの流行を示しているが、これらの選定しなかったことは、寺田によると、「汚い物や不吉なことに用いられる物の、それに触れる人間の運命に与える汚れ、不吉さを信じ、それを大事に思うひとの上には避けねばならぬとする心の動き」(寺田 1968: 141)に関わってくるかもしれない。そのため、梅壺女御の教育を重んじていた光源氏は自ら物語絵を取捨選択し、悪い影響をもたらす恐れのある作品を排除したと解できるのである。

また「長恨歌」と「王昭君」の絵が出品物として選出されなかったのは、「ボーダーの絵」という問題とも結び付いていると思われる。女絵と男絵のテーマについては詳細に後述するが、ジェンダー的な概念を借りつつ、「女性性」を持つやまと絵と「男性性」を示す唐絵の境界に所謂「ボーダーの絵」が位置している。河添は、「絵合巻の王昭君や楊貴妃の紙絵などが示され、まさに境界にある絵の問題がたち顕れているわけである。とはいえ、これらのボーダーの絵を、文化的ジェンダーの図式に組みこんで、唐絵の男性性／中間に位置するもの／やまと絵の女性

性という図式をつくり上げればこと済む問題なのか、じっくり考える必要がある」と主張している(河添 1999: 363-4)。つまり、唐絵の世界で楊貴妃などが描かれたため、唐の女性性を体現したもので、唐絵の男性性とやまと絵の女性性に括られない、その中間に位置するものであるかもしれない。さらに、この「長恨歌」絵と「王昭君」絵の「ボーダー性」は絵合の文脈で二つの理由によると思われる。第一は、既述のように、唐絵と倭絵の間の明瞭な境界線がないことで、第二は、いわば「空間的な」境界線もないことである。女性だけが居並ぶ藤壺御前での絵合が行なわれた襲の空間に対して、唐絵の正統性を誇る冷泉帝御前での絵合の舞台となった晴の清涼殿の西廂の間であるが、光源氏が紫上とともに「殿に古きも新しきも、絵ども入りたる御厨子」を調べた所は中立の空間となると言える。

## 物語絵の争い

中宮藤壺の前で両方の女房達による絵合の会は「弥生の十日のほど」、節会などもない長閑な春の一日に行われることになった。出家して三条宮に住んでいた藤壺中宮は、その頃偶然に宮中にあり、女房達の絵の談義に耳を傾け、その出来事にも関心を持つようになり、一堂に集めて優劣を判定するのは最善と話がまとまった。伊井は、計画された催しの内密性ということに注目し、「この絵合は外部に漏れないように進められており、「あさはかなる若人どもは、死にかへりゆかしがれど、上のも宮のも片端をだにえ見ず、いといたう秘めさせたまふ」と、藤壺と方人に限られた場での争いで、帝や中宮づきの女房たちさえも見えることができなかつた」と述べている(伊井 1990: 27)。次いで、絵合巻においては、「中宮もまいらせ給へるころにて、方／＼御覧じ捨てがたく思ほす事なれば、御をこなひもをこたりつゝ御覧ず。この人／＼のとり／＼に論ずるを聞こしめして、左右と方分かたせ給ふ」(紫 1994: 175)とあり、後見人の光源氏と権中納言とが中心となり、相手が持ち出す作品を想定しながら、中宮の前での絵合に相応しい物語絵が選定されたと思われる。

中宮のもとでの非公開で催された絵合の参加者は、左の「梅壺の御方には、平典侍、侍従の内侍、少将の命婦。右には、大武の典侍、中将の命婦、兵衛の命婦」という中臈の女房達であった。左右両方が準備した出品はいずれも卷子本で、「こなたかなたとさま／＼に多かり。物語絵は、こまやかになつかしきまざるめるを、梅壺の御方は、いにしへの物語、名高くゆゑあるかぎり、弘徽殿は、そのころ世にめづらしくをかしきかぎりをゑりかゝせ給へれば、うち見る目のいまめかしきはなやかさは、いとこよなくまされり」(紫 1994: 174) 云々を見ると、絵の収集方向の

相違は絵合の両御所の作品に反映され、古代物語のトップ作品と現代評判の流行作品との対決であることが知られる。物語中に二番四作が描かれているに過ぎないが、実際の番数はもっと多かつたであろう(伊井1990: 28)。それを別として、物語絵合の際、

まづ、物語の出で来はじめの祖おやなる竹取の翁に、うつほの俊蔭を合はせて争ふ。「なよ竹の世に古りにけること、をかきふしもなけれど、かくや姫の…絵は、巨勢の相覧、手は紀貫之書けり。紙屋紙に唐の綺を袴して、赤紫の表紙、紫檀の軸、世の常のよそひなり

「俊蔭は、…白き色紙、青き表紙、黄なる玉の軸なり。絵は常則、手は道風なれば、いまめかしうをかしげに、目もかやくまで見ゆ(紫 1994: 176-177)

とあるのによって、左の前斎宮梅壺の方の出品である『竹取物語』を絵画化したものは巨勢相覧に描かれ、詞は紀貫之書いたものである。右の弘徽殿女御の方の出品は『宇津保物語』の俊蔭を描いた物語絵であった。右方は、左方が「反論の決め手がない」ため、一番を勝った。

一番が終った後、二番には、「次に、伊勢物語に正三位を合はせて、また定めやらず。これも右はおもしろくにぎはしく、内わたりよりうちはじめ、近き世のあたりさまをかきたるは、おかしう見所まさる」(紫1994:177)という。しかし、「今度もまた勝負がつぎがたい」ことがあったので、光源氏が顔を出して女房達の論争を興味深く見守り、「おなじくは、御前にてこの勝ち負け定めむ」(紫1994:178)という二度にわたっての絵合の企画を提案した。

## 絵合にみる物語批評

石原は、藤壺中宮の前での絵合について、「その判は、不思議にも絵の優劣でなく、主人公達の行動や身分・業績などの優劣である。これは絵というよりは物語合のようなものであり、この時代人々の物語批評の一端を示すものであろう」(石原 1971: 175)と述べているが、物語中には巨勢の絵、常則絵などが陳列されたことが明白に示されている。この中宮御前の物語絵合という場面には、絵の題材や筋についての討論は、絵の優劣を競わせる一つの方法と考えられる。

絵合に提出された物語絵は延喜頃に活躍した画家によって描かれたものもあったと紫式部が記した。「勝負がつぎがたい」絵は史実の絵合にも見られるため、

絵の内容についての討論はしばしば絵合に伴った判定の折、役に立ったのであろう。中宮が参加した絵合の場合、論議の内容については、左方の、竹取の翁の弁護論に対して、右方の、同作に対する批判についての一節が挙げられる。

「なよ竹の世に古りにけること、おかしきふしもなけれど、かぐや姫のこの世の濁りにもかかれず、はるかに思ひのぼれる契たかく、神世の事なめれば、あさはかなる女、目をよばぬならむかし」と言ふ。右は、「かくや姫ののぼりけむ雲井はげに及ばぬことなれば、たれも知りがたし。この世の契は竹の中に結びければ、下れる人のことこそは見ゆめれ。ひとついゑのうちは照らしけめど、もしきのかしこき御光には並はずなりにけり。阿部のおほしが千々のこがねを捨てて、火鼠の思かた時に消えたるもいとあへなし。庫持の御子の、まことの蓬莱の深き心も知りながら、いつはりて玉の枝に疵をつけたるをあやまちとなす」(紫 1994: 176)

蓬莱の玉の枝の失敗談などは物語の欠点を論っても、「当時の『竹取物語』の評価だったわけではなく、あえて難点を剔出してみせたにすぎない」と考えられている(伊井 1990: 29)。しかも、左方の絵に対する批評と同じに、右方の物語絵とした『宇津保物語』の俊蔭巻に対する抗弁論も描写されている。

「俊蔭は、はげしき波風におぼほれ、知らぬ国に放たれしかど、猶さして行きける方の心ざしもかなひて、つゐに人のみかだにもわが国にもありがたき才のほどを弘め、名を残しける古き心を言ふに、絵のさまも唐土と日本とをとり並べて、おもしろき事ども猶並びなし」と言ふ(紫 1994: 176)。

また、『竹取の翁』と『宇津保の俊蔭』と同様に『伊勢物語』と『正三位』についての論議も行われていた。

平内侍、「伊勢の海の深き心をたどらずてふりにしあつと波や消つべき

世の常のあだ事の引きつくり飾れるにをされて、業平が名をや朽たすべき」と、争ひかねたり。右の典侍、「雲の上に思ひのぼれるころにはちいろの底もはるかにぞ見る」

「兵衛の大君の心高さはげに捨てがたけれど、在五中将の名をばえ朽たさじ」との給はせて、宮、「みるめこそうらふりぬらめ年へにし伊勢をの海人の名をや沈めむ」かやうの女言にて乱りがはしく争ふ(紫 1994: 177)

云々とあり、『竹取物語』と『伊勢物語』<sup>4</sup>に対する作者の高い評価がうかがわれる。石田が主張したように、「この二つの物語は、…物語の原型への透視を我々に許す貴重な資料なのであって、螢巻の物語論と併せて、ここには、作者の、物語に対する深い洞察をうかがわせるものがある」(石田 1980: 110-1)。

藤壺の前では明らかに物語絵の争いであったが、前掲のように、物語絵はその絵合だけに出品された。冷泉帝の御前では物語絵については一言も触られず、四季絵などの存在が語られている。また、清水が物語絵合などについては「史上の実例を勘えても、和歌にしてはじめて天徳四年に内裏に進出しえたのである。たとえ女房の侍にしろ、物語のために天子の臨御を仰ぎ、親王たち上達部が応援し判を加えるなどとは常識では考えられないのである。天喜三年(一〇五五)正子内親王の異母妹祿子内親王家において、物語合が行われたが、…この場合も、物語の人物の主なる歌をもって争ったり、物語を歌一首にまとめて争ったりしたらしく」(清水 1980: 264)と加えて論じ、上に引用した石原の見解に関係がある。つまり、祿子内親王主催の物語合の際、詠歌の歌題として用いられた物語と同様に、藤壺中宮の前での絵合において画題として利用された物語は行事の背景になっていたと推知される。

## 冷泉帝の御前における絵合

藤壺中宮の思い付きによる自発的に催された絵合に対して、冷泉院のもとで行われた絵合は感興に盛んになった場面で、光源氏の提案が具体化した行事であった。この三月二十日頃の出来事の優雅さについて原文は次のように語っている。

その日と定めて、にはかなるやうなれど、おかしきまにはかなうしなして、左右の御絵どもまいらせ給ふ。女房のさぶらひに御座よそはせて、北南かた／＼別れてさぶらふ。殿上人は、後涼殿の簀子に、をの／＼心寄せつゝさぶらふ。左は紫檀の箱にすわうの花足、敷物には紫地の唐の錦、打敷は葡萄染の唐の綺なり。

<sup>4</sup> また、甘利は「梅壺方の『伊勢物語』と弘徽殿方の『正三位物語』とが争う場において、藤壺の「在五中將の名をば、え朽さじ」という発言がある。王権に関わる〈色好み〉譚の勝敗に際して、作中人物である藤壺によって光源氏の流離生活が王権喪失の皇子としての業平と重ねられたのであり、それは「若紫」巻で『伊勢物語』引用によって藤壺密通事件が紡ぎ出されることと密接に関わる。が、この「若紫」巻において藤壺事件に先んじて光源氏が絵画の世界を志向する姿が描かれているのであり、光源氏の貴種流離譚は絵に内包されているのだと見ることもできる」と注目している(甘利 1991: 31)。

童六人、赤色に桜襲の汗衫、裃は紅に藤襲の織物なり。姿、用意など、なべてならず見ゆ。右は、沈の箱に浅香の下机、打敷は青地の高麗の錦、あしゆひの組、花足の心ばえなど、いまめかし。童、青色に柳の汗衫、山吹襲の裃着たり。みな御前に昇き立つ。上の女坊、前後と装束き分けたり。召しありて、内のおとど、権中納言、まいり給ふ。その日、帥宮もまいり給へり。いとよしありておはするうちに、絵を好み給へば、おとどの下にすゝめたまへるやうやあらむ、こと／＼しき召しにはあらで、殿上におはするを、仰せ言ありて御前にまいり給ふ(紫1994: 179-80)。

上記は村上朝の天徳四年歌合との符合を特に示すと考えられている。陳列される絵は、左右それぞれ童女によって、箱に納められて会場に運び込まれた。帝の前で開催された絵合の出品物は、源氏が新しい勝負の提案が現れた際に「いまあらためかゝむことは、本意なき事なり。たゞありけむかぎりこそ」(紫 1994: 178)と言い、従って「女房たちの白熱した論議に、光源氏が思わず「おなじくは、御前にてこの勝ち負け定めむ」と発案したのは、〈物語絵〉を用いての継続性を思わせるが、それでは勝敗がつかないことから、別種の絵の争いに切り換えた」(伊井1990: 23)。

絵合の準備期間に左方に最上した光源氏は、「かの須磨、明石の二巻は、おぼす所ありてとりませさせ給へり」(紫 1994: 178)とあるのによって、帝の前で須磨の謫居生活を描いたものを陳列しようとした。前斎宮梅壺の方の他の出品物は、物語中に

院にもかゝる事聞かせ給て、梅壺に御絵どもたてまつらせ給へり。年の内の節会どものおもしろくけふあるを、むかしの上手どものとり／＼にかけるに、延喜の御手づから事のころかかせ給へるに、又わが御世の事もかかせ給へる巻に、かの斎宮の下り給し日の大極殿の儀式、御心にしみておぼしければ、かくべきやうかはしく仰せられて、公茂が仕まつれるがいとみじきをたてまつらせ給へり。艶に透きたる沈の箱に、おなじき心葉のさまなどいといまめかし…院の御絵は、後の宮より伝はりて、あの女御の御方にも多くまいるべし。尚侍の君も、かやうの御好ましきは人にすぐれて、おかしきさまにとりなしつつ集め給(紫 1994: 178-9)

云々とある。左方は、朱雀院や朧月夜后宫にも後援され、「年の内の節会ども」「延喜の御手づから事のころかかせ給へるに、又わが御世の事もかかせ給へる巻」などのような絵画を集めて用意した。弘徽殿女御の右方が準備した出品物については不明であるが、光源氏の「須磨、明石の二巻」と同様に、右方も、「あなたにも心して、果ての巻は心ことにすぐれたるを選びきたまへる」(紫 1994: 181)

を見れば、確かに目玉を用意して、絵合に持ち寄せた。なお、絵画の鑑賞や評価に関しては作者が次のように記している。

この判仕うまつり給ふ。いみじうげにかき尽くしたる絵どもあり。さらにえ定めやり給はず。例の四季の絵も、いにしへの上手どものおもしろき事どもを選びつゝ、筆とごほらず描きながしたるさま、たとへん方なしと見るに、紙絵は限りありて、山水のゆたかなる心ばへをえ見せ尽くさぬものなれば、たゞ筆の飾り、人の心につくりたてられて、今のあさはかなるも、むかしのあとはちなくにぎわしく、あなおもしろと見ゆる筋はまさりて、多くの争ひども、今日は方／＼にけふあることも多かり(紫 1994: 180-1)

左右両方興味深い絵が多かったのであろう。左方からまだ番数が一つ残っているという最後のところで須磨の巻が出品された。「定めかねて夜に入りぬ。左は、猶数一つある果てに、須磨の巻出で来たるに、中納言の御心、さはぎにけり…その世に、心くるしかなしと思ほししほどよりも、おはしけむありさま、御心に思ししことども、たゞいまのやうに見え、所のみさま、おぼつかなき浦／＼、磯の隠れなくかきあらはしたまへり」(紫 1994: 181)ので、皆がこれに奪われ、その結果、左は勝つと定まったのである。

## 絵合の「女絵」「男絵」

平安中期の文芸においてジェンダー(文化的性差)の存在は明らかである。特に女性が嗜好した物語は、和歌よりさらに下位に置かれ、また『三宝絵』を見ると仏教信仰の立場から相応しくないと考えられても、女性の制作と享受の対象となった。「女手」の物語はいわゆる絵物語と密接に結び付き、男女の恋愛・結婚・周辺の四季の景物等といった主題を描いた紙絵を指し示すのである。絵物語に重なり合う「女絵」と呼ばれる紙絵は『源氏物語』の成立前後の作り物語や日記に現れてくる。総角巻に「御絵どものあまた散りたるを見給へば、おかしげなる女絵どもの、恋するおとこの住まぬなどかきまぜ、山里のおかしきいゑみなど、心／＼に世のありさまかきたるを」(紫 1996: 441-442)とあるように、女絵は物語絵と同様なモチーフによって組み立てられていたと推知される。池田のように、「絵物語や女絵は、その制作の目的や内容によって三つの異なる機能を有する媒体として存在していた。第一に、女達が自らの体験を重ねたり、未来を予想するなど、人生をシミュレーション

ンしながら個人的に楽しむための媒体。第二に、男女のコミュニケーションの媒体。第三に、まだ幼い権門の姫君を教育する媒体である」(池田 2002: 216)。

「女絵」という言葉は天延期に成立した『蜻蛉日記』に初出するため、十世紀中頃、既に成立していたと考えられる。「男絵」は、言葉の用例が僅かであるが、初めて『中右記』寛治八年八月十九日の「下絵左方女絵右方男絵」という記述に求められる。小林によると、十世紀中頃から後半にかけて、未だ「男絵」という言葉が成立していなかったことは、元来「女絵」と「男絵」が必ずしも対概念でなかったことを示唆するものと考えられている(小林 2006: 23)。「女絵」と「男絵」、両者の表現技法や様式の差をみると、情趣や優美を重んずる画風を採用した「女絵は濃彩の「作り絵」(墨線の下描きの上に、顔料で厚く彩色し、あらためて輪郭や文様を描き起こす)」ものであり、しばしば歌合における男性歌人の和歌料紙に歌題に沿った日本の風物を墨一色で描いた「男絵は線描主体で仕上げる」ものを指し示す(池田 2002: 220)。十世紀末における濃彩の倭絵(和絵)は隆盛に製作されるようになり、徐々に伝統的な彩色絵としての「唐絵」を凌駕し、当時の会画界を席捲する。やまと絵の隆盛により、「唐絵」までも和風化した結果、倭絵の技法や表現を採り入れて、人事や風物を墨一色で描く「墨絵」と称された一絵画ジャンルの存在が確認できる。従って、「男絵」も「墨絵」の範疇に入れられると見なされている(小林 2006: 32)。

なお、天喜四年四月三十日に後冷泉天皇の皇后藤原寛子が催した「皇后宮寛子春秋歌合」に関する「左 銀舟盛和歌葉子十帖、男女画工図歌意」という記述を見ると、男絵と女絵が歌の意を巧みに表現していたことが述べられているが(小林 2006: 22)、『源氏物語』の絵合の場合に「女絵」と「男絵」は、「藤壺中宮御前の絵合は女絵による物語絵合であったこととなり、それに対する冷泉院御前の絵合は男の世界を中心とした絵巻が持ち出された…光源氏の絵日記、権中納言の月次絵、それに醍醐天皇による年中行事絵巻と、いずれも恋物語などではなく記録的な題材の絵画化であるが、こういったものを〈男絵〉と呼んだのではないかと思う。いわば、一度目は〈女絵〉、二度目は〈男絵〉の争い」(伊井 1990: 25)であったと考えられている。

## 物語絵

上述のように、「女絵」系物語絵は、まぎれもなく「女性性」の領域に位置付けられるものである。権中納言は、梅壺女御のもとで遊ばれているのが〈物語絵〉であるのを知り、それならば素人の作品よりも絵師に描かせようと、本格的な〈物語

絵)の製作となったのであろう。このような男性の手になる物語の場面の摘出、あるいは読者の中心は女性であったにしても、物語の成立や流布には男性がかなり深く関与して、また熱心な読者であったことなども知られてくる(伊井 1990: 20)。そのため、絵物語や物語絵は男性の介入・関与の程度によって機能していた。

また、男女のコミュニケーションの媒体とした物語絵を考えてみると、重要なものであつたらう。池田によると、「物語＝文学テキストと「女絵」＝視覚的表象とは手を携えて、理想とする恋愛のモデルを与え、恋愛のプロセスにおける振る舞いや、相手に対する手本を示す。その反復される…「型」の中で男はいつも、移動し、女を発見する立場に立つ。それに対して、女は見られる立場設定された。また、「女絵」の果たす機能に視点を移すと、男は「女絵」のイメージを通じてみずからの要求を女に対して主張することができる。…絵を交換する場は、男女の交渉の場であつた」(池田 2003: 28-29, 54)と考えられている。男女のコミュニケーションをスムーズする役割を担った物語絵は、絵心がなかった浮舟に対する一人で描いた匂宮があるが、絵合巻の冷泉院の場合には梅壺女御と二人で物語絵の創作をして楽しんでいた場面が見られる。

さらに、姫君の教育のテキストとしての機能を持つ絵物語の側面は注目すべきのである。蛸巻には「紫の上も、姫君の御あつらへにことつけて、物語は捨てがたくおぼしたり。くまのの物語の絵にてあるを、「いとよかきたる絵かな」とて御覧ず。ちみさき女君の何心もなくて昼寝したまへる所を、むかしのありさまおぼし出でて、女君は見たまふ」(紫 1994: 440-1)とあり、養女の明石姫君の教育のために絵物語の収集に努めていた紫上に関するシーンが描かれている。絵合巻においても、恐らく悪い影響をもたらす恐れのある作品は排除する必要があつたため、光源氏が自ら梅壺女御方の物語絵を取捨選択した場面は、人間性の涵養を重視することと結び付いていたのであろう。姫君の成長過程に虚構の絵物語は不可欠で、社会性を養う存在として用いられた。藤壺中宮の前での絵合に当たって、左右両方の「物語絵は、こまやかになつかしさまざるめるを、梅壺の御方は、いにしへの物語、名高くゆゑあるかぎり、弘徽殿は、そのころ世にめづらしくをかきかぎりをゑりかゝせ」た出品物を準備したことが知られる(紫1994:175)。しかし、「第一回目となつた中宮の御前での絵合は…いわば女絵の絵物語をあわせることになる」(伊井 2008: 20, 傍点筆者付加)。無論、絵合では「物語絵」が出陳され、押絵入りの物語を指し示す「女絵の絵物語」ではなかつた。しかし、物語の場面や人物を絵画化したものとする物語絵は、確かに「物語を絵にしたもの」に関わっているとはいえ、この物語絵合に提出された作品はそうなつてはいない。『竹取の翁』については、「絵は、巨勢の相覧、手は、紀貫之書けり」とあり、『宇津保の俊蔭』には「絵は、常則、手は、道風」と

あることを考察すれば、絵だけではなく、詞書も付加されていることが明白である。このような詞書と絵とを持った作品は「物語絵」と考えられている(伊井 1990: 29-30)。

## 月次の絵や四季の絵

絵合巻では二回にわたって貴重な品を贈った朱雀院の姿が見られる。一回目の贈り物は、梅壺女御の入内の料として贈られたものである。第二の贈り物は、絵合のために贈られた絵である。絵合巻においては以下のような記述が窺える。

院にもかかる事聞かせ給て、梅壺に御絵どもたてまつらせ給へり。年の内の節会どものおもしろくけふあるを、むかしの上手どものとり／＼にかけるに、延喜の御手づから事のころかかせ給へるに、又わが御世の事もかかせ給へる巻に、かの齋宮の下り給し日の大極殿の儀式、御心にしみておぼしければ、かくべきやうかはしく仰せられて、公茂が仕うまつれるがいといみじきをたてまつらせ給へり。艶に透きたる沈の箱に、おなじき心葉のさまなどいといまめかし(紫1994: 1781-79)。

光源氏が秋好に与えた「女絵」に重なり合う物語絵に対しては、朱雀院は記録的な「年の内の節会」を題材とした絵を贈呈した。石原は特に「延喜の御手づから」という表現を強調し、朱雀院が醍醐天皇宸筆の年中行事節会絵を自ら時世の事、つまり院自身が在位時代・梅壺が伊勢への下向や帰京・別れの櫛を与える儀式等も新たに描き加えられた節会絵だと思っている(石原 1968: 176)。この様々な儀式の中心は天皇が齋宮の髪の毛に黄楊櫛を押す場面であった。この場面が絵画化されたのは当然であろうが、「齋宮と天皇の姿を一緒に描いた絵は、天皇の治世の理想的な姿の表現になる」(吉野 1998: 87)。

また、節会を見ると、一般的に節供や公事の日に天皇が宮中に廷臣を集めて催す酒宴を意味しているため、節会は単なる宮廷行事ではなく、本来は天皇と臣下とを結びつける特殊な場であったことが明らかである。これに従って、吉野は「節会の絵は、ある天皇の治世を一年間の儀式の場に凝縮して象徴的に図像化したもの」となり、「天皇と臣下との交流を描くものだとするならば、天皇の画像が描かれた可能性もある」(吉野 1998: 86-7)と論じているが、絵合巻に節会の絵の群像の中に天皇の姿が描かれたものが触れられたのは甚だ疑わしい。

前述のように、源氏の用意と競争しようとする権中納言の支度を述べる件においては、「物語絵」の他に「見馴れぬさま」の「例の月次の絵」が挙げられている

が、この絵は藤壺中宮の御前で陳列されなかったことがわかる。原典が語っていないが、弘徽殿女御の右方は「果ての巻」以外、恐らく「例の月次の絵」を出品したと推知させる。このようなたぐいの絵は確かに梅壺女御の左方が提出した。

いみじうげにかき尽くしたる絵どもあり。さらにえ定めやり給はず。例の四季の絵も、いにしへの上手どものおもしろき事どもを選びつゝ、筆とゞこほらず描きながしたるさま、たとへん方なしと見るに、紙絵は限りありて、山水のゆたかなる心ばへをえ見せ尽くさぬものなれば、たゞ筆の飾り、人の心につくりたてられて、今のあさはかなるも、むかしのあとほぢなくにぎわしく、あなおもしろと見ゆる筋はまさりて(紫 1994: 180-181)。

上記の「例の四季の絵」は、朱雀院が梅壺女御に贈った年中行事絵巻だったと思われる。年中行事絵巻を「四季の絵」と表現するかどうかは不明で、朱雀院治世の大極殿での齋宮下向に伴う儀式にしても、季節の絵とは関係がないはずである。前後の関係からすれば、井伊が「権中納言の「月次の絵」がふさわしいのだが、古人の筆跡ではなかったというのが決定的な難点となる」と述べ、「源氏が「古代の御絵どものはべる、参らせむ」とした一つと考えるのがよいかも知れない」(伊井 1990: 27)としている。吉野も、絵合巻に登場する「月次の絵」「節会の絵」「四季の絵」という三者は重なる要素を持ちつつも、それらの性格が異なる<sup>5</sup>と述べ、伊井の解説に従い、「例の四季の絵」を節会の絵とは別の物と考えている(吉野 1998: 85)。したがって、両者は別のものと考えれば、「節会の絵は絵合のために贈られたものではなく、絵合の競技を口述に秋好と冷泉帝に贈られた直径の権威を示す品」であったかもしれないが、「絵合の場に出して他の絵と競わせるにはふさわしくない」出品であったとも考えられる(吉野 1998: 87-8)。

## 須磨の日記絵

絵合巻における光源氏の須磨の絵日記の意義については伊井が特に論じつくしたが、ここでは特に〈男絵〉の視点から日記絵に触れておきたい。

<sup>5</sup> 吉野が解しているのによると、「月次の絵」とは「一年十二ヶ月のそれぞれの月を代表する景物や民間で行われている年中行事を順々に描く絵である。年中行事のみを描くことは少なく、自然の風物と年中行事とを交えて一年の流れを織りなすところにその特徴がある」絵であり、したがって宮廷での公式行事を絵画化する「年の内の節会」の絵とは異なる(吉野 1998: 84)。

「日記絵」という語は歴史学の分野でしばしば用いられ、また文学には「絵日記」と称し、両者とも兼用している場合もある。しかし、その特質や内容の相違を見るならば、「絵日記」は、男も女も日常の生活の表現手段として使用していた(伊井 2002: 210)。「自身が身の上を私的に、あるいは私的立場で、実生活の事実を描くものであり、その時の心境や感情の流露を記す。これに対して、「日記絵」は日記執筆者でない他者が日記を基として画くものである」(石原1968: 22)と考えられている。『源氏物語』の「旅の御日記」について、石原(1968: 22)、甘利(1991: 32)、また伊井(2002: 210)を引用してみると、「須磨・明石の滞在記が、絵日記の形成をとって描かれていた」ものだと見なされている。

物語中に源氏が書いた日記に関しての記述はいくつか見られるが、絵合巻には、まず藤壺中宮臨席の絵合の準備期間に述べられている。つまり、源氏と紫上が行事のための陳列品を選出するように二条院へ赴いた折、「古きも新しきも、絵ども入りたる御厨子ども」の一環として「かの旅の御日記の箱」も運び込ませたのである。原文ではこの場面について次のように叙述される。

かの旅の御日記の箱をも取り出でさせ給て、このついでにぞ女君にも見せたてまつり給ひける。御心深く知らでいま見む人だに、すこしもの思ひ知らむ人は、涙おしむまじくあはれなり。まいて忘れがたく、その世の夢をおぼしきますおろなき御心どもには、とり返しかなしうおぼし出でらる。いままで見せ給はざりけるうらみをぞ聞こえ給ける。

「ひとりみて嘆きしよりは海人のすむかたをかくてぞ見るべかりけるおぼつかなきは、なぐさみなましものを」との給。いとあはれとおぼして、「うきめ見しそのおりよりもけふはまた過ぎにしかたにかへる涙か」中宮ばかりには見せたてまつるべきものなり。かたはなるまじき一でうづつ、さすがに浦／＼のありさまさやかに見えたるを選り給ふついでにも、かの明石のいゑみぞ、まづいかにとおぼしやらぬ時の間なき(紫 1994: 174-175)

都を離れて、淋しく海辺に近く謫居した源氏は、宮廷の周囲とは異なったもの珍しい海山の景色や家居のありさまを絵に描いていた<sup>6</sup>。「その世の夢を思し覚ま

<sup>6</sup> 源氏の絵の制作について記述は須磨巻には「つれ／＼なるままに、色／＼の紙を継ぎつゝ手習ひをしたまひ、めづらしきさまなる唐の綾などにさま／＼の絵どもをかきすさび給へる屏風の面どもなど、いとめでたく見所あり。人／＼の語りきこえし海山のありさまを、はるかにおぼしやりしを、御目に近くては、げにをよばぬ磯のたゞずまひ、二なく描き集め給へり。「このごろの上手にすめる千枝、常則などを召してつくり絵仕うまつらせばや」と心もとながりあへり」とある(紫 1994: 32)。

す折なき御心どもには、取りかへし悲しう思し出でらる」という場面で、光源氏と紫上とが絵を前にして、かつての苦しい日々を思い出して悲しみに耽っているのは注目される。しかし、須磨・明石の沈思した日々が克明に描かれたこの日記は、折々の資料としての絵が明石で描いていたにしても、まとめたのは帰京後になってのことと思われる。特に「かの旅の御日記の箱」とあるのによって、光源氏は帰京後、絵日記を完成させるとともに、専用の箱も作らせて絵合に提出しようと秘していたことが知られる(伊井 2002: 210-2)。

前掲のように、冷泉帝の前での絵合に当たって、最後に出品した光源氏の絵日記は、予想通りに人々の心を奪って感動を与える結果となった。

左は、猶数一つある果てに、須磨の巻出で来たるに、中納言の御心さはぎにけり。あなたにも心して、果ての巻は心ことにすぐれたるを選びをきたまへるに、かゝるいみじきものの上手の、心のかぎり思ひすまして静かにかきたまへるは、たとふべき方なし。親王よりはじめてまつりて、涙とゞめ給はず。その世に、心くるしかなしと思ほしほどよりも、おはしけむありさま、御心におぼしことども、たゞいまのやうに見え、所のさま、おぼつかなき浦／＼、磯の隠れなくかきあらはしたまへり。草の手に仮名の所／＼に書きまぜて、まほのくはしき日記にはあらず、あはれなる歌などもまじれる、たぐひゆかし。たれもこと事思ほさず、さま／＼の御絵のけう、これにみな移りはてて、あはれにおもしろし。よろづみなをしゆづりて、左勝つになりぬ(紫 1994: 181)。

源氏の絵日記は季節の移ろいを背景にしながら、須磨の浦々や磯の有様を描いた自身の生活ぶりを連続した絵が含まれ、さらに「草の手に仮名の所々に書きまぜ」た詞書と情趣深い歌までが添えられていたのであろう。

光源氏が、藤壺中宮臨席の絵合と「おなじくは、御前にてこの勝ち負け定めむ」という二度にわたっての絵合の企画を提案した時、「中にもことなるはゑりとゞめ給へるに、かの須磨、明石の二巻は、おぼす所ありてとりまぜさせたまへり」(紫 1994: 178)とあるのによって、絵日記も思うところあって帝の前での絵合の方に回すことにしたのである。

須磨での四季折々の移ろいととも日々感想や生活の様子なども記録・絵画化に努めた光源氏は、既述のように、絵日記に自作の歌なども添えていたであろう。源氏の絵日記の絵は、風景自体を絵画化したものだけでなく、須磨明石の景色などを題材とした詠歌を描く絵を指すかもしれない。モストウは、このような日記絵は、特に平安時代において時には物語の要素または歌集の特徴を持った日

記と同様に、物語形式の物語絵と叙情的な歌絵の間に跨っていたもの<sup>7</sup>であると考えている。従って、殊に歌合における男性歌人が製作したものに「男絵」の意義を限局する小林（2006: 21-33）は、歌題を基にした風物を墨一色で描いた絵画だと解しているが、光源氏が自らの絵日記に含んだと思われる歌の絵画化も「男絵」という表現形式に倣っていたのだろう。

光源氏の絵日記という叙情的で私的なものが、年中行事絵巻などの節会・記録的で公的なものに対して、勝利したことは、「公的と私的との対立ということからは、その葛藤に悩まされた末に遣わされた「私もの」の光源氏の将来を考えあぐむ桐壺帝が長恨歌の絵を眺めていた姿が奇妙に重なり合う」（甘利 1991: 34）。また、「夢に桐壺院が現れ、「など、かくあやしき所にはものするぞ」と須磨の地にいるのをとがめ、「住吉の神の導きたまふままに、はや舟出して、この浦を去りぬ」との光源氏を加護し運命を領導する」（伊井 2002: 220）ことは人々が感動し、涙を禁じ得なかったのである。ここでは、絵日記の人の心を動かす内容のほか、これらの表現形式も重要であった。「あはれなる歌」や絵を含む日記は多面的に「心苦し悲し」い明け暮れた須磨の生活を見せるもので、男の目で眺めた洛外を題材として書かれたのである。

なお、絵合巻における絵日記がこれほどまでに人々の胸を打った理由は、「梅壺女御を勝利に導くとともに、冷泉後宮での確固たる地位を築き、ひいてはそれが光源氏の政権の安泰にもつながる」（伊井 2002: 219）ことが指摘され、また絵日記に「示された世界がそこにいる人々の栄華の影にひそめられている源氏の須磨流離という事実を人々に突きつけた」（太田 2001: 271）とも考えられている。

如上を見ると、光源氏の絵日記はまさに「たぐひゆかし」いものであった。小林によると、「この須磨の絵日記は、物語内において、絵日記としての外見や属性を示している。のみならず、須磨・明石は伝統的な歌枕の土地であり、その景勝を描出している点で、歌枕絵の属性をも示している」が、「絵合巻で自己引用に転位した須磨の絵日記とは、すでに絵日記から変容している。純然たる絵日記でもなく、他の物語に由来する物語絵でもなく、まして歌枕絵でもなく、…鎬ぎあう諸ジャンルの饗宴に紛れつつ、かつ、そこから離陸したメタ・ポイントに屹立する、メタ物語絵に他ならない」と考えられる（小林 1999: 499-500）。しかも、小林の「メタ物語絵」としての絵日記を別にすれば、光源氏の作品は、確かに男の世界の記録的な題材の絵画化で、すなわち「男絵」であったのであろう。男性

<sup>7</sup> 原文には、“like nikki, nikki-e ranged between narrative monogatari-e and lyrical uta-e”とある（Mostow 1988: 108）。

歌人の歌を画題とした墨一色で描いた「男絵」のような絵に限らず、この日記に叙述された四季折々の移ろいという様々な場面を絵画化した絵を指し示すのもあると考えられる。

## 「絵合」という競い

十一世紀初期、『源氏物語』所収の絵合の記述以外、絵合という行事を描写するものはない。紫式部が作った優雅な宮廷の遊戯であるこの絵合は、架空の出来事であっても、細々と描かれた催物である。しかし、二度にわたっての絵合は実際に絵合の二種を見せるのであると言える。つまり、当時の日常生活の様々な側面においては「対立」の特徴があるのがうかがえる。文芸には、「上下」、「和漢」、「聖俗」などが出てくるが、平安時代の文化に「男女」という対立は注目すべきのである。池田によると、「平安時代の文化に…しばしば男性が「女性性」の領域に越境し、男性の帯びる「女性性」が特権的な力を発揮した」が、「男性による女性文化への越境が積極的に行われる平安時代の社会では…ジェンダー間の上下関係、非対称性が見えにくくなる」(池田 2003: 25-6)と考えられている。従って、「紫式部は物語執筆にあたり、準ずべき絵合の実例は持たなかった」(清水 1980: 264)と思われるが、そのような実例があれば、女性が行った絵合を題材として絵合巻を書いたのであただろう。まず、和歌・物語を嗜好していた貴族の女性達は歌絵や物語絵を描いて鑑賞し、これらの優劣を判定し始めたと推測できる。藤壺中宮の前で主催された絵合は特に上述の「女性性」の特徴を描いている。ほとんど女性向けの物語絵という出品を対象とした絵合は女性達によって、また女性のために行われた非公式の催し物であった。池田に論じられる「男性による女性文化への越境が積極的に行われる」ことは、ここで梅壺女御の方は光源氏の援助、弘徽殿女御の方は権中納言の鬘貞によって現れてくる。元々女性界に行われたものと思われる絵合は、男性界に帯びられ、男性の評価の対象ともなる。二度目の絵合における冷泉帝の臨席は、絵合がどのように女房達などの手元から後涼殿に移ったかを見せるのである。このような女性の領域に越境したのは、絵合で陳列された絵の種類を変更しなかったならば、完全に行われていなかったであろう。なぜなら、清水(1980: 264)などの前述によれば、十一世紀始め頃、物語絵の地位が低く、天皇の御前で提出できたのは考えにくい。従って、月次絵や節会絵は出品として用いられていなかったとなれば、物語絵を対象として女房達が行う絵合だけが描かれたと思える。

以上をみれば、平安時代の文化に「男女」という対立は『源氏物語』の絵合の特徴であることは明白である。また、伊井は紫式部が描いた絵合について「女絵の絵合が「褻」の遊びだとすると、男絵は「晴」の催しとしての位置づけて」（伊井2008:21）あると述べている。この男性が参加した「晴」の催し物は、女性達が手元での「褻」の遊びである物語絵のような「女絵」を以って行われたのに対して、男性が女性文化への越境したものの一例である。

## むすび

以上、本論では『源氏物語』の絵合で出陳された「女絵」と「男絵」という点からこの絵合行事の意義を明らかにすることを試みた。十一世紀初期の絵画にも反映されていた「男女」という対立に従った特徴があるこの絵合は、二つの絵合からなり、つまり「女絵」の範疇に属する物語絵を中心とした非公式の藤壺中宮臨席の絵合および「男絵」の範疇に属する月次絵、日記絵等を出品とした公式の冷泉帝の前で開かれた催しである。一度目の絵合は、「褻」の遊びとして、当時の物語と物語絵との地位の低いことを示す。これらは、貴族女性にとって、三つの異なる機能を有する媒体であっても、女房たちなどの手元だけで鑑賞できていたものであった。それに対して、「晴」の催しとしての二度目の絵合は、宮廷の儀式・四季折々の移ろい・記録を絵画化したものという古典的な題材を中心とした絵画の場合、天皇御前での大規模な物合の様式に則って催された行事である。

要するに、女絵・男絵を中心とした『源氏物語』における絵合は、平安中期の文芸にも見られるジェンダーを証明するものだけでなく、絵画の評価鑑賞に限らず、絵の内容について討議に伴われた催し物でもあった。今後の研究では、このもっとも優雅で絢爛たる物合の一種についてさらに考察を加えていきたいと考えている。

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## English Summary of the Article

Adam Bednarczyk

**On the borderline between formal-informal.  
*Eawase* ('picture contest') in *Genji Monogatari*  
from the viewpoint of the 'female-' and 'male-pictures'**

A scene in Murasaki Shikibu's *Genji Monogatari* in which two teams were contesting for the title of the best picture is the first account on *eawase* in Japanese literature. The said competition, planned as an occasional informal entertainment, was organized again as a formal event in the presence of the Emperor. It is the pictures that played a crucial role determining the status of *eawase*. In the present article, the author discusses the meaning of contested pictures and, focusing on the so-called 'female-' and 'male-pictures', attempts to explain their relations with the perception of the formal-informal.

キーワード： 絵合、源氏物語、褻晴の関係、女絵、男絵

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REPRINTED WORKS  
OF POLISH JAPANOLOGISTS

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Jolanta Tubielewicz

# SUPERSTITIONS, MAGIC AND MANTIC PRACTICES IN THE HEIAN PERIOD

## – Part One

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The bibliographic data of all primary sources are given in the Bibliography. In quotations within the text in case of diaries and chronicles only the dates of entries are given. In case of tales in such collections as the *Reiki* or *Konjaku monogatari*, the number of the scroll is given in Roman numerals followed by the number of the tale in Arabic numerals. It follows the custom prevailing in Japanese editions.

The names of the governmental organs are written with capital letters, whereas the titles of officials – with small letters. But whenever a title forms the second component of a cognomen (e.g. Sei Shōnagon, Izumi Shikibu), it is written with a capital letter.

If not stated otherwise, all translations within the text are by the present author.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The epoch known in the Japanese history as the Heian period lasted about four centuries. There is no agreement among the historians at which dates exactly the period began and ended, and it seems that there is no hope of any agreement to be ever reached. For the beginning of the epoch the years 782, 784, 794 are often suggested, and for the ending 1167, 1185, 1191, 1192 and some others.

Any discussion of the periodization problem is beyond the scope of this work. We shall not deal with great political events nor with the economic conditions of the period, at least not extensively. It will be enough for our purpose to deal with those aspects only which shaped the vast body of superstitions and helped to form manifold magic and mantic practices. In this meaning, the present work must become, to some extent, a study in syncretism, because all the religious and semi-religious beliefs from abroad reaching the archipelago contributed greatly to enriching old native superstitions and magic practices, or to forming the new ones.

Every student of the Heian history is taught how great a role played many kinds of superstitions in everyday life of the Japanese people. All the standard books on history deal with the topic by giving many examples of superstitious fears and taboos which ruled the society and put constant restrictions on every person's behaviour. Especially impressive is the excellent study of Ivan Morris in his *World of the Shining Prince*. In two chapters (*Religions* and *Superstitions*) he gives such a convincing picture of everyday horrors ensuing from the presence of demons, possessive spirits and vengeful ghosts, that while reading it one begins to wonder how it was possible for anybody to survive in one's right mind. After some consideration, grave doubts begin to sprout: perhaps those beliefs were not so deep, after all? Perhaps all those frightful, hair-raising stories served the same purpose for the Heian people as in our times serve various novels and films labelled as "horror" or "suspense"?

The Heian literature is full of super-natural events and apparitions. It is quite easy to form a comparatively clear opinion on the imagery, pantheon, and practices.

But the main question remains: how far the belief in super-natural powers penetrated into people's mental processes, and to what extent it monitored people's behaviour? The present study will be devoted to an attempt at answering these questions.

## 1. The primary sources

When beginning this work and having the questions in mind, the present author wanted to limit the scope of research to diaries of the period and historical novels only, in order to get the most reliable evidence, not coloured with the individual fantasy of any fiction-writer.

At first, we selected five representative diaries of ladies<sup>1</sup> and one of a gentleman<sup>2</sup> and besides, two historical novels: the *Ōkagami* and *Eiga monogatari*.

After some very cursory reading it soon appeared that the historical novels do not differ much from pure fiction in dealing with such fashionable topics as demons and possessions by evil spirits. The diaries, on the other hand, are strikingly laconic in such matters. So much so that there does not appear in all six diaries even one small demon, not even a dwarf.<sup>3</sup> This is especially interesting in case of the *Murasaki Shikibu nikki*, as lady Murasaki was the authoress of the novel *Genji monogatari* on which Ivan Morris based his description of all the horrors in the *World of the Shining Prince*.

The lack of devils in the six diaries does credit to the authors' truthfulness but, at the same time it does not mean that the authors did not believe in devils. They did, in fact, believe. It is evident from many remarks scattered all over the texts. They believed in, and were afraid of, devils even if they actually did not meet any. In order to understand what they were afraid of, one must look into the fiction of the time. Reading the diaries only, one may have some glimpses of the world of superstition, but vivid picturesque descriptions of miracles and super-natural apparitions may be found, almost exclusively, in the works of literary fiction. The materials are plentiful to such an extent that the only trouble is not in finding but rather in selecting the most proper sources.

For our purpose the most important ones are two collections of legends, opening and closing the Heian period, namely the *Reiki* and the *Konjaku monogatari shū*.

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<sup>1</sup> *Kagerō nikki* by Michitsuna's mother, *Makura no sōshi* by Sei Shōnagon, *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* by lady Murasaki, *Izumi Shikibu nikki* by Izumi Shikibu and *Sarashina nikki* by Sugawara Takasue's daughter.

<sup>2</sup> *Midō kampaku ki* by Fujiwara Michinaga.

<sup>3</sup> The authors did not meet any. Some of the authors heard them or were informed about their appearance, which will be explained later on.

The *Reiki* (full title: *Nihonkoku gempō zen'aku reiki*) consists of 116 stories collected and written down by a monk of the Yakushiji temple, Keikai (Kyōkai). Little is known about the author. From one of the stories (III,38) in the *Reiki* it appears that, before entering the service in the Yakushiji, he had been married and had had children. From other stories it seems that for some time he had led half-secular and half-monkish life. He collected his stories for many years and, finally wrote them down about 823. He was apparently a man with a mission because his collection has a very strong moralistic flavour. The *Reiki* became the first native collection of Buddhist stories, although the influence of Chinese sources is quite pronounced in the text. The stories are arranged in roughly chronological order. The first volume contains 35 stories describing various events from the legendary Emperor Yūryaku<sup>4</sup> up to 727. The 42 stories of the second volume are located in time between 729 and 763. The last volume begins with a story belonging to the reign of Shōtoku tennō's reign (764–770) and ends with a story belonging to the reign of Saga tennō (809–823). There are 39 stories in the third volume.

As is evident from the dates, the majority of the stories concerns the pre-Nara and Nara periods. Only a very small portion of them belongs to the Heian period. This fact does not exclude the collection as a whole from our examination for two reasons. Primo – the author put the final touches to the *Reiki* probably in the third decade of the 9th century, i.e. in the formative years of the Heian period. Secundo – the ideas, legends, convictions expounded by him did not lose their actuality up to the end of the Heian period, and even much later. This is quite apparent from the Heian literature, and especially from the *Konjaku monogatari* and other similar collections.

The main motif of almost all the stories may be expressed as *zen'in* – *zenka* and *akuin* – *akka*, i.e. “good actions lead to good rewards” and “sowing evil leads to reaping evil”. This was the most popular formulation of the complicated Buddhist law of causation, and Keikai was not very subtle in his didactics. He expounded the idea in the crudest fashion, giving many examples of terrible suffering and most cruel death as a result of bad deeds, and on the other hand, of mundane happiness and prosperity gained by virtuous people. But, certainly, this kind of moralization was much more easily accepted than sermonizing on abstract Buddhist principles. Keikai was the first, but not the only one, to use such a method of simple story-writing for didactic purposes. The moral stories of evil punished and virtue rewarded have become one of the most favoured instruments of Buddhist preaching. Even now there appear in Japan various publications (issued by Buddhist organizations and temples) of the character very similar to the *Reiki* stories. Some of them are in the form of comics and can be perused even by children and illiterate people.

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<sup>4</sup> According to the traditional chronology he reigned from 457 to 479.

To Keikai belongs the honour of pioneering. His was a great work, written earnestly and not without a literary ambition. But for our purpose Keikai's preaching zeal, or literary merits of his work, are of the least interest. The *Reiki*, for us, is very important in these fragments which reflect superstitions of the period, not necessarily connected with any form of cult or religion, and also customs and beliefs being by-products of various religions. Even at this early stage of the development of syncretism there are in the *Reiki* some elements of several religious or semi-religious systems, with the obvious predominance of Buddhism. Keikai was a fervent Buddhist, and even when telling the stories taken straight from the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*<sup>5</sup> or from the Taoist tradition, he felt obliged (consciously or unconsciously) to dress them up in Buddhist terminology. Hence, almost all his stories – even those of non-Buddhist substance – he finished up with a moral from a sutra.

As it was stated above, the *Reiki* was written in the initial decades of the Heian epoch, and chronologically we will begin our investigation from there. We will finish it at the *Konjaku monogatari* which appeared about 300 years later, when the Heian society had already passed the peak of its prosperity and its culture was on the wane.

The *Konjaku monogatari* consisted of 31 scrolls, but three of them have been lost (VIII, XVIII, XXI). In its present form there are more than 1000 legends extant. The authorship is much discussed and no reasonable conclusion is in sight. As for the date there is no agreement, either, but it may be safely assumed that the work was finished between the years 1110 and 1130. It is the greatest collection of legends in Japan. All the stories are arranged in three big groups forming the geographic division, and within the groups they are further divided thematically.

The scrolls I–V describe the life of Shaka and his disciples, various events demonstrating the spiritual power of Buddhism and exploits of many prominent monks in India. The climate of the stories is purely religious.

The scrolls VI–IX may be classified as Buddhist legends of China, but here are some stories of a strong Confucian coloration (e.g. scroll IX, devoted to the discharge of filial duties). The scroll X groups anecdotes on various persons in China not connected with any religious system (or, at least, not directly).

Prom the scroll XI begins the Japanese part of the collection. It is also divided into the Buddhist stories (up to XX) and the lay stories (XXII–XXXI), and further sub-divided thematically. Inside the thematic groups there is evident another systematic division into: historical, apologetic and moralizing stories.

For an average Japanese in the 12th century India, China and Japan formed the whole world. A small educated elite or those few who travelled abroad heard

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<sup>5</sup> The *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* are sacred books compiled in 712 and 720 respectively. They relate myths, legends and semi-historical accounts based on oral tradition, and centered around the imperial court. Shinto theology has developed largely through the interpretation of their mythology.

about Persia and perhaps some other countries on the silk road, but the countries were mysterious and so far away as not to be of the slightest concern for them. Thus, from the geographical point of view, the *Konjaku monogatari* had the ambition to collect the stories from the three countries forming the Japanese universe: India – the birth-place of Shaka and other Buddhist patriarchs; China – the great mentor in all kinds of arts; and Japan – the centre of the Japanese cosmos.

From the social point of view the *Konjaku monogatari* is remarkable in its wide range of presented dramatis personae. There are people from every strata of society: persons of royal blood, aristocrats, courtiers, officials from the capital and from provinces, soldiers, physicians, learned astrologers, fishermen, carpenters, beggars, monks and nuns, courtesans and many many others. Side by side with them there appear innumerable strange apparitions, ghosts and devils, and animals endowed with super-natural powers.

The materials for the stories were obtained partly from the oral tradition, but mostly they were drawn from earlier collections and Buddhist scriptures. There are, for instance, over 70 stories taken from the *Reiiki*. Some of the non-religious stories come from the collections compiled by Miyoshi Kiyotsura and Ki no Haseo.

The *Konjaku monogatari* collection, from the moment of its appearance up to the modern times, has exerted a strong influence on many writers and playwrights. Many stories have been utilized as the themes of novels, short stories and theatrical plays. For our purpose, it is indispensable as a rich source of descriptions concerning superstitions of the Heian period. The fact that the descriptions are not limited to the upper classes only is of special value, as most of the Heian literature (romantic and historical novels, diaries, etc.) was created by representatives of aristocracy and tended to be rather limited in its scope, clinging to the world and affairs of the aristocrats. In this respect the *Konjaku monogatari* is similar to the *Reiiki*. It may be very interesting to compare the same stories in both collections. It becomes evident then that the main thread of the stories has been left unchanged (in most cases even the proper names remained the same) but the economic conditions and institutions have changed markedly during those 300 years<sup>6</sup>.

Both collections, invaluable as sources of our knowledge of superstition and magic, have the same disadvantage; they show the world as a place where miracles happen all the time, where every mountain and lake is inhabited by super-natural creatures ready to intervene into people's affairs at a moment's notice, and where live crowds of holy men "stopping the birds in flight with their powerful spells".

The intentions of the authors may be summarized as preaching and moralizing in the *Reiiki*, and entertaining in the *Konjaku monogatari*. There were no such intentions in diaries of the period.

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<sup>6</sup> For the institutional changes from the *Reiiki* up to the *Konjaku monogatari* period, see *Nihon reiiki* 1976.

The authors of the diaries described the actual world and their own lives in a more matter-of-fact way, without escaping into the world of pure fantasy. Even romantic ladies indulging in day-dreaming kept themselves within the limits of probability. Because of that common feature of the diaries we would like to place them on the opposite pole from the tendentiously written collections devoted only to miracles, strange creatures and extraordinary events.

The diaries chosen for our purpose, from the chronological point of view, fall between the *Reiki* and the *Konjaku monogatari*. The earliest of them, *Kagerō nikki*, written by a lady known as Michitsuna's mother, is also the earliest of existing diaries of ladies in Japan.

The authoress was a daughter of Fujiwara Tomomasa. She was born possibly in 936 and died probably in 995. Her father, although a Fujiwara, belonged to the not highly respected class of provincial governors, and thus he was quite satisfied when, in 954, Fujiwara Kaneie of the most powerful Hokke branch of the clan, began to court his daughter. After a very short period of courtship the girl was given to Kaneie as his secondary wife. In the next year she gave birth to her only child, the boy Michitsuna. As Kaneie was a person of a very capricious and amorous disposition, the lady suffered long periods of loneliness and most bitter jealousy. In her diary she recorded mostly facts and emotions connected with her unhappy marriage. The first scroll of the diary covers the years 954–966. It was written in retrospect at the time when the authoress had already been embittered by Kaneie's coldness. The next scroll covers the period from 969 to 971 and, judging by the narrative, it was written currently, though not as a day by day record of events, but as reflections and descriptions jotted down from time to time. The last scroll covers also a three years period and ends rather abruptly in 974.

Next of the diaries is the famous *Makura no sōshi* – a splendid collection of various notes and essays written by the lady known as Sei Shōnagon, a lady-in-attendance who served at the court of Empress Sadako (Teishi)<sup>7</sup>. Sei Shōnagon was a daughter of Kiyohara Motosuke, a renowned poet. Many members of the Kiyohara family were well known for their literary achievements, and Sei Shōnagon was perhaps the most brilliantly gifted of the talented family. Unluckily, many basic facts of her life, not covered by the time-span of the diary, are still obscure and are much discussed in the scholarly world. The diary itself was written during the authoress's period of service at the court, but it is not known exactly when, although there exist many theories on the point. Anyhow, the entries concerning life at the court, though not recorded in any chronological order, and mostly in retrospect, describe various events between 986 and 1000.

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<sup>7</sup> There is no agreement among the Japonologists how to pronounce many names – mostly female ones. In order to satisfy both parties to the discussion, we shall give two forms of disputable names, the Japanese, and the Sino-Japanese ones.

The *Izumi Shikibu nikki* is the diary of another talented lady born into another famous family of literati, the Ōe. The lady's father, Masamune, was once employed in the Ministry of Ceremonies (Shikibushō), and her first husband (Tachibana Michisada) was the governor of the Izumi province – hence her cognomen, Izumi Shikibu. She was a renowned beauty, and was known as a very warm-hearted lady. Her love-affairs were a common topic of conversation in the aristocratic society of Heian kyō. So much so, that she was even called *ukareme* – a floating woman. The *Izumi Shikibu nikki* is the chronicle of love between the authoress and Atsumichi shinnō during ten months of 1004. Some modern scholars<sup>8</sup> express doubts concerning the authenticity of the diary. According to their theory the diary was not written by the heroine herself, but by somebody else, somebody who used poems exchanged between the lady and her lover, and the lady's notes and correspondence. For our purpose, the diary is a document of the epoch, regardless of who was its author. From the point of view of superstition and magic it is rather futile and colourless, but that feature in itself forms a valuable negative evidence, and besides, it may be treated as evidence contradictory to other historical sources<sup>9</sup> on one interesting point, namely the superstitious fear displayed by Atsumichi shinnō of evil spirits. The prince of the diary looks like a person afraid only of his powerful relatives, but not of any super-natural powers.

The diary of Murasaki Shikibu is the shortest one, and it describes the events at the court of Empress Akiko (Shōshi) from 1008 to 1010. It is supposed to be written one or two years later than the recorded events, but it creates a most vivid picture of life at the court just at the time when the Empress gave birth to her two sons. Thanks to that, the diary contains invaluable evidence of magic practices in such important moments as the confinement of the Empress. Besides, the personality of lady Murasaki emerging from her diary is very interesting to us because she was greatly influenced by Buddhist thought and was rather inclined to scorn and ridicule some native religious customs. Nevertheless, she was not free from superstitions originating in the primitive Shintoist tradition. She was perhaps the most intelligent among her literary lady-rivals, she had strongly developed powers of observation and of description, and her erudition was unrivalled in that small but important circle of ladies-in-attendance. Due to that, her works give the most reliable picture of the Heian society, 'but the picture is limited to the class which the authoress knew best, i.e., to the aristocracy.

Lady Murasaki was born into a minor branch of the Fujiwara family. Her father, Tametoki, served for long periods as a provincial governor, but he did not neglect his scholarly pursuits, either. He was determined to give a good education to his son, but it transpired that his daughter who assisted at the lessons, was much

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<sup>8</sup> Cranston 1969 and *Heian chō bungaku jiten* 1972: 265–6.

<sup>9</sup> *Eiga monogatari* 1964: 113.

more talented, and learned faster than the son. It was a cause for regret, as the girls indulging in learning were frowned upon. The daughter, in her later years, was forced to hide from the world the knowledge gained in her childhood. When she was about twenty she was married (probably in 999) to Fujiwara Nobutaka. After some two years of seemingly happy married life she was widowed in 1001<sup>10</sup>. Few years later she entered the service at the court of Empress Akiko, It is not known how long she stayed there, if, afterwards, she became a nun of not, and, finally, when she died. There are many theories and conjectures but no conclusive evidence. It is also unknown when her greatest work *Genji monogatari* was written. The description of this great opus in a few sentences is extremely difficult, as the *Genji monogatari* is considered the greatest and the longest of Japanese novels, and holds a unique position in the literary history of the whole world. It consists of 54 scrolls forming separate chapters but the story unfolds itself consistently from chapter to chapter. The novel is sometimes qualified as a saga (there are four generations described in detail), sometimes as the first psychological novel in the world. The action of the novel stretches for about 80 years. Apart from the persons belonging to the immediate family and relatives of the main hero (Hikaru Genji) and his descendants, there appear several hundred other persons<sup>11</sup>, and almost every one of them is invested by the authoress with an individual character and motivations of his or her deeds.

From our point of view the *Genji monogatari* is the most comprehensive description of the Heian period. It is a work of fiction, that is true, but it was intended as a realistic novel, and it reflects everyday life of aristocracy in the capital as well as in the provinces, and deep convictions of the authoress concerning also those spheres of life that are called today superstition or magic. Lady Murasaki's beliefs are of a special value because she was a very serious-minded and sober person, and in regard to super-natural apparitions she was more sceptical than many of her contemporaries. There are more unorthodox ideas expressed in her work of fiction than in personal, intimate diaries of other ladies<sup>12</sup>.

The last and latest of the ladies' diaries, we would like to mention as one of our primary sources, is the *Sarashina nikki* written by a person who is known as Sugawara Takasue's daughter. Her father belonged to the same class of provincial governors as Fujiwara Tametoki, and there was also a long literary tradition in the family. She was born in 1008. At the age of ten she went with her father to a far-away province and returned to the capital in 1020. The first part of her diary describes her return journey in a great wealth of detail. For a long time after

<sup>10</sup> According to Ivan Morris, it is "the first fairly definite date in her life", see Morris 1964: 254.

<sup>11</sup> According to Morris "four hundred and thirty", see Morris 1964: 265.

<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, we do not try to include the *Genji monogatari* into the category of diaries. It seemed proper to mention it in this place only because of the person of the authoress.

settling in the capital she lead a not very happy life and her only joy she found in reading romantic novels. Among others, she read the *Genji monogatari*, and her admiration for the novel knew no bounds. At the advanced age of 32 she became a lady-in-attendance at the court of princess Yūshi naishinnō, but the life at court did not suit her. She married Tachibana Toshimichi, who also belonged to the class of provincial governors. He died in 1058 and left her greatly depressed and engrossed in religious thought and visions. Her diary written mostly in retrospect covers a considerable space of time. It begins in 1020 and ends in 1062.

The five diaries considered together spread over one century. They show the Heian society on the aristocratic level as seen through the eyes of five completely different ladies: oversensitive, jealous and neurotic lady Kagerō; tender, romantic Izumi Shikibu; vigorous, self-conceited and sarcastic Sei Shōnagon; over-indulging in introspection but otherwise very straightforward Murasaki; and humourless, embittered and visionary lady of the *Sarashina nikki*.

Such a collection of characters and events shown in the diaries is good for research undertaken by the sample method. It guarantees different approaches to the same problems. But it seems necessary to compare the ladies' diaries with some masculine approach. For this purpose we chose the most representative (from the personal point of view) diary of a statesman, Fujiwara Michinaga.

The *Midō kampaku ki* is the oldest diary of which some parts have survived in their original form. There are 14 scrolls in Michinaga's own brush (kept as a "national treasure" in the Yōmei bunko library), 12 scrolls of an old copy traditionally ascribed to Michinaga's son, Yorimichi; 5 scrolls of extracts from the original diary; and many other old copies made at various times (some of them were copied from the original, and some from later copies). The original and the copies taken together cover a period of about 27 years from 995 up to 1021, but there are long gaps not covered by any of the existing texts.

The diary has a special value as a historical document because its author was the most powerful statesman of the Heian period. He was born in 966 as the fifth son of Fujiwara Kaneie (the unfaithful husband of lady Kagerō). In 995 "Michinaga thrust aside the real head of the clan, his nephew Korechika, and carried the autocracy of the Fujiwaras to its apogee. For more than thirty years (995–1027) his word was law, if not in Japan, at least in the capital (...). He thus became the father-in-law of four Emperors and the grandfather of as many"<sup>13</sup>. The diary of such a powerful man can provide us with many clues to the life of the period at the highest hierarchical level. Of a special interest to us are the entries concerning various rites performed at the court for the sake of the Emperor and his closest family. Besides, there are some illuminating notes on the black magic of the time: Michinaga was not universally admired, and there were persons whose hate of him

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<sup>13</sup> Murdoch 1910: 259.

prompted them to magic practices intended as means of destroying him (in fact, not very effective ones, as he lived longer than most of his bitterest enemies).

The historical tales (*rekishi monogatari*) are treated by historians as veritable historical sources but with some reservations. They describe mostly events that really happened at some time, even if they are often hazy about dating, proper names or places. But very often they add quite unbelievable interpretations or embellish the stories with super-natural apparitions and influences. As the material for our study they may be placed between the diaries and pure fiction. At present there exist eight such works covering together an expanded period: from the legendary “age of gods” up to 1603. For our purpose the most important ones are, already mentioned, *Eiga monogatari* and *Ōkagami*.

The *Eiga monogatari* was probably the first in this group to be written. It consists of 40 scrolls (chapters). Scrolls from 1 to 30 describe various events at the court during 140 years beginning in 889. The final ten chapters were added probably as an afterthought. It is a generally accepted opinion that the original work consisted of those 30 chapters only, especially as there is a lapse of three years between the 30th and 31st chapter. A similar gap occurs between the 37th and 38th chapter, which also gives a ground for supposition that here is a demarcation line between the works of different authors. The last date mentioned in the *Eiga monogatari* is the year 1092. The authorship and the date of composition are still under discussion. The overriding opinion is that the first 30 scrolls were written after 1027 but before 1033, and the rest of the work after 1092, but before 1107.

The *Eiga monogatari* is rather verbose, the dates are often not clear or incorrect, but it gives a detailed picture of everyday life, especially in those portions of the narrative which repeat facts and gossip preserved in the oral tradition among the court ladies.

The *Ōkagami* is composed in the form of reminiscences of two very old men, Shigeiki and Yotsugi, who tell stories of fourteen Emperors (from Montoku<sup>14</sup> to Goichijō<sup>15</sup>) and biographies of twenty Fujiwara ministers. The stories begin in 850 and the last confirmed date is the year 1025. The author is unknown and the dates of composition proposed by scholars range from 1025 up to the late 12th century.

The text repeats in a mere condensed and factual form most of the facts given in the *Eiga monogatari*. The style is more fluent and not without humour and irony. The *Eiga monogatari* has all the marks of literature for ladies, while the *Ōkagami* has all the marks of a masculine approach.

In addition to the above mentioned eleven primary sources, there are some others, occasionally quoted in this work. Among them are the *Nihon kiryaku* and *Shōyūki* which deserve a few words of explanation.

<sup>14</sup> Reigned 850–858.

<sup>15</sup> Reigned 1017–1036.

The *Nihon kiryaku* is a historical work describing the history of Japan from the legendary period of gods up to the reign of Goichijō tennō. It is unknown when and by whom the work was compiled. Up to the reign of Kōkō (884–887) the materials were drawn from the Six National Histories (*Rikkokushi*). Since the reign of Uda (857–897) the court chronicles and private diaries were used for compilation.

The *Shōyūki* is the diary of a statesman, Fujiwara Sanesuke (957–1046). He kept it between 978 and 1032 but the existing text covers 31 years only. Sanesuke was a man of upright character, he was very serious-minded, and he was endowed with the making of an excellent historian. He was engrossed in the matters concerning the court ceremonial and court rites, and besides, he was always very well informed about all strange or scandalous happenings in the capital.

## 2. The scope of the work

We do not intend to describe all the religious systems which co-existed in Japan in the Heian period. Quite to the contrary, we would like to avoid any encroachment upon purely religious grounds and, if possible, exclude from our description any rites or forms of magic that were performed in the enclosures of temples and shrines. It is not an attempt at simplifying matters for the writer but only a practical consideration. The religions (Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Tantrism, Hinduism, Shintō) have such a vast bibliography in all possible languages of the world that writing about them in this work seems to be, mildly speaking, superfluous. On the other hand, as far as the present author knows, there is no monograph devoted to the superstition and magic of the Heian period (except for separate chapters in various standard histories and works on Heian culture and religion). And thus, the present study is an attempt at collecting various informations on that subject and presenting them by means of samples from primary sources with general conclusions drawn in the final chapter.

But, certainly, while concentrating on our subject we cannot turn our back at religions as a whole. It is generally known that many superstitions have been by-products of a religion, that magic or divination have been practised in close contact with religious rites, while many soothsayers and sorcerers have been priests belonging to some ecclesiastical body.

The greatest difficulty lies in defining what belongs to a religion and what is beside it, because the line of demarcation is often so thin as to be almost, or completely invisible. It is especially true in all matters connected with Shintō – here the difficulty is greatly enhanced by the elusive nature of the religion itself. The nature is so deceptive that one may hesitate to call Shintō a religion. The term “a complex of cults and beliefs” seems to be more appropriate.

Under the term “religion” we are inclined to understand those socio-cultural phenomena which embraces 1. a common doctrine (based on a belief in supernatural powers) as the theoretical side of the religion; 2. a common cult expressing the practical side of the religion; 3. an ecclesiastical organisation as the institutional side of the religion.

As superstitions we would like to treat the irrational fears and beliefs, including practices based on them, not accepted by officially recognized religious systems or not incorporated into the doctrines of such systems.

We would like to approach them in this manner but with Shintō and, to a great extent, with the Heian Buddhism, the problem does look next to hopeless.

It is true, though only partly true, that Shintō became to some extent codified in the 8th century by formulating its Holy Bible in the shape of *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. Both works contain the official mythology and official concepts of the universe (by “official” we mean here the concepts sponsored, and even forced upon the nation, by the then ruling elite). The official cult, centered around the goddess Amaterasu as the heavenly ancestress of the imperial family has not been identical with more general, but at the same time much more primitive, animistic beliefs spread in many variants all over the archipelago. Even observing festivities and other customs of numerous small shrines today we can easily recognize the remnants of those very old and primitive beliefs. Up to this day most of the local divinities have no concrete forms, and they are worshipped as the powers of nature, as spirits (shapeless and often nameless) of water, wind, thunder and rain. Up to the present they have remained bodiless, since the remote past, from before the time when the ruling class began to propagate a universal belief in anthropomorphic gods and goddesses of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. It should be noted, however, that the court compilers did not try to undermine the whole fabric of local beliefs. It was sufficient for their purposes to emphasize the dynastic aspect of the cult. The official mythology and official cult of Amaterasu, and of many other deities have been accepted but they have never penetrated so deeply into the very substance of local cults as to be able to blot out the older and more primitive forms. The mixture of the official and local cults came to be known as Shintō, but the doctrine has never been clearly defined<sup>16</sup>. As for the cult and ecclesiastical organization there were some attempts undertaken to put them into order. The Engi shiki regulations (927) formulated some rules concerning the hierarchy of shrines and priests, rules concerning rites, prayers and offerings. But the regulations were issued already at the time when Buddhism became more like the national religion

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<sup>16</sup> According to Yamakami Izumo it is possible to speak about purley native cults in Japan up to the 6th century. The author proposes for them the term gen-Shintō (original Shintō). Later on, the native cults became more and more syncretic, being mixed in varying proportions with imported ideas of Buddhist, Confucian, and Taoist provenience. Yamakami 1975: 6.

than Shintō, and the regulations (still barely touching the surface of local cults) were limited to the circles interested in the dynastic aspects of the cult, that is to the imperial court, and not very much further.

Buddhism in the Heian period was not unified as well. There were many schools and sects, great reformers displayed fervent activity, new trends were gaining ground. The religion as a whole flourished – the doctrine had the official approval and financial support of the imperial court and aristocracy, its clergy was numerous and well organized, its temples were full of treasures. Through the medium of didactic literature various Buddhist ideas began to infiltrate from amongst the educated elite into the deepest strata of human minds. The process of infiltration was not rapid outside the aristocracy, but even to the remote villages reached at least some of the ideas, though they were soon distorted and sucked into the amorphous body of local beliefs.

Popular Buddhism of the Heian period has already had a long history on the archipelago, but the old schools of the Nara period (the 8th century) were not as flourishing at that time as new sects brought directly from China at the beginning of the 9th century. These new sects belonged to the esoteric fraction of Buddhism (*mikkyō*). In Japan they were known as Tendai and Shingon. Both sects had strong admixtures of magic practices and rites peculiar to Tantrism and Hinduism with a dash of Taoism. Their profound philosophic foundations were beyond the grasp of majority of their followers, while their mystic rites, spells and incantations found many ardent admirers.

As the time passed the *mikkyō* sects began to lose their character of closed religious bodies guarding the nation as a whole (which they had had at the beginning). The clergy mingled freely with their rich patrons, great temples became monopolized by the most powerful families (e.g. Tōdaiji by the imperial, family, Kōfukuji by the Fujiwaras). Prayers for the prosperity of the country gave way to prayers for happiness of rich clients. Many monks were treated (and highly respected) in the role of quack-doctors curing people with their magic formulae.

In this respect Buddhism found its point of contact with the most popular aspects of native shamanism. There were, certainly, successful attempts at combining Buddhism and Shintō on a higher level, which slowly developed into various syncretic doctrines. But they could not have a large popular following, while the rites of exoneration or spells and charms were attractive to the simplest minds. Not only attractive, but also intelligible on the basis of comparison with traditional Shintoist rites, spells and charms.

Finally, those lowest forms of practices of both the Buddhist and Shintoist provenience, mixed together to such an extent that they formed variegated, tangled mass of superstitions and magic. Taking all that into account it is really difficult to find a line of demarcation between Buddhist religion *sensu stricto* and superstitions or magic practices connected remotely with Buddhism and not included into its doctrines. For this reason we would like to limit the scope of our work to

those beliefs and practices that were popular among people not connected directly with any religious body. In case of monks and priests we shall not be interested in persons belonging to temples and shrines and behaving in the orthodox manner within their enclosures. But there were many monks who lost contact with their mother church and engaged themselves in forbidden practices. Their activities will be of interest to us. Close attention must be also paid to those exorcists and other sacerdotal magicians who did not sever their ties with their church, and were employed by private persons, outside their temples or shrines. They are quite important from our point of view because they exerted a direct influence on great masses of laic people, and they were mainly responsible for spreading and strengthening many kinds of superstitious belief and practices. Without them it would be impossible to form any picture of the Heian society.

### 3. The historical background

The Heian literature was created by the representatives of one class only, by the aristocrats. This aristocratic society, over-important as it was, formed a very small and tightly closed circle. Through the literature of the time we can get from time to time only brief glimpses of the other world, the world of labourers, peasants, robbers, fishermen (the *Reiiki*, *Konjaku monogatari*). The Heian gentlemen sometimes wrote in their diaries about riots, petitions, and demands (the *Midō kampaku ki*, *Shōyūki*). The ladies who had no direct encounters with rioters, from time to time watched furtively peasant performances or labourers working near their mansions. They looked at them as if at strange exotic creatures, half amusing and half frightening, but most certainly not belonging to their sublime world. But even this sublime world was not unified. Far from it. There existed a strict hierarchy with many social levels according to birth, rank and office. At the top of the social ladder was the imperial family. Next to it *kuge*<sup>17</sup> families and other officials of high ranks, then – innumerable lower officials, then – provincial governors, and at last – the landed gentry regarded with mild contempt by the highbrows from the capital. Many members of the landed gentry were immensely wealthy but wealth itself was not enough to open for them the palace gates. There was a chasm between the capital and provinces. For this reason the present study must be necessarily limited geographically to the capital and socially to the aristocracy, with only occasional excursions to other regions and other classes.

The Heian period was remarkable in many ways. One of the characteristic features was the above-mentioned growth of that tightly-knit class of aristocracy

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<sup>17</sup> *Kuge* – a generic name for persons of the highest ranks (mostly from the third rank up, but some persons of the fourth rank were also included).

and the gap between the capital and provinces. It would have been impossible for the aristocracy to dominate the country if there were wars going on. But one of the most important characteristics, distinguishing Heian from any other period, is a long span of time of comparative peace. The northern frontiers were never quite free from danger, but after subduing the Ainu at the close of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century there were no big campaigns launched against them. There was a piracy rampant at the shores along the Inland Sea but the central government was not interested in this problem leaving it to the local authorities. In the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century there was in the south a revolt of Fujiwara Sumitomo, and in the north of Taira Masakado. Both rebels were captured and killed in their own areas of operations, and they did not disturb the tranquility of the capital. The elegant life in Heian kyō could float without bloody intervals. With no immediate danger from outside, the high society could and did concentrate all its efforts on purely intellectual and cultural pursuits. It is the next feature distinguishing Heian from the preceding and following periods – that unique atmosphere of aesthetic activity taking precedence over any other kind of activity. The high degree of aesthetization of everyday life would have been impossible at that stage of historical development without a strong influence brought from the continent. The sinization of institutional, economic and social life forms another characteristic feature of the Heian period. But, certainly, it should be kept in mind that the continental influence in its manifold shapes had reached Japan much earlier, long before the Nara period. The 8th century was a period of adjustment during which many of the institutions borrowed from China began to break down and they were gradually replaced by purely Japanese ones. During that century the imperial rulers began to lose their real authority because of an uncontrolled growth of huge tax-exempt estates. The state revenue shrank rapidly and the economic strength shifted from Emperors to their subjects – to the most powerful among the holders of tax-exempt estates.

When we come to the Heian period we can observe the Emperors presiding over literary contests, viewing blossoming flowers of the season, absorbed in calligraphy and painting or playing the flute, but rarely bothering about sordid details of administration. In their name ruled regents or chancellors of the Fujiwara clan, who had amassed great riches and had gained a hegemony over the political life of the country.

As it has already been stated, the 8th century was a period of adjustment. The process was going on and the next century saw many important developments, the most important being a reaction against the direct Chinese influence, China ceased to be the great mentor in the matters of state. It finally led to withholding official missions at the end of the 9th century. Since then, although a fashion for things Chinese did not disappear, there was a marked tendency to turn towards more Japanese forms in administration and economy. In social and in religious life

the Chinese influence was still very strong, but without fresh impulses from the continent there came time for various already imported ideas to penetrate into the spiritual life of the people, and subsequently, to push aside or mix together with the indigeneous cults and customs. In that respect, a particular emphasis should be put on the development, under the official sponsorship, of pseudo-scientific theories brought from China and known as the Ommyōdō (or On'yōdō) – the way of *on* and *yō* (Chinese: *yin* and *yang*), that is two principles: passive (dark, feminine) and active (light, masculine) which produce all phenomena of the universe by their operation upon the five basic elements (fire, water, wood, metal, earth). The theory of mutual interaction by two principles and five elements (*ommyō gogyōsetsu*) has had a very long tradition in China and from it have sprouted various Chinese philosophic and religious systems. It has also given an impulse for pursuance of such scientific studies as astronomy, meteorology and mathematics. Under a steady pressure of popular magic and mantic practices astronomy deteriorated into astrology and into other pseudo-scientific branches like geomancy, reading celestial and earthy portents, fortune-telling and quackery.

To Japan this already syncretic mixture of science, superstition, magic and divination came during the reign of Suiko tennō (592–628). It was warmly welcomed as a scientific system much more superior to native, primitive methods of shamanic nature. The Taihō code of 701 established a bureau called Ommyōryō as one of the bureaus of the Nakatsukasashō (Ministry of Central Affairs). The Ommyōryō was divided into four departments:

1. The most important of them was that which dealt with divination and geomancy. It was the Ommyōryō proper. Its staff consisted of five officials with administrative authority, six masters of divination (*ommyōji* or *ommyōshi*), one high master of divination (*ommyō hakase*<sup>18</sup>) and ten apprentices.
2. The second department of Ommyōryō consisted of 11 persons preparing calendars: one *reki hakase* (high master of calendar-making) and ten apprentices.
3. The next department was devoted to astronomical observations with the special task of looking for omens. It should be noted that the observations were conducted without any instruments. The staff of the astronomical division consisted of 11 persons, too: one *temmon hakase* (high master of astronomy) and ten apprentices.
4. In the last department there were two *rōkoku hakase* (high masters of the water-clock) whose duty was fixing the time and proclaiming it. Under them were 20 people.

There was no rigid division of professional functions. One man could work in two or three departments of the bureau. The chief of the bureau (*ommyō no kami*) was even obliged to supervise personally the works on calendar, he had to observe

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<sup>18</sup> *Hakase* is often translated as “doctor”.

wind and clouds, he had to interpret celestial and earthy omens, which functions belonged to three of the four departments. Other people could specialize in various functions, too. But since the middle Heian there came about to a virtual division of specializations between two families. From the 8th century onwards, the Kamo family practically monopolized astronomy and calendar-making. One of the most prominent practitioners was Kamo Yasunori (917–977), who conveyed his knowledge of calendar-making to his son Kōei (939–1015), and his knowledge of astronomy to his pupil, Abe Seimei (921–1005). After Yasunori's death the Kamo family specialized in calendar, while the Abe family monopolized astronomy.

The achievements of Kōei and Seimei (and other official practitioners) in their respective official functions were not as famous as those in divination and magic. And also their official salaries were not as big as their profits from private persons. The Ommyōdō of the Heian time has already been very far advanced in the process of deterioration from scientific, or even pseudo-scientific systems into crudest forms of magic and a source of superstition. As a science it was dying, as a magic it was very much alive. But the official soothsayers had to strive hard not to be ousted by unofficial competitors. The learning of Ommyōdō had been kept as a secret knowledge inside the *ommyōji* families, but gradually some elements of it crept outside and penetrated into other people's cognition. They mixed with elements of Buddhist mystic practices, Shintoist practices of shaman tradition, and other sundry forms of magic. This strange medley entered the life of aristocracy as well as of common people and created a favourable climate for activity of various magicians, sorcerers and fortune-tellers. On the other hand, many popular beliefs and various kinds of magic penetrated into the officially sponsored Ommyōdō. *Ommyōji* were forced to broaden their scope of activity because they were often summoned by the imperial family and other high personages demanding advice in matters being beyond the official responsibilities of the Ommyōryō.

One of the most common forms of superstition propagated by *ommyōji* was the belief in auspicious and inauspicious days, months, and years; auspicious and inauspicious directions; auspicious and inauspicious omens. Very interesting documents of the epoch constitute the so called, *guchūreki* calendars. They were prepared by the *reki hakase* in every 10th moon for the following year and distributed among the members of the imperial family, among all the officials, and also sent to the provincial governors. In the calendars there were entered all the inauspicious days presaged by the *reki hakase* in cooperation with the *ommyōji* and *temmon hakase*. The days were determined by interpretation of portents and by other mantic methods based on belief in influence of celestial bodies and celestial and earthy divinities on people's destinies. There were more than eighty inauspicious days in every year.

Another source of officially sponsored superstition was the noble science of medicine. The bureau of medicine (Ten'yakuryō) was also established by the Taihō

code. The original learning came from China before the Nara period. Many Chinese books were imported – in the catalogue compiled by Fujiwara Sukeyo between 889 and 898 there are mentioned 1309 scrolls of medical treatises. In the 9th century this flow was stopped by the interruption of official relations between the countries (in 894). The Japanese began to pursue their own studies and write their own treatises.

The scientific level of medicine was so low that it should be more properly called quackery. The anatomy was almost unknown. The diagnostics was based on superstitious beliefs, and the treatment on magic. In diagnostics there were three theories applied:

- 1) *fūdoku setsu*, a theory based on the belief in poisonous miasma entering a body;
- 2) *kijin jajin setsu*, a theory of evil spirits possessing a body (in this theory there was room for all the mononoke, shiryō, ikiryō, demons and animals possessing people);
- 3) *shidai fuchō setsu*, a Buddhist theory of incompatibility of four great elements (earth, water, fire, air). Any disturbance of harmony among the elements caused an illness which had to be treated in such a way that the original harmony would return.

The treatment was often painful, prolonged and, certainly, not effective. Besides, it was quite exclusive, reserved only for persons from the highest level of society. The rest of the world had to be treated by shamans, Buddhist monks, *ommyōji* and other quack-doctors.

The Ten'yakuryō was under the Ministry of Imperial Household (Kunaishō) and it was organized along the same lines as the Ommyōryō. There were five officials bestowed with the administrative authority and quite a large staff of physicians (*ishi*, *i hakase*), masseurs (*ammashi*, *amma hakase*), pharmacists (*kusushi*, *yakuenji*), specialists of curative spells (*zugonji*) and specialists of acupuncture (*shin hakase*). Acupuncture and moxibustion developed at the beginning of the Heian period. The first *hakase* was nominated in 844.

The Ommyōryō and Ten'yakuryō worked under the governmental patronage and thus had a special position, a very favourable one for spreading superstitions and magic among the people able to arrange for their services. That is why we considered it important enough to dwell so extensively on their role in the otherwise short historical introduction.

## II. SUPERSTITIONS

The Heian people inherited from the preceding periods many kinds of beliefs – native and foreign – concerned chiefly with highly diversified manifestations of supernatural powers. The beliefs mingled in varying proportions and amalgamated into popular forms of superstition. People of the Heian period believed in a great variety of evil influences, strange apparitions, ghosts and spirits of mixed pedigree whose presence was felt and feared. It is not our aim to sort them according to their origin. It would be a task beyond our ability and beyond the needs of this study. Nevertheless, for the sake of expediency, we would like to introduce a classification (or rather an order of presenting our material) which may look at the first sight inconsistent with the above declaration. The proposed classification consists of four categories.

Into the first category we would like to include all those kinds of ghosts and spirits which, although not free from foreign admixtures, were evolved directly from old native beliefs. These we shall call “spirits of native derivation” even if they are sometimes quite eclectic in their nature. Setting them apart from other manifestations is dictated by their character, and also by the terminology involved. Into the second category would fall all kinds of demons brought to Japan in the wake of great religions. We shall call them “imported demons” although they are not always pure-bred foreigners. The third category includes animals endowed with supernatural powers, and the fourth category – inanimate objects also endowed with supernatural powers.

### 1. Spirits of native derivation

There has existed in Japan a concept of the universe as inhabited by myriads of spirits. The nature-worship and ancestor-worship well known from the remote past up till the present are the best evidence. For the primitive Japanese the world was inhabited by spirits of trees, streams, mountains, of thunder and rain, and of

their dead, "...in Old Japan, the world of the living was everywhere ruled by the world of the dead – that the individual, at every moment of his existence, was under ghostly supervision. In his home he was watched by the spirits of his father; without it, he was ruled by the god of his district. All about him, and above him, and beneath him were invisible powers of life and death"<sup>19</sup>.

### 1.1. The terminology

In the Heian times there were several words used for "spirits", "soul", or "ghost" in the meaning expressed above. This is a little complicated because the English-writing authors (like above quoted Lafcadio Hearn) use freely such terms making no distinction among them. The words often used in Japanese are:

*tama* or *mono* or *tamashii* (Sino-Japanese: *ryō, rei*) – soul, ghost, spirit;

*tama* (Sino-Japanese: *sei, shō*) – soul, ghost, spirit;

*tama, tamashii* (Sino-Jap.: *kon*) – soul, ghost, spirit;

*ke* or *kai* – spirit, apparition;

*ke* or *ki* – breath, aura, spirit, mind, illness.

The distinction among them, and especially among the first three and between the last two, has never been quite clear in Japanese either, and it often happened that they were used interchangeably. As a good illustration of this point may serve the story taken from the *Konjaku monogatari*.

When the Higashi Sanjō dono was a residence of prince Shigeaki there happened many strange things. The inhabitants called a specialist of divination. He explained that the strange happenings were caused by an evil influence (*mononoke*). He was asked then where this spirit (*tama, ryō*), came from and whose soul (*tama, shō*) it was. The specialist answered, that it was the ghost (*tama, shō*) of a copper pot buried under the ground in the garden<sup>20</sup>.

In this example two words read *tama* and the word *mononoke* are used in regard to the same supernatural power. The situation is further complicated in the story where it appears that the spirit of the pot was able to materialize and hovered over the garden in a human form. We shall assume that all the terms mentioned on page 34 in certain situations can be used interchangeably, although some, rather vague, rules may be suggested.

The word *tamashii* (*kon*) is used mostly in the sense nearest to our "soul"; the word *tama* (*rei, ryō*) as a spirit of a person living or dead; the word *tama* (*sei, shō*) for spirits of nature and of inanimate things<sup>21</sup>, and it seems that all spirits of the

<sup>19</sup> Hearn 1960: 133.

<sup>20</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 6.

<sup>21</sup> But also, in the Buddhist terminology, it means the spirits of the dead.

*tama* group have this ability. Of “ghosts” we can speak when a spirit becomes visible (in this sense the copper pot in its material existence had quite a different form than its ghost which materialized in a human form. This is an original idea.). The words pronounced *ke* are used more often in connection with invisible powers, mostly evil influences, but there is an entry in Michinaga’s diary where the word *ke* is used for the ghost of the late Emperor Reizei who appeared in the palace on the 29th day of the 4th moon of 1015<sup>22</sup>. The most elusive ideas are expressed with the word *mononoke*. The word itself is a compound form of *mono* and *ke*, but which *mono* and which *ke*?

The simplest explanation seems the best: *mono* – the spirit, and *ke* – “breath”, because the *mononoke* were regarded mostly as evil influences exerted by spirits of living or dead persons, and also of other things endowed with a supernatural power (e.g. the copper pot), causing illness and other damages. And we mean here the word *mononoke* itself, not its representation in script. In script the word was written in different hieroglyphs, and often in the *kana* characters only. In the majority of cases, however, for the first component was used the hieroglyph for *mono* – “thing”, and for the second *ke* – “apparition”, rarely *ke* – “breath”.

There was in the Heian period a popular conviction that the soul (*tamashii*) could leave the body of its owner and roam freely about the world. The soul left by the mouth (such conviction is described in the *Utsubo monogatari*, scroll *Toshikage*). In older times there had been an idea of a double soul composed of two elements: benign and rough, called respectively: *nigimitama* and *aramitama*. In the Heian period the concept has already been blurred, and the attributes of both components were separated and given to different spirits. The attributes of *nigimitama* went to various gods of benevolent character, while the attributes of *aramitama* became acquired by devils, demons, and other bad spirits.

## 1.2. Vengeful spirits (public enemies)

Among the derivatives of *aramitama* the greatest role played spirits of malevolent, vengeful persons. There were spirits of living persons called *ikiryō* or *iki-sudama*, and spirits of dead people called *akuryō*, *ryō*, *onryō*, *shiryō* or *bōkon*. Both kinds were also called *mononoke*, but it should be noted that various evils were often qualified as *mononoke*, not necessarily human in their origin but mostly connected with all sorts of diseases.

There were in the history of Heian several famous vengeful spirits. Chronologically the first was a very angry spirit of prince Sawara. The prince died before

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<sup>22</sup> Such words as: *yōkai*, *obake* for ghosts are later derivatives. They were not used in the Heian period.

Heian kyō was founded, but it is not improbable that his death became a reason (one of several others) for moving the capital from one place to another. In 784 the old capital from Nara was transferred to a new site in Nagaoka. The Emperor took his residence there while the work on other residences, dwelling houses, temples, shrines, roads etc. was still conducted. It was continued for ten years, and then, quite abruptly the works were stopped and the Emperor ordered removal of the capital from unfinished Nagaoka to a new capital that was to be constructed as Heian kyō. This sudden move is not explained clearly. As one of the reasons the story of unfortunate prince Sawara, the Emperor's brother, is given. The prince had been suspected of a plot against his brother and in 784 he was banished to Awaji (where he died of starvation or perhaps was murdered on the way there). Soon afterwards various misfortunes began to fall on the imperial family and were interpreted by diviners as results of vindictive activity of the late prince. Many steps were taken in order to pacify the angry spirit, but he was obstinate. When in 794 a consort of the crown prince died suddenly, the Emperor decided that the atmosphere in Nagaoka was unhealthy and then he ordered the removal. In the new capital the spirit from time to time gave to understand that he still did not feel appeased. At last he was posthumously made Emperor and his tomb, transferred from Awaji to Yamato, was promoted to the rank of imperial mausoleum. It seems that the spirit was pacified by that action, or perhaps other new spirits were more bothersome and blotted out the memory of the prince.

Another famous vengeful spirit displayed his malevolent activity from the beginning of the 10th century onwards. The spirit, while still in the body, was a scholar, poet and a statesman, Sugawara Michizane (845–903). Through intrigues incited by members of the Fujiwara family (especially by Tokihira) Michizane was in 901 removed from the political scene in Heian kyō and banished to Kyūshū. Soon afterwards he died there (of broken heart as the legend says) and his spirit (*onryō*, *mononoke*) began mischievous activity. That activity is recorded in many documents of the period (*Nihon kiriyaku*, *Kuge bunin*, *Ōkagami*, *Eiga monogatari* and others). To favourite methods of the spirit belonged setting fire to mansions of his enemies, striking them with thunderbolts, causing madness or grave illness, and throwing a curse (*tatari*).

The word *tatari* belongs also to the category of poorly defined terms. It seems that before the Heian period the term had not had a pejorative sense. It had meant a signal given by a supernatural being, an attempt at calling people's attention to the needs of a god or a spirit. But because methods of calling attention to themselves displayed by gods were rather violent (thunder, thick fog, illness, sudden death<sup>23</sup>) the word *tatari* became associated with misfortunes only and developed into the idea of a curse or a result of the curse. There are many words for "a curse"

<sup>23</sup> Cf. chapter *Interpretation of dreams*, the story of Sukemasa and the god of Mishima.

or “to curse” in Japanese and we shall discuss them in the chapter on magic. But *tatari* belongs to this chapter because the word was used exclusively for curses thrown by supernatural beings (i.e. gods, demons, spirits and animals endowed with supernatural power) and never by living people.

Returning to Michizane’s story, we would like to show the spirit at work, giving only few samples as recorded in some of the documents. According to the *Ōkagami* Emperor Suzaku<sup>24</sup> was considered to be especially exposed to evil influence of the spirit. Suzaku inherited the imperial dignity from his father, Daigo tennō<sup>25</sup>, who had been instrumental in sending Michizane to Kyūshū. The wrath of the spirit could have been very easily turned against the off-springs of Daigo. Thus, “... when this Emperor (Suzaku) was born, the lattice door (to his room) was not raised and until he was three years old both by day and by night he was nurtured within a bedstead beside a fire. This was because of fear of (the deity of) Kitano”<sup>26</sup>. Suzaku was a sickly child and his condition was ascribed to Michizane’s vengeful activity.

Fujiwara Tokihira (871–909) and his descendants were also haunted by the spirit. Tokihira died at the age of 38, and his sons did not prosper, which was interpreted as a result of *tatari* in revenge for Michizane’s banishment (*asamashiki akuji wo mōshiokonai tamaerishi tsumi ni yori kono otodo no misue wa owasenu nari* – “On account of the sin committed by perpetrating that wretched bad deed, the descendants of this minister (Tokihira) could not live long”<sup>27</sup>).

During his life, it may seem from another fragment, Tokihira was not aware that his existence was endangered by Michizane’s spirit. One day Michizane made his appearance in the form of lightning and thunder; and then Tokihira whipped out his sword and made a short but powerful speech to the effect that Michizane while yet in the body had been his, Tokihira’s subordinate. Why, therefore, after becoming a god would he not obey his superior in the matters of this world? The speech evidently took effect, as there was no thunderbolt following the lightning<sup>28</sup>.

The deification of Michizane (as a god of calligraphy and learning) was regarded as the strongest possible expedient of appeasing the angry spirit. But even as a god Michizane did not stop his evil activity. Many misfortunes falling on the descendants of his former enemies were explained as his misdeeds. Even up to the fourth and fifth generation of Tokihira’s brother Tadahira (880–949) the curse was still feared. In the *Eiga monogatari* there is an opinion expressed that the pitiful, down-

<sup>24</sup> Reigned 930–946.

<sup>25</sup> Reigned 897–930.

<sup>26</sup> *Ōkagami* 1967: 30. The deity of Kitano is a popular appellation of Michizane after his deification and enshrinement in the Kitano shrine (Kitano Temmangū).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

fall of Michikane's family resulted, too, from the *tatari* thrown by the Kitano deity<sup>29</sup>. Michikane (955–995) became chancellor, and died seven days later, before he had time to enjoy the taste of highest authority. His family did not prosper afterwards, in spite of excellent connections at the court.

Even the Emperor's family was not free from the troublesome spirit up to the fifth generation. During the reign of En'yū tennō (969–984) the palace burnt a few times and had to be rebuilt. Once during the works in one of the pavilions the carpenters found an inscription on the ceiling. It was a message from the deity of Kitano in a form of a warning poem<sup>30</sup>. In his role as the god of learning Michizane had his good points. In the *Konjaku monogatari* it is related that Michizane left a Chinese poem that was unintelligible for other people. After some time there appeared in somebody's dream a gentleman of noble aspect and explained the meaning of the poem. It was, certainly, Michizane himself. He was in his ghostly life very fond of lecturing on poetry through dreams<sup>31</sup>.

The posthumous activities of Sawara shinnō and Michizane have been described here in some detail because these two spirits were most vexing and caused far-reaching results. But there were many others, among them women as well, especially up to Michizane's time, who were also feared and who demanded strong pacifying measures. All of them had at least one feature in common; they suffered injustice being punished for unperpetrated offences (anyhow their spirits claimed injustice, which means that people must have been uneasy and felt pangs of conscience). Such spirits of persons who had died with a grudge against the world generally, and against the authorities particularly, were especially dangerous because their wrath turned often into forms perilous for a bigger community (e.g. earthquake, flood, pestilence, drought). The spirits became to be called *goryō* (honourable spirits) and in order to placate and entertain them there were organized special festivals called *goryōe*. Up to 863 these were organized by communities directly affected by a calamity. Later on (since the grand *goryōe* in the imperial garden Shinsen'en) they were sponsored by the government and big shrines. The faith in malevolent spirits causing public damage (*goryō shinkō*) has survived up to the modern times.

There is a story in the *Konjaku monogatari* throwing light at the ideas connected with this faith. Once during a pestilence in the capital an official (*kashiwade*)<sup>32</sup> left his home at night. In front of his gate he met a man dressed in a red costume and ceremonial hat. The man asked if *kashiwade* knew him. "No, I do not" – answered

<sup>29</sup> *Eiga monogatari* 1964: 147.

<sup>30</sup> *Ōkagami* 1967: 75–76.

<sup>31</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXIV, 28.

<sup>32</sup> *Kashiwade* – officials in the bureau of Imperial Table under the Ministry of Imperial Household (Kunaishō).

the *kashiwade*. “Long ago I was a *dainagon*<sup>33</sup> in this country. My name was Ban no Yoshio<sup>34</sup>. For unperpetrated crimes I was banished to Izu and I died there very soon. After that I became a deity spreading pestilence (*gyōyaku rugyōjin*)<sup>35</sup>. The present misery is also of my doing, but you may be easy, I will not harm you” – saying that the man in red disappeared. *Kashiwade* reported his adventure to other people, and Yoshio since then was worshipped as a god<sup>36</sup>.

### 1.3. Vengeful spirits (private enemies)

Up till now we have dealt with spirits which caused public damage and, in consequence, found their way to the official cult. Their place in the cult was not as prominent as the position of older gods but, nonetheless, they were officially recognized.

To another and a larger class of sinister spirits belong all those ghosts and invisible souls which wreaked their rage upon individuals. They exerted their influence in forms of *shiryō* and *ikiryō* (both these phenomena were also called *mononoke*) and their most favourite weapons were causing illness and madness, while their greatest triumph was in killing their victims.

The most popular *mononoke* (*shiryō*) in the Heian literature are Fujiwara Motokata (884–949) and his daughter Motoko (Genshi). Motokata died as a very embittered man because he had not been successful in his career (at least, in his own opinion). His daughter, a concubine of Murakami tennō<sup>37</sup> was not successful, either. She was not blessed with an offspring who could have aspired to imperial dignity. She was neglected by the Emperor, while other concubines prospered. The most beloved of them was Yasuko (Anshi) of another branch of the Fujiwara family. Against her and her descendants and the descendants’ families turned the wrath of Motokata’s *shiryō* and *shiryō* of Motoko (who died soon after her father).

In the *Eiga monogatari*<sup>38</sup> at some length and in great variety of detail the examples are given of Motokata’s and Motoko’s evil deeds. They haunted two sons of Yasuko who came to the throne as Reizei<sup>39</sup> and En’yū, and then, Reizei’s son, the Emperor Kazan<sup>40</sup>. But, certainly, the spirits began their revengeful activity

<sup>33</sup> *Dainagon* – officials of the Council of State.

<sup>34</sup> Ban no Yoshio (Ōtomo no Yoshio) was banished to Izu in 866.

<sup>35</sup> In the *Konjaku monogatari* XX, 18 there is also a god called *yakujin* (deity of illness); it is a non-anthropomorphic deity causing illness of individuals. The same story appears in the *Reiiki* II, 25. *Yakujin* are mentioned in other stories, too.

<sup>36</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 11.

<sup>37</sup> Reigned 946–967.

<sup>38</sup> *Eiga monogatari* 1964: I, 36–37, 42, 43, 51, 54, 84–85, 98, 113.

<sup>39</sup> Reigned 967–969.

<sup>40</sup> Reigned 984–986.

from Yasuko herself and Emperor Murakami causing them indescribable suffering. Later on, Reizei all his life was not quite normal, his concubine suddenly died, his son Kazan was slightly mad, and Kazan's beloved concubine also died suddenly. All that was ascribed to *mononoke* of Motokata and Motoko. The spirits were so frightening that other sons and concubines of Reizei had to be particularly cautious. Reizei himself was afraid to such a degree that he did not perform the rites of enthronement in the usual pavilion (Daigokuden), but performed them in a place that seemed safer from evil spirits (Shishinden).

The *Ōkagami* also adds some interesting particulars. Some time after the enthronement, Reizei was to go outside for a ceremony of purification and people were uneasy about his excursion dreading the usual *mononoke*. But the Emperor went and returned unharmed. It was explained by the presence of another spirit who had kept the Emperor under his protection. That guardian-spirit was the late Morosuke, Yasuko's father<sup>41</sup>.

Fujiwara Morosuke (908–960) was a much more successful statesman than his cousin Motokata. Once, at the time when Yasuko was with child, Morosuke played dice and suddenly he exclaimed: "If she is to bear a son, let two sixes come"! and, in fact, as soon as he threw the dice, there came two sixes. Soon afterwards Yasuko gave birth to a son. Some time later there appeared Motokata's ghost and told that "on that day a nail had been driven into his heart" (*sono yo yagate mune ni kugi wa uchiteki*<sup>42</sup>).

During the reign of Goichijō tennō (the 6th Emperor after Murakami) Motokata's spirit was still active. Prince Atsuakira shinnō after Sanjō tennō's abdication<sup>43</sup> was proclaimed the heir to the throne, but he resigned the honour and retired soon after Sanjō's death. People thought him possessed by Motokata's *mononoke*. Even his mother could not understand the son's strange decision and ordered prayers against the *mononoke*<sup>44</sup>.

Emperor Sanjō was haunted by a *mononoke*, too. In his case it was not indefatigable Motokata, but a monk called Kansan. This spirit caused that Sanjō was a very sick man almost all his life. There were long periods when he was blind and deaf and so weak in his legs that he could not walk. Kansan has not been identified. He appears in the *Ōkagami*<sup>45</sup> and, again, much later in the *Heike monogatari*.

The primitive level of medical science was the strongest foundation of the *mononoke* faith. Almost every illness was explained as the result of an activity of some spirit. But it should be noticed that *mononoke* of the *shiryō* kind were always connected with a person who had been wronged or destroyed by the victim, or

<sup>41</sup> *Ōkagami* 1967: 131.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>43</sup> Reigned 1011–1016.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 102, 104.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

victim's family and predecessors. Thus the faith had greatest support in remorse and uneasy conscience.

Monk Kansan's identity has been lost. We do not know if he was once a living person wronged by Sanjō (or somebody connected with him), or if he was a figment of imagination. There is a strong probability that he indeed was an authentic person but so insignificant that his memory has survived in one Heian tale only (and later was repeated in the *Heike monogatari*). All other *mononoke* of official chronicles (*Nihon kiryaku*, *Kuge bunin*) and historical tales (the *Ōkagami*, *Eiga monogatari*) have more or less clear identity and their relations to their victims can be easily tracked down. The majority of stories concerning *mononoke* were woven around rivalry between officials and rivalry among the Emperor's concubines. As it has been written above, Emperors, too, were not free from evil. It may be even said that the higher somebody stood in hierarchy the more prone he was to become a victim of a *mononoke*. For instance, Michinaga, whose career was very swift and whose authority was most ruthlessly exercised, was many a time haunted by *mononoke*. Among the spirits were his nephew Korechika (974–1010), his elder brother Michikane, his cousin Akimitsu (944–1021), and Akimitsu's daughter Nobuko (Enshi). Because Michinaga was the first dignitary in the country the *mononoke* haunting him were of particular interest for all his rivals and friends. Thanks to it these *mononoke* appear in historical tales and also in diaries of the time (the *Shōyūki*, *Gonki*<sup>46</sup> and, of course, in the *Midō kampaku ki*). Especially Akimitsu and his daughter have got quite a formidable bibliography. It appears that there was a rivalry between Nobuko and Michinaga's daughter Hiroko (Kanshi). Both were given to Atsuakira shinnō, but Hiroko's position was much stronger. Nobuko died nursing a grudge in her heart. Akimitsu was crestfallen and filled with so strong emotions that in one night his hair turned white. There are some hints that he became *akuryō* (evil spirit) even before his death (posthumously he was popularly called *akuryō*). As a *shiryō* he did not lose time and very soon began doing mischief. His daughter's *shiryō* acted together with him. Their attacks were directed against Michinaga himself and against his children, but especially against Hiroko. In consequence, Hiroko became very ill. When she was already in agony, there was heard a peal of laughter and a voice telling "Well done, well done. What a relief now"! (*Shietari, shietari, ima zo mune aku*<sup>47</sup>). Thus Nobuko and her father crowed over the helpless rival.

There are so many similar stories in the Heian literature that it is impossible to present even a small fraction of them. It proves that the faith was very popular, indeed. Although the popularity is especially evident in pure fiction (of the *Genji monogatari* type), there are also many scattered remarks in the diaries. Beside those

<sup>46</sup> The diary of Fujiwara Yukinari (971–1028) written between 991 and 1011.

<sup>47</sup> *Eiga monogatari* 1962: II, 197.

mentioned above, there are some nameless *mononoke* referred to in the *Kagerō nikki*, *Izumi Shikibu nikki*, *Makura no sōshi* and others, but they do not appear in such abundance as in literary fiction.

As for the *mononoke* of *ikiryō* group there is no explicit testimony in the diaries, and we must look for them in literary fiction.

Once upon a time an official from the capital was leaving for a province. At a cross-roads he met a lady, young and well-mannered. She asked him to send her off to the mansion of a certain Mimbu no daibu<sup>48</sup>. The man consented. On the way she told him that she was a daughter of such-and-such in Ōmi and invited him to her parents' home. When they reached the mansion of Mimbu no daibu the young lady expressed her gratitude and passing through the closed gate she disappeared. The man's hair stood on end. He could not move and, thanks to it, a moment later he heard lamenting voices risen inside the mansion. Upon inquiry it turned out that the Mimbu no daibu had just been killed by an *ikiryō*. Later on the man found himself in Ōmi and visited the house of the lady's parents. He was informed that the lady had been the Mimbu no daibu's mistress, but jilted by him she had become an *ikiryō*<sup>49</sup>.

In the conclusion of the story it is written that a woman's heart is terrifying. The Japanese of the Heian time shared the conviction that "there is no fury like a woman scorned" and they suspected some of their women of ability to turn into living ghosts if prompted by jealousy. The most famous among all the *ikiryō* of Japan was lady Rokujō no ue, the unhappy mistress of Hikaru Genji,

Murasaki Shikibu, with her unusual flair for psychological observation, gave a deeply moving description of lady Rokujō's torment and bewilderment when she became aware of her soul's wanderings. Her jealousy was so intense that as the *ikiryō* she killed two of Genji's beloved ladies (Yugao and Aoi)<sup>50</sup>. The description of Rokujō's jealous soul at work is the longest description extant concerning an *ikiryō*. It is continued on many pages through more than two chapters<sup>51</sup>.

The main conclusions on the problem of *ikiryō* may be summed up in the following points:

1. an *ikiryō* was a soul (*tama*, *tamashii*) of a living person leaving the person's body (*akugaru*);
2. the owner of the soul had to have a grudge against the victim;
3. the soul could do mischief as a *mononoke* and be invisible;
4. the soul could take shape and appear in a visible form;

<sup>48</sup> Mimbu no daibu – a high official in the Ministry of People's Affairs (Mimbushō).

<sup>49</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 20.

<sup>50</sup> The *Genji monogatari*, scrolls: *Yugao, Aoi*; lady Murasaki, the most beloved among Genji's women, was killed by lady Rokujō's spirit too, but not by her *ikiryō*, only by her *shiryō*.

<sup>51</sup> *Genji monogatari*, scrolls *Yugao, Aoi* and others.

5. the soul itself was not quite happy about its own deeds as well as the owner if she became aware of the soul activity;
6. the soul could speak through the mouth of a victim;
7. the soul could speak through a medium (*yorimashi*);
8. the owner could be quite unaware of the soul's activity. Some of the points are self-explanatory, but some others need an addition of a few comments.

Ad.1, The word *akugaru* expressed the ability and the process of leaving the body by the soul. There existed a belief that it was possible to catch and return to the owner a wandering soul if one bound a fold of one's underlaying skirt (*shitagai no tsuma*).

Ad.4, In the case of Rokujō, her soul appeared as a vague shape of a handsome woman in the desolate cottage where Genji made love to Yugao. Genji, scared out of his wits, drew his sword (which is the only instance of such a harsh behaviour in his whole life). The shape disappeared but poor Yugao died a moment later<sup>52</sup>.

Ad.5 and 6. When lady Aoi was on her death-bed tormented by a *mono no ke*, she seemed to regain consciousness for a short time, and then she spoke to Genji in the voice of lady Rokujō reciting a poem: "Binding your garment, catch and return to me my poor soul soaring in the sky, lamenting and wretched" (*nageki-wabi sora ni midaruru waga tama wo musubitodomeyo, shitagai no tsuma*<sup>53</sup>).

Ad.8. Lady Rokujō for a long time did not know that her soul was in the habit of leaving its owner and killing the owner's rivals. She only felt a vague uneasiness, sometimes she had bad dreams and her health was steadily declining. She became aware of the reason when all the city had already been gossiping and openly making fun of her.

#### 1.4. Benevolent spirits

All the spirit belonging to *goryō*, *shiryō* and *ikiryō* groups are of sinister character. It seems that they were much more numerous than spirits of benevolent nature. From amongst those mentioned previously, we may qualify as benevolent Morosuke only. In the above quoted story from the *Ōkagami* Morosuke is called *omabori* which means "honourable protective (spirit)". From time to time, though not often, there appear in the Heian literature mentions of protective spirits called *shugo no kami* or *shugo no ryō*. They are very near to ideas of the old ancestor worship but their eclectic character is also evident.

<sup>52</sup> *Genji monogatari* 1974–75: I, 146–8.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 334. Arthur Waley's translation of the poem: "Bind thou, as the seam of a skirt is braided, this shred, that from my soul despair and loneliness have sundered". Waley 1960: 165.

The story of Morosuke as a protective spirit has its further sequence in the *Ōkagami*, where somebody listening to the tale asks the narrator Yotsugi; “Why then Morosuke’s spirit did not subdue Motokata’s and Kansan’s *mono no ke*”? Yotsugi answers that it was impossible because of the “karma from previous life” (*saki no miyo no muku*<sup>54</sup>), which is clearly a Buddhist idea.

There possibly existed a belief in protective gods similar to the Christian guardian angels, but it is not very pronounced in the Heian literature. One of such stories may be found in the *Konjaku monogatari*. One day Minamoto Yorimitsu (Raikō) sat with some friends in front of a pavilion within the palace ground. The Emperor made his appearance, too. They saw very far away a silhouette of a fox and the Emperor asked Yorimitsu to show his skill with the bow and shoot the fox. Yorimitsu refused claiming that the distance was too big. Then the Emperor ordered him to shoot. There was no escape for Yorimitsu and he had to obey. He took his bow and shot. The fox was killed instantly to the great satisfaction of all present. But Yorimitsu told them that he would have never hit the mark if his protective spirit (*shugo no kami*) had not led the arrow<sup>55</sup>.

Here the identity of the protective spirit is unknown. One may only suppose that it could have been Yorimitsu’s father or grandfather, but this supposition is based only on some analogies, like the case of Morosuke or the case of Korechika who before departing for his place of banishment went to his father’s grave and prayed for his protection<sup>56</sup>.

### 1.5. Miscellaneous spirits

Another big group encloses various spirits of complex character. They could be malevolent or benevolent depending on the situation, or they could be without any specific character at all. They could be visible or invisible, sometimes heard only and sometimes felt only. The variety is such that it is impossible to classify them, and we shall give several examples of the most interesting spirits.

Kawara no in was the name of a residence belonging to minister Minamoto Tōru (822–895). After his death the residence went to his children, but later on it was given to the imperial family. The Emperor Uda (887–897) and Daigo (897–930) used it from time to time for parties and clandestine meetings. After Uda’s retirement he went one night to Kawara no in and late at night sat in the central chamber. All of a sudden there appeared before him an old but very elegant man.

<sup>54</sup> *Ōkagami* 1967: 132.

<sup>55</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXV, 6.

<sup>56</sup> *Eiga monogatari* 1964: I, 165.

- Who are you? – asked the ex-Emperor.  
The old man who is the host of this mansion answered the spectre.
- Are you minister Tōru?
- Yes, I am.
- What is your business?
- I live here, for it is my home. Because of the estimable Presence I feel highly honoured but on the other hand it has become too cramped here. And so, how will it be?
- Why? – exclaimed the ex-Emperor indignantly.
- What are you talking about? Have I grabbed somebody else’s house? Your descendants have given it to me and because of that I have lived here. Even being a ghost (*mono no ryō*) you should understand such matters.  
The scolded ghost disappeared and has never been seen again<sup>57</sup>.

A very similar story may be found in the *Kōdanshō*<sup>58</sup>, but there are some differences. The ghost of Toru comes for the lady whom the frivolous ex-Emperor had brought with him to Kawara. Scolded by Uta, Toru prostrates himself, embraces Uta’s legs and then disappears.

Another story about a ghost appearing in its former bodily shape goes as follows. A girl from Yamato married a young flutist from Kawachi. They lived happily for three years and then he died suddenly. The widow was faithful to his memory and did not receive any suitors. Another three years passed, and then one autumn night, while staying at home, she heard outside the well-known voice of flute. The sounds reached the door and her husband’s voice was heard demanding to be let in. She was so frightened that she did not open the door. Peeping through a window she saw her husband’s silhouette enveloped in smoke. The husband expressed his regret that she would not let him in and complained about his suffering in hell (which is a very obvious buddhist element), but as a well-mannered Japanese ghost he recited a poem and disappeared playing his flute<sup>59</sup>.

The next three stories may be classified as the stories demonstrating high aesthetic valours of Japanese spirits. In the first Yoshimine Moroki, a sad young man, disappointed in his career, composed once a poem leaning on a withered orange tree. The deity (of the tree?) took pity of him and caused the tree to blossom suddenly. Soon after that Moroki advanced unexpectedly in his official life<sup>60</sup>.

The second story tells that when the ex-Empress Akiko (Shōshi) lived in the Kyōgyoku dono mansion there was “something” which in divine voice sang *Koborete niou hanazakura kana* (“oh, scattered, fragrant cherry flowers”). The voice

<sup>57</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XVII, 2.

<sup>58</sup> *Kōdanshō* – a collection of various tales of Ōe Masafusa written down by Fujiwara Sanekane about 1104–1109.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVII, 25.

<sup>60</sup> *Ōkagami* 1967: 26.

was heard on the southern gallery of the mansion but nobody was seen. There was nothing menacing in the voice nor words. Nevertheless the ex-Empress was frightened suspecting that the voice belonged to a *kijin* (or *onigami* – bad deity). At the end of this story it is said that it must have been a spirit (*ryō*) who admired flowers so much. But why he did it in broad daylight and why so loudly?<sup>61</sup>

The third story describes a man who was once crossing a mountain in the Hitachi province. He sang in a clear loud voice. At one moment he distinctly heard the words “Oh, how beautiful”! spoken to him, but nobody else in his entourage heard them. Soon afterwards the man fell ill and died. It is explained in the story that the man’s singing enchanted a local deity (*kuni no kami*). The deity wished to keep the singer for ever and thus it had to cause his death<sup>62</sup>.

## 1.6. Materialised powers of nature

To the last group of spirits of native derivation belong powers of nature which can materialize in a human form like, for example, the spirit of water (*mizu no tama*) which appeared in the form of an old man<sup>63</sup>. An interesting story of a very faint Buddhist flavour is in the *Reiiki*. The story must have been old at the Keikai’s time and thanks to that it is similar in its climate to old animistic beliefs although in Keikai’s hands it became dressed up in Buddhist imagery. It is a long story and we shall give only the first, most interesting part.

The action of the story begins at the time of the legendary Emperor Bidatsu. A peasant in the Owari province went to his patch of land. While he was working, there was a terrible sound of thunder and a moment later a thunderbolt fell at his feet. The thunderbolt changed itself into a boy. The peasant demonstrated his aggressive intentions towards the boy, and the latter begged to spare his life. The peasant consented finally and the thunder-boy returned to heaven. Later on, out of gratitude, the thunder-god caused the peasant’s wife to bear a son endowed with miraculous powers<sup>64</sup>. From the further narration it appears that the boy-prodigy became a famous holy monk known to posterity as Dōjō hōshi.

There probably existed a belief in momentary manifestations of animistic spirits – the story of Moroki and the orange tree may also be put into this category, if in the author’s intention the *kami* was *ki no kami* (a deity of the tree). But in this case it would have been a manifestation through action, not in a human form.

<sup>61</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 28.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>64</sup> *Nihon reiiki* 1975: I, 3.

Summing up this chapter we would like to point out that among the spirits of native derivation the most popular ones in the Heian time were all the malevolent kinds (*goryō*, *shiryō*, *ikiryō*) with one reservation: *ikiryō* were believed in but not so popular as to find their way into diaries of the period. The belief in *mono no ke* (nameless, or *shiryō* of recognised persons) was very strong but it came to the surface only in cases of illness, sudden death, mandess or some personal calamity. Otherwise people were not obsessed with fear. In the literary fiction *mono no ke* appear often, but it depends on the author, in fact. In the *Genji monogatari* there are comparatively very few spirits and ghosts and that fact throws a light on lady Murasaki's mental prowess. She even expressed explicitly her opinion of the matter by writing In the *Genji monogatari* that *mono no ke* and similar are phenomena which exercise their powers towards weak people only. What fills one with admiration for the lady living one millenium ago is the fact that her words correspond exactly to the opinion of Dr Baelz, who at the close of the 19th century examined many cases of possession in Shimane<sup>65</sup> and came to a similar conclusion: "... Among the predisposing conditions may be mentioned a weak intellect, a superstitious turn of mind, and such debilitating diseases as, for instance, typhoid fever...".

## 2. Imported demons

There were many different kinds of demons in the Heian period. Although the word "demon" in the colloquial language is associated most often with bad and terrifying beings, in the science of demonology it is not necessarily so<sup>66</sup>. To the category of demons may be included also various fairies, gnomes and goblins – not especially sinister in their aspects or activities. The demons of Japan we shall divide into: demons in human form, demons invisible, devils, goblins (*tengu*) and heavenly maidens (*tennin*). The category of demons in human form is the biggest and highly variegated one.

### 2.1. The terminology

In Japanese the generic term for demons is *oni*, but in a narrow sense it is used mostly for "devils". It should be stipulated again that the terminology in Japanese is entangled very much and therefore we will include into the category of demons in human form also some apparitions which in Japanese texts are called *mono no ke*, *ryō*, or *tama*. Only the character of an apparition will decide which category it falls under.

<sup>65</sup> For Dr E.Baelz's investigation see Chamberlain 1905: 115–8.

<sup>66</sup> See Moszyński 1934: 604.

It is instructive to compare the entry *oni* as given in three dictionaries of classical Japanese. The *Kogo jiten* published by Ōbunsha (1965) gives the following meanings:

1. spirit of a dead person (*shisha no ryō*); Chinese devils;
2. imaginary monsters of frightful appearance, killing and eating people; (quotation from the *Izumo fudoki*<sup>67</sup>: “one-eyed devil came and devoured men working in the fields”); other points are omitted here as they are metaphors or later derivatives.

The Kadokawa *Kogo jiten* (1972) entry explains:

1. souls and spirits of dead persons (*shisha no ryōkon*; *bōkon*);
2. monsters of frightful appearance casting curses (*tatari*) on people; *mononoke*;
3. imaginary monsters endowed with supernatural powers and eating people.

The Iwanami *Kogo jiten* (1975) gives the etymology of the word *oni* as the Sino-Japanese reading *on* of *kakusu*, *kakuru* (to hide, be hidden) plus *i*, and it states that the word *oni* appeared at the beginning of the Heian period. In the *Man'yōshū*<sup>68</sup> the hieroglyph for *oni* was pronounced *mono*. At that time *mono* meant all supernatural powers still formless. Later on, under the influence of Buddhism and Ommyōdō the formless powers took shapes similar to *gokusotsu no oni* (devils employed in Buddhist hell) and *jaki* (demons of Hinduistic derivation). As the synonym of the word *oni* the dictionary gives: monsters of frightful appearance. It quotes also the entry in the *Wamyōshō*<sup>69</sup> “spirits of dead persons”.

As it may be seen from the above quoted entries there is some confusion in understanding the meaning of *oni*. In the present author's opinion the etymology given in the Iwanami dictionary is unconvincing. And not very convincing, either, seems another etymology proposed by Ikeda Yasaburō (who follows Origuchi). Ikeda expounds the idea that the origin of Japanese *oni* ought to be sought at the period of subjugation by the Yamato tribes. The aborigines retreating under the impact of conquerors' pressure, escaped into the mountains. They were called by the Yamato people *yamabito* (mountaineers) or *kyojin* (giants) and they became associated in popular imagination with something big, they became “big people” – *ōhito*. And from the word *ōhito* evolved the word *oni*<sup>70</sup>. Interpreting Ikeda's exposition we may conclude that the word itself had associations with the word *onryō* (vengeful spirit) and at last the words and ideas merged into the idea of demons which had the physical characteristics of *ōhito* and spiritual characteristics of *mono*, *ryō*, *tama* and others.

<sup>67</sup> *Izumo fudoki* – a collection of local legends, customs, geographic and economic conditions of the Izumo Province compiled after 713.

<sup>68</sup> *Man'yōshū*, the first great compilation of Japanese poems collected soon after 759.

<sup>69</sup> *Wamyōshō* – a dictionary of Japanese words compiled in 957 by Mineimoto Shitagō.

<sup>70</sup> Ikeda 1974: 77.

Some modern Japanese authors<sup>71</sup> suggest various classifications of demons according to their form, or to the place they appear in, or to the purpose of their appearance, etc. These classifications, interesting as they are, will not be followed in this study because:

1. they concern all phenomena belonging to the category of oni in the broad meaning of the word;
2. they concern *oni* up to the modern times.

For us *oni*-devils have their distinct form, which shall be explained later on, and every other apparition will be classified as *oni*-demon (in a human or inhuman form). Because among demons in human form there is still evident a trace of the old idea of *shisha no ryō* (spirit of a dead person), in Japanese texts they may be called *mononoke*, *tama*, *ryō*, but they too may be called *oni*. For us they will be simply demons.

## 2.2. Demons in human form

In this category we can meet demons of both sexes, male as well as female, with no limitations on age – children, adults and very old persons. The majority of them was connected with some definite place (a house, temple, bridge, mountain. etc.) and did not venture beyond it. These were frightful but easy to avoid – in the *Konjaku monogatari* there are often expressed warnings against entering unknown houses or the places known to be haunted. A smaller group of demons in human form was more capricious and liked to appear in the most unexpected places. These were impossible to be avoided. Some demons were of known lineage, others not. Some were only vaguely sinister, others were purely cannibals. Some of them could be killed or expelled. There are many examples in the Heian literature, and we shall choose the most typical ones only.

In the province of Harima a master of divination (*ommyōji*) was called to one wealthy residence. He predicted that on such-and-such day a demon (*oni*) will come to the mansion, and people living there should be extremely cautious. The people were terrified and asked “Prom whence will it come? What form will it take?” The *ommyōji* answered that it would come in a human form and would enter through the gate. On the appointed day they closed all the doors and windows and applied various magic precautions. They waited in silence. At one moment they saw a well dressed, ordinary-looking man standing at the gate and peeping inside. At first the demon tried the doors and windows but all were shut, and at last he entered through the chimney. Those all present in the house lost their heads completely and could only lament. But a young son of the host, thinking that it is better to

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<sup>71</sup> Yanagida Kunio, Origuchi Shinobu, Ema Tsutomu, Ikeda Yasaburō and others.

fight than to be eaten by the demon without a protest, took his bow and shot an arrow with tremendous strength. The demon wanted to flee the same way as he had entered, but pierced by the arrow he simply disappeared<sup>72</sup>.

The demon of this story was vaguely sinister but he might have been suspected of cannibalistic intentions. He was not connected with the mansion and his origin was unknown. Confronted with a determined defence he made his escape by becoming invisible. The next story will show a demon who was killed.

The boy born out of the thunderbolt's gratitude to the peasant of Owari<sup>73</sup> became a servant in the Gankōji temple. Just then there operated in the bell tower some awesome demon killing servants one after another. Our boy was determined to catch the demon and he stayed for the night at the haunted tower. The demon came and was at once attacked fiercely by the boy. After a prolonged struggle the demon at last fled away. In the morning the boy found a bloody track going from the tower to a grave in the temple compounds. In the grave had been buried a bad servant of the temple<sup>74</sup>. This demon's origin became clear for everybody. It haunted only one place, the bell tower, but it is not evident from the text if he ate his victims. He may have been a killer only but not a cannibal.

No such doubts will arise in the next examples. In the village Amuchi of Yamato there lived a beautiful young girl. She had many suitors, but her parents were very particular and for a long time did not consent to her marriage. At last a young man sent such a lot of presents that the parents' hearts softened. They agreed to his suit and settled the date for his coming. He came and not wasting time he withdrew with the girl to the bed-chamber. At night the parents heard terrible shrieks of their daughter but did not pay any attention to them believing it only too normal in the circumstances. But in the morning they entered the nuptial chamber and found only the head and one finger left of their daughter. The son-in-law disappeared and his presents turned into horses' and cows' bones<sup>75</sup>.

This particular demon was of the worst kind. He was a killer and cannibal, he was not connected with any specific place, he came in a form raising no suspicions and it was impossible to find protection against him. Very similar demon is that of the next story.

On the 17th day of the 8th moon of 887 three girls serving inside the palace enclosure were on their way home and while passing a pine-forest near the Buto-kuden pavilion they saw a man standing under a tree. The man took hold of a hand of one girl and pulled her into the shade of the tree. Two other girls discreetly drew away and for some time waited quietly for their friend. She was not coming

<sup>72</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 23.

<sup>73</sup> *Nihon reiiki* 1975: I, 49.

<sup>74</sup> *Nihon reiiki* 1975: I, 5.

<sup>75</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XX, 37, *Nihon reiiki* 1975: II, 33.

so long that they decided to investigate and returned to the tree. But there was no man and no girl, only bloodstained parts of female body<sup>76</sup>.

This story is important from our point of view because the *Konjaku monogatari* tale was woven around an entry in the chronicle *Sandai jitsuroku*<sup>77</sup> (under the date given above). It is therefore based on something more solid than oral tradition.

All those demons were individual, lonely figures acting for their individual purposes. This is typical for the Heian period. But here and there may be found strange creatures appearing in crowds. Here are two examples:

One man with his family moved to a house not knowing that the new residence had been haunted by demons (*ryō, tama*). When the night came the nurse went to sleep with a small baby in one of the rooms. She saw, all of a sudden, a panel in one wall opening and from there ten small men came out into the room riding small horses. The riders were 5 inches tall. The nurse scattered rice on the floor and the riders disappeared. On the grains of rice there were left particles of blood<sup>78</sup>.

Another man, Miyoshi Kiyotsura, moved to a mansion at the corner of Gojō and Horikawa streets. He was well aware that the mansion had been haunted, but he was a very courageous man, not easily scared and he consciously took the risk. At night he witnessed more elaborate performance than the nurse of the previous story, but in some features it was similar. At first there were human heads looking at him from behind boards in the ceiling. Later on there came galloping forty or fifty riders of a very small stature. Next, there entered a lady 3 *shaku*<sup>79</sup> tall, made a parade in front of Kiyotsura and then left. At last, from the garden came an old man who tried to frighten Kiyotsura away by telling him about dangers of living in the mansion. But Kiyotsura answered him that even demons must listen to reason, while against foxes a dog is sufficient protection. Finally, the demons abandoned any hope of scaring the new host and quieted down or left. Anyhow, Kiyotsura stayed in the mansion and nothing bad happened to him<sup>80</sup>.

In both stories we can see small riders – an interesting variant of demons in human form, and in one of them additionally a small lady and human heads. As the horses were only accessories for the riders we shall not create for them a new category of “demons in animal forms”.

Up to now there were examples of male demons only, but the company of demons in Kiyotsura’s story is of both sexes and for this reason we put it as a bridge between the stories concerning male and female demons.

<sup>76</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 8.

<sup>77</sup> *Sandai jitsuroku* – one of the Six National Histories, compiled in 901. It describes the history of three reigns (from 858 to 887).

<sup>78</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 30.

<sup>79</sup> *Shaku* – about 30,3 cm.

<sup>80</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 31.

Among the most famous female demons of the Heian period is the demon of Rashōmon, but the extant written versions belong to the next period. As we would like to limit our description to legends recorded only in the Heian literature, we shall omit the demon of Rashōmon (though with some regret)<sup>81</sup>. There are enough demons left without it.

There was in the capital a young unmarried woman. She became pregnant and the nearer the time of childbirth was, the more troubled she became, because she could not find any means for keeping the child. At last she decided to bear the child somewhere in the mountains and then to abandon it there. With this intention she went to the mountains. She found an old shack and entered it. But it turned out that the shack was not uninhabited. It belonged to an old woman who received the pregnant woman hospitably and was even very helpful at the time of confinement. Then the young mother found out, unexpectedly for herself, that she lost the wish of abandoning the baby. Presently she wanted to keep it and enjoy looking at its growth. Being very weak the mother stayed in the shack for a few days. Then one morning she awoke suddenly and saw the old woman leaning over the baby. She looked horribly changed, with hungry eyes and distorted face. She was murmuring to herself “what a dainty tidbit”! (*ana, umage*). The mother in that instant understood that her kind hostess was a demon with an appetite for her baby. She waited till the old woman went somewhere and then she escaped taking the baby with her<sup>82</sup>.

This demon obviously had cannibalistic inclinations. It was connected with one place only and its origin was unknown. It was not an especially powerful demon, because it let its victims escape and did not try to go after them. The mother was, in the end, quite fortunate.

Another girl who came into contact with a demon was not so fortunate. The girl entreated by a young courtier agreed to go with him to a desolate old chapel in the vicinity of Shichijō and Ōmiya streets. The chapel looked dirty but the couple did not mind it. They entered and engaged themselves in making love when suddenly there came a little girl with a candle and soon after her an old lady of distinguished but gloomy appearance. The lady in threatening language ordered the young couple to leave the chapel immediately. They left, but the girl died very soon afterwards because of the demon’s influence<sup>83</sup>.

The only characteristic feature of this demon was that it liked to stay home (the chapel) and nothing more. It is not even sure if the girl’s death was caused by a kind of *tatari*. It is possible that she died simply of the shock. If so, then the demon must be classified only as a vaguely sinister one.

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<sup>81</sup> There is a good description of the Rashōmon story in *The World of the Shining Prince* by Ivan Morris, see Morris 1964: 131.

<sup>82</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 15.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

A demon operating on the river-crossing in the Watari village of Mino may be considered of the same kind. The demon in a form of a woman carrying a child accosted everybody crossing the river and asked to hold the baby. The story circulated among the local people and they avoided the place. Near the village there was a blockhouse full of brave warriors. One of them, Taira Suetake, promised to cross the river and come back unharmed. He went to the crossing riding a good horse and equipped with sword and a bow. His three friends followed him out of curiosity and hid in the bushes by the river. They heard him crossing the river and returning. When he was in the middle of the crossing on his way back, there came to them a faint voice of a woman and crawling of a baby and at the same time they felt a wave of stink enfolding them. Next they heard the voice begging Suetake to return the child. Suetake refused and galloping came to the shore carrying the baby in the fold of his sleeve. But when in the blockhouse he unfolded the sleeve there were only withered leaves inside. In the conclusion it is told that the woman could have been a vixen, but just as well she could have been a ghost of a woman who died in childbirth (*onna no ko umutote shinitaru ga tama ni naritaru* – “women dying in childbirth become ghosts”<sup>84</sup>). Here we are given a tentative identification of the demon (if it was a demon, not a vixen) and the identification is for genus, not for the individual. But again the demon appeared in one place only and was only vaguely sinister.

In the next story there are two female demons of unknown parentage, both appearing on or near a bridge and both very much sinister (in action, not in appearance).

Ki no Tosuke on his way to the Mino province met on the Seta bridge a beautiful lady. After some conversation she asked him to deliver a box to another lady who would wait for him at the bridge in Mino. He hesitated but as he was begged earnestly by the lady, at last consented. Before parting the lady forbid him to open the box. Tosuke reached Mino but forgetting all about the box he went straight home. Unpacking his luggage he found the box and promised himself to deliver it at the nearest occasion. Meanwhile he placed it out of his wife’s reach. He did not take into consideration his wife’s inquisitiveness and her jealous disposition. She ferreted out the box and took it into her head that her husband kept in it some letters from a mistress. She opened the box and found in it several human eyeballs and penes cut with hairs. She shut the box and told the husband about her grisly discovery. He was extremely angry with her but the harm was done. There was nothing else to be done but to take the box out of the house and deliver it to the addressee. He went to the bridge and met a young lady who eagerly took hold of the box. She guessed that it had been opened and it arose her fury. True enough,

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 43.

she let Tosuke go but it did not save his life. Soon afterwards he became ill and died saying that it was punishment for opening the fatal box<sup>85</sup>.

The conclusion is quite unexpected: how terrible is a woman's jealousy! It brought poor Tosuke to the grave. It should be noted that the first lady-demon was visible to Tosuke only. The men of his retinue did not see her. To the second lady Tosuke went alone and it is not known if she would become visible to the others present.

The last of our demons in human form will be especially horrible on account of its one quite original aspect. There were two brothers who made their living by hunting. One night they went to the woods and took their positions on two adjacent trees. Hidden in the leafage they waited for a deer. At some moment the elder brother felt a human hand catching his head from above. He shouted to the younger brother asking for advice. The younger shouted back that it would be best to start shooting. "I cannot shoot" was the elder's reply "something is just pulling me up". "Then I will shoot, aiming by ear only". With the elder's consent, the younger brother shot and was sure that arrow hit the invisible target. The elder brother reached up and touched a human hand. He cut it with his knife. When the brothers saw the severed hand in the day-light they thought that it resembled their mother's hand. Soon after that their mother died and it turned out that, in fact, the hand had belonged to her body. The explanation of mother's strange behaviour is given in the following words: *hito no oya no toshi ito oitaru wa kanarazu oni ni narite kaku ko wo mo kurawamu to suru narikeri* – "it happens that when parents become so very old they turn inevitably into demons and can even devour their own children"<sup>86</sup>.

## 2.5. Invisible demons

Among the invisible demons a prominent group was formed by *shikigami* (*shiki no kami*, *shikijin*) – demons in the service of *ommyōji* and other magicians. The *shikigami* could have been used by their masters for every kind of work – good or bad – from the commonest labors at home to putting a curse on or even killing somebody.

One of the most famous masters of Ommyōdō, Abe Seimei, called on his friend, monk Kancho. They sat in the garden and talked about the occult art when one boy listening to them asked Seimei, if it would be possible to kill a man by a *shikigami*. Seimei explained that it was possible but not quite easy: "Killing insects and other small animals is much easier. Nevertheless, it is a sin". The boy insisted on

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 22.

demonstration of that power and at last Seimei consented to kill a frog. He took a blade of grass, murmured spells over it and then put it on the frog. The frog died instantly. It was killed by a *shikigami* summoned by Seimei. Seimei was in the habit of using *shikigami* as messengers and servants<sup>87</sup>. In the *Heike monogatari* and *Gempei seisui ki*<sup>88</sup> it is written that Seimei had twelve demons at his disposal, but his wife was afraid of them and one day she put the demons into a sack and hid them under a bridge. Nevertheless, the *shikigami* were still in contact with their master and whenever Seimei needed one of them, it spoke through the mouth of anybody at hand.

The same Seimei is mentioned in the *Ōkagami* as well. When the Emperor Kazan suddenly abdicated (in 986) and fled at night from the palace, he passed Seimei's house on the way and heard Seimei's voice ordering one of his *shikigami* to go to the palace. Then "something invisible to the eye pushed the door open and probably saw the Emperor's back" (*me ni wa mienu mono no to wo oshiakete, miushiro wo ya mimairaseken...*<sup>89</sup>). The voice of the *shikigami* was heard informing Seimei that the Emperor was just passing his house.

Here and in the *Heike monogatari* version *shikigami* are heard but not seen. In the first part of the "frog story" there is a tale showing that *shikigami* were able to assume a human shape if their master wished so. The tale is about a practitioner of magic who wanted to put Seimei to a test and came to him as a monk with two boys. Seimei guessed at once that the boys were *shikigami*. But it seems that the true figure of *shikigami*<sup>90</sup> belongs to the category of invisible demons vaguely associated with a human form because the classifier used for counting them is the same as for people (*hitori, futari...*).

In the *Makura no sōshi* the authoress mentions a *shikigami* in a rather strange context. One night the Empress asked her if she loved her. Just when Sei Shōnagon was answering "how could I possibly not love you" somebody sneezed loudly. Sneezing was considered to be a sign that the speaker was lying and the Empress pretended to take offence. Next day she sent a letter to Sei Shōnagon with allusions to the lie. Sei Shōnagon answered in a poem and added that the fatal sneeze had surely been caused by a naughty *shikigami*<sup>91</sup>.

Apart from *shikigami* there were other invisible powers full of mischief. Some of them were only impish, others deadly. One night Fujiwara Kaneie sat in his mansion at the window with the lattice rolled up. He looked at the moon when suddenly "some-thing invisible" (*me ni mo mienu mono*) put the lattice down with

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., XXIV, 16.

<sup>88</sup> Quoted after Yamagiwa, *Ōkagami*, 1967: 271.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 52, 442.

<sup>90</sup> Speaking about a figure of something invisible is not quite logical but demons as a whole are beyond logic, and so we shall risk that phrase.

<sup>91</sup> *Makura no sōshi* 1958: 234.

a crash. The servants were terrified but Kaneie took his sword threateningly and very severely ordered the invisible something to roll the lattice up. The demon obeyed meekly<sup>92</sup>.

Much more appalling stories about people devoured by demons circulated around the country. There are several such tales in the *Konjaku monogatari*.

One of them was obviously taken from the *Ise monogatari* (*dan* 6)<sup>93</sup>, but with a very important deviation. In the *Ise monogatari* story a young man eloped with his beloved and at night found shelter in an uninhabited old house. There came a terrible storm and the young man posted himself at the door holding his bow in order to frighten away thunder from the lady. But when the storm quieted it turned out that the lady had disappeared. The brave young man was sure that she had been devoured by demons and lamenting returned to the capital. Then it appeared that the lady was still very much alive. She had not been devoured by demons, but had been rescued by her brothers who had had other plans for her. The lady in due course became a consort of Emperor Seiwa<sup>94</sup>.

It was, certainly, a rational ending to the story because there were real persons alluded to and it was impossible to change their destinies in order to embellish the story. As the lady Takaiko was very well known in the Heian society she had to be – in the story – rescued by her brothers before anything improper happened. Her reputation could not have been blackened, hence the storm and the lover standing all night at the door without even speaking to her.

But the story itself had been so interesting that in the *Konjaku monogatari* it was repeated without the rational ending but the identity of the lady changed. It is under the heading of “The story of Arihara Narihira’s beloved devoured by demons”. Narihira is the young man of the *Ise monogatari* story. In the *Konjaku monogatari* story he found in the morning only the head and costumes of his paramour. The sounds of thunder are explained as the demons’ voices<sup>95</sup>. But the demons themselves were invisible.

Other invisible demons were even more insolent as they devoured an official on duty in the imperial palace. Of the official himself only the head was found. But there were scattered around his blood-stained clothes, shoes, fan and other accessories<sup>96</sup>.

As it has already been stated, the demons, so popular in the literary fiction, are scarce in diaries. There is only one mention of the presence of a demon in the

<sup>92</sup> *Ōkagami* 1967: 169.

<sup>93</sup> *Ise monogatari* – a collection of short stories woven around poems. It was written at the beginning of the 10th century and comprises 125 episodes (*dan*).

<sup>94</sup> Reigned 858–876; the lady was Takaiko, a daughter of Fujiwara Yoshifusa, mother of emperor Yōzei.

<sup>95</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 7.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

*Makura no sōshi* and, in fact, the authoress herself did not see it, but was told about it (*moya wa oni ari tote*; “we were told that there was a demon in the main chamber”<sup>97</sup>). Either the intelligence was not very convincing or the authoress was too busy to write about it, anyhow she noted it down without any trace of panic. She added to the statement one sentence concerning changes made in arranging the Empress’ room.

The word *oni* in the *Makura no sōshi* is used many times in different contexts but (except for that one instance) there is no actual presence of any demon seen or heard by a witness. Nevertheless the authoress noted down under the heading of “things with frightening names” (*na osoroshiki mono*) three things containing the word *oni* (*oniharabi* – devil’s yam; *onitokoro* – a kind of herb, devil’s fern; *ushioni* – a cow-headed devil). Two of the things are quite innocent in themselves and were frightening only because of their phonetic associations<sup>98</sup>.

As for “the demon in the main chamber” we may safely assume that it was an invisible manifestation. Perhaps a window closed by itself similarly to the story of Kaneie.

There was a belief in another manifestation on a more grand scale. It was called *hyakki yagyō* – the nightly march of hundred demons. In the literature of the Heian period there are tales about the march in several sources. The belief came from China and was advocated by masters of Ommyōdō. It was believed that there were nights in every month particularly dangerous for those who found themselves in the streets on the way of marching demons. The demons did not make their parades every night. The Masters of Ommyōdō knew their habits and could foresee the nights of migration.

Fujiwara Morosuke one night met the *hyakki yagyō* on his way from the palace. The demons were invisible and Morosuke’s attendants could not understand their master’s strange behaviour. He ordered to stop his ox-cart, to close the windows and to unhitch the oxen. The oxen were put in the shadow of the cart. Then Morosuke ordered the attendants to shout as loudly as possible. He himself sitting inside the cart bowed deeply and recited a sutra expelling demons. This peculiar performance lasted about one hour. When Morosuke perceived that the demons passed, he ordered to hitch the oxen again and returned home undisturbed<sup>99</sup>.

Another kind of invisible demons had a specialized function; the demons by casting a spell *on* people caused them to wander aimlessly. They were called *mad-owashigami* or *madoigami* (deities leading people astray). A man who went to look

<sup>97</sup> *Makura no sōshi* 1958: 112.

<sup>98</sup> *Among the things with frightening names Sei Shōhagon listed ikisudama, too.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ōkagami* 1967: 127–8. In later times the *hyakki yagyō* became a favourite subject of painting for such artists as Tosa Mitsunobu (1434–1525), Tosa Tsumetaka (13th c.), Toriyama Sekien and others. In their paintings demons have most fantastic forms, but it seems that in the Heian period the demons of *hyakki yagyō* were not depicted yet.

for a lost horse walked about the field very well known to him, but to his great surprise he suddenly saw a big tree standing in the middle of the field. He was completely sure that the tree had never been there and so he concluded that he became a victim of *madoigami*<sup>100</sup>. Another man returning at night from the palace lost his way and till the morning he wandered about the western part of the town. It was certainly another trick of *madowashigami*<sup>101</sup>.

All unexplained events – people vanishing without trace, objects lost or stolen, unknown manifestations – could have been explained by interventions of supernatural powers. Life in the Heian period, so peaceful on the surface, was not free from dangers. Thieves operated in the whole capital entering even the sacrosanct precincts of the palace. Robbers waited for travellers in the mountains and woods. Killers were at large and many a time people disappeared without a trace to be found. Sometimes even in the palace such horrors happened. What today is qualified as an undetected crime, in the Heian period was often considered a result of supernatural powers at work. Hence, so many stories of demon thieves, demon-killers and demon-cannibals.

## 2.4. Devils

All the demons described above, in Japanese texts were named variously: *oni*, *tama*, *ryō*, *mononoke*, *kijin*, *kami*, *akki*, *akuryō*, etc. In many cases for the same apparition there could have been used two or three different names. There was no such confusion with malicious creatures which we would like to classify as devils. Devils in the texts were almost always called *oni*, although they sometimes could have been confused with another kind of demons, called *tengu*. Oni had distinct, though variegated forms, and could be divided into two big groups.

The first group consisted of devils which were in many respects similar to other demons in their character, manners and origin. They lived their individual lives, they were appearing in the people's world for their individual purposes, and they could have been transformed human beings. To the second group we would like to ascribe devils of purely foreign origin, namely the devils employed in hell. Sometimes they were sent to the people's world, but their usual habitation was in the kingdom of Emma<sup>102</sup> where they served as wardens, torturers and executioners of poor sinners' souls. They will interest us only marginally as they belong to the category of "theological devils".

<sup>100</sup> He was mistaken, which will be explained in the chapter on animals endowed with supernatural power. *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 37.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>102</sup> The supreme judge of souls, residing in the Buddhist hell.

The birth of a devil (of the first group) is illustrated by a story from the *Konjaku monogatari* about the madness of Empress Somedono. The Empress (her real name was Akirakeiko) was a daughter of Fujiwara Yoshifusa. She was a consort of Emperor Montoku and the mother of Seiwa. She retained great beauty even after her youth had passed. Unluckily, for a long time she was tormented by a strange illness. Many physicians and practitioners treated her but all in vain. It was undoubtedly some kind of possession. At last somebody told that on Mount Kongōsan lived a very wise monk who knew most powerful spells against any kind of possession. He was called to the palace and started his ministrations. While he was muttering the spells one of the ladies in attendance began to show signs of insanity and a moment later a fox came out of her womb. The fox was so old that it could not even escape. The monk bound it with a rope and informed Yoshifusa that the Empress would presently return to health. And, indeed, the next day the Empress was quite well.

But the story does not end here. It is just a beginning of something more sinister. The monk during the treatment saw the Empress and at once became enchanted with her beauty. She aroused such a passion in him that, forgetting everything in the world, he forced his way behind her curtains of state. Other ladies present in the chamber made a terrible uproar. The imperial physician, Taima no Kamotsugu, heard their shrieks and came running to the chamber. He caught the monk while the latter tried to escape. The monk was cast to prison where he began threatening loudly that he would curse the Empress should he die in prison. The Emperor was alarmed and ordered to set the monk free but to send him off to Mount Kongōsan. After return to his hermitage the monk, still enamoured, thought only of finding a way to see the Empress again. At last, he set up his mind on becoming a devil. He starved himself and died. After death he became a devil. His head became bald, his naked body was girded with a red loincloth, his skin turned black and shiny. He was 8 *shaku* tall, his eyes looked like amber saucers. His mouth was very wide and full of teeth sharp as knives. He had with him a magic hammer (*uchide no kozuchi*). In this impressive form he went to the palace and stood at the Empress' side. All the people who saw him were beside themselves with fear but the devil's spiritual power (*oni no tama*) caused that the Empress was fascinated with his male beauty. They made love to each other with no regard for the public. The devil did not forget his grudge for the physician Kamotsugu and speaking through the mouth of somebody (*hito no tsukite* – “possessing a man”) declared his revenge. Soon afterwards Kamotsugu and his three or four sons died one after another<sup>103</sup>.

The story is much longer, but for our purpose it is enough to stop here. In this episode we saw the origin of that particular devil and his devilish looks and vengeful

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., XX, 7.

character. The story itself was probably quite a famous one, as there are mentions of it in the *Fusō ryakki*<sup>104</sup> and in the *Shingonden*<sup>105</sup>.

The *Fusō ryakki* entry is under the date of the 9th moon of 878. It is based on the *Zenke hiki*<sup>106</sup> and it states that on the 50th anniversary of Empress Samedono's birth her son Seiwa tennō came to her with congratulatory gifts while she just copulated with a devil. The same story is repeated in the *Shingonden* (IV,17) with the addition stating that Sōō (a monk of the Shingon sect) through special prayers liberated the Empress from the bad influence of a *tengu*. That *tengu* was a spirit (*ryō*) of a monk Shinzai of the Ki family. The scandal started in 865.

Another point of interest in that story lies in the terminology. In the *Konjaku monogatari* version all through the text the devil is called *oni*, but in the title there is used the word *tengu*. The same word as in the *Shingonden* version. As it has already been mentioned, such confusion happened sometimes in case of people transformed posthumously into demons. It ensued from the belief that some *tengu* were the posthumous manifestations of bad people, especially of Buddhist monks (see: the next chapter), similarly to some devils.

But in the case of the devil possessing Empress Samedono it is rather obvious that he belonged to the devil class, as his form was quite typical for devils and quite unlike that of *tengu*. Another example of a typical devil may be found in the story of Agi no Hashi (the bridge of Agi).

The bridge (in the Ōmi province) had a very bad fame. It was haunted. Nevertheless, one courageous man decided to cross it at dusk. He chose a good horse and smeared its hind quarters with oil. He rode to the bridge and when he was in the middle of it, he saw an indistinct silhouette. "That's the devil" – he thought. But no! When he rode nearer he saw that it was a woman looking very forlorn and embarrassed. She asked humbly to be taken on the horse and send off to some place. The man for a moment was seized with compassion and wanted to consent. But then he understood that at this time in such a place no honest woman could appear. Now he was sure that he met a demon and, turning his horse, galloped back. The woman at first tried to stop him by crying pitifully. When it did not stop him, she rushed after him and strove to catch the horse, but her hand slipped from the oily croup. The man hurrying to the shore prayed loudly. Hearing the sounds of pursuit he looked back and saw a devil. The devil was 9 *shaku* tall. His face was broad and red. His only eye was amber in colour. Above his head there floated a mass

<sup>104</sup> *Fusō ryakki* – a historical chronicle compiled after 1094, based on various documents private and official.

<sup>105</sup> *Shingonden* – a collection of documents and legends from India, China and Japan, concerning the Shingon sect. Compiled about 1324. Based on materials from particular periods.

<sup>106</sup> *Zenke hiki* – a collection of strange tales of the Miyoshi family. Compiled by Miyoshi Kiyotsura. The collection as a whole has been lost. Some tales survived in other collections (e.g. the *Konjaku monogatari*, *Fusō ryakki*, etc.).

of tangled hair. At every hand he had only three fingers but they were tipped with talons 5 inches long and sharp as knives. The skin of his body was bluish-green.

The man escaped safely from the devil, but he did not live very long. Soon afterwards the devil, assuming the shape of somebody else, killed the man<sup>107</sup>.

The appearance of this devil is given by Ema Tsutomu under the heading of “Devils of typical appearance” (*ittei no sugata no oni*<sup>108</sup>). Further on Ema gives descriptions of devils in the Heian paintings. It seems that in earlier paintings the devils were half-naked and often one-eyed. Later on they had two or three eyes, their scantily dressed bodies looked withered, some of them had wings like dragons. The common features were cruel mouth with sharp teeth and long sharp talons. The horns did not appear yet in the Heian iconography.

The paintings must have been very impressive. Sei Shōnagon, invited by Empress Sadako to look at a screen with the pictures of hell, after one glance hid herself in fright. It was too much for her, she could not imagine “anything more terrible” (*yuyushū imijiki koto kagiri nashi*<sup>109</sup>). Lady Murasaki, on the other hand, was not so susceptible and through Genji’s mouth she expressed her sarcastic opinion: the imperial artist paint “Mount Hōrai that nobody has ever seen, forms of monstrous fish in wild seas, shapes of fierce animals from China, or the faces of devils that the human eye has never seen; all the pictures are intended to make frightful impression” (... *hito no mioyobanu Hōrai no yama, araumi no ikareru io no sugata, Karakuni no hageshii kedamono no katachi, me ni mienu oni no kao nado no, odoroodoroshiku tsukuritaru mono wa...*<sup>110</sup>).

In the devil of Agi bridge we can suspect his origin although it is not explicitly told. It could have been in the mortal life a woman who died with hate in her heart and after death turned into a devil. But it is impossible to guess the origin of devils living in hell. Their generic name is *gokusotsu no oni* (lit. prison guards devils) and they are further distinguished (e.g. *shō*, *rasetsu*, etc.) according to their functions. Generally speaking they belong to the Buddhist religion, but from time to time they appear in not quite orthodox contexts, in stories with strong native admixtures. We would like to present one of such stories.

There lived in the Yamada district of Sanuki province a girl of family called Nunoshiki. She fell ill and her parents prepared many tasty looking offerings for the god of illness (*yakujin*). Instead of the god there came a devil sent by Emma. He was to deliver the girl’s soul to Emma’s kingdom, but when he saw the offerings he became attracted by them. He took the girl’s soul to hell, but on the way he made an interesting proposal; he would save her life should she find a substitute

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., XXVII, 13.

<sup>108</sup> Ema 1976: 121.

<sup>109</sup> *Makura no sōshi* 1958: 114.

<sup>110</sup> *Genji monogatari* 1974–75: I, 69.

of the same name and age as hers. The girl informed him that, in fact, there was such a person in the Utari district. The devil went to Utari and took the soul of the other girl. Meanwhile the girl of Yamada returned to life.

When king Emma saw the girl from Utari he understood at once that he had been cheated; it was another person, not the one he had summoned and he ordered to bring the proper girl. Willy-nilly the devil went to Yamada and this time took the girl and delivered her to Emma. The king was satisfied and ordered to send back the girl of Utari. But then it appeared that the body of the Utari girl had already been burnt and her soul (*tama, kon*) had no abode to return to. Then Emma ordered the soul to enter the body of Yamada girl, which had not been cremated yet. The soul of Utari girl entered Yamada girl's body and the body returned to life. The girl sat on her bed, looked around and stated: "This is not my home. These people are not my parents. My home is at Utari". Not listening to any persuasions she went to Utari and entered the other house. But, of course, she was not recognized there because she had the appearance of Yamada girl. For some time there was a general confusion in both families, but at last they found a *modus vivendi* and the girl lived happily sometimes with Utari's and sometimes with Yamada's families<sup>111</sup>.

There are other stories about devils from hell who could have been bribed with offerings. It may be a naive attempt at explanation of lethargy, of unexpected return to life of persona assumed to have been dead. On the other hand, similar stories were told in China, as well, and they could have come to Japan straight from there. Nevertheless, the Yamada-Utari story has a climate of local legend dressed up in Buddhist vestment. It may be judged as one of the best, most charming tales in the *Reiiki*.

## 2.5. Goblins

Today the word *tengu* is associated popularly with red-faced, long-nosed goblins of dubious character, or with their messengers and servants called *karasu tengu*, equipped with wings and teaks. Such images have been formed as a result of long tradition. In the Heian period the *tengu* had not yet have such distinct features. As it has been written before, they could have sometimes been confused with devils. Their main characteristic lied in the ability of assuming any form they wanted. Levitation was their speciality, by flying they could change places as they wanted, and they could as easily become invisible. They were spiteful on principle, without any special reason, and very fond of deceiving people. They were not as bad as devils because it was possible to reform them or to kill them. One story in the *Konjaku monogatari* gives India as their birthplace.

<sup>111</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XX, 18, *Nihon reiiki* 1975: II, 25.

A *tengu* flew from India to China. He heard on the way waters of the ocean murmuring fragments of sutras about impermance of everything in the world. He heard the same on his way from China to Japan. Wherever he flew over the Japanese islands, he heard all the rivers and streams whispering the same motives. The nearer he was to Mount Hieizan the louder sounded the song. At last the *tengu* comprehended the meaning of it and decided to become a monk on Hieizan. He became reborn as a son of Ariaki shinnō, Uda tennō's son and entered a cloister on Mount Hiei. He took the name of Myōgu. After many years of meditation and austerities he advanced in the temple hierarchy and became a bishop (*sōjō*)<sup>112</sup>.

The story shows a *tengu* reborn as a holy man, which provides an interesting variety in demonology. But in the Buddhist demonology such an idea was not controversial to the concept of rebirths. In the chain of rebirths it was possible to fall down in one incarnation, and then to advance in the next one. In regard to *tengu* there existed a belief that sinful Buddhist monks after their death did not go to hell (on account of their holy orders) but became *tengu*. It seems that they had a chance to improve their prospects for the future life, even being a *tengu*.

Another *tengu* which was to become reformed appeared as a woman to the holy teacher Ninshō of the Butsugenji temple. Thanks to Ninshō's prayers and strong will the woman confessed to her past crimes (committed as a *tengu*) and afterwards became a pious person<sup>113</sup>.

Such repentant *tengu* were fairly scarce. The majority of them were spiteful, but not without a sense of humour. They liked to scoff at religion and spared no pain in order to make fun of people, especially of monks.

At the side of a shrine at Gojō street there was a big persimmon tree. On the top of it there appeared a radiant Buddha. From all over the capital people came to admire the miracle. It became crowded under the tree from humble people coming on foot to aristocrats riding their horses or drawn in their carriages. There was at the time in the capital a wise minister, Minamoto no Hikaru. He suspected that the miracle was the work of a *tengu* and he knew that *tengu*'s magic (*gejutsu*, *gesu*) did not last longer than seven days. He waited up to the seventh day of the appearance and then he went to look at the persimmon tree. As all the others, he saw the Buddha spreading golden radiance while beautiful flowers floated down like multicoloured rain. The minister waited for two hours and, at last, he was rewarded – the golden Buddha turned into a buzzard and tumbled down. A young page killed the buzzard. The minister summed up the incident telling: "It had to be so! Why should a Buddha climb the tree?"<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XX, 1.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

That *tengu* was rather unfortunate. Another one had more luck than he deserved. For a long time (much longer than seven days) he pretended to be a very powerful and holy monk-hermit. He was famous for his magic spells. People talked about him with awe and wonder that he could stop an animal bent on its pray and pull down flying birds. When Emperor En'yū was tormented by a *mononoke* the monk was summoned to the palace. There, was to be performed the ceremony of reading sutras at five altars and other four monks were present. All five entered behind their respective screens and the reading began. But very soon from behind the screen of the *tengu* there began to emanate a terrible stink of dog's excrements. It was an effect of the sutras, but it revealed the *tengu*'s identity. He was caught but released, and nobody knew what became of him. Anyhow, he did not return to his hermitage<sup>115</sup>.

Another story contains some interesting points of different nature. In the Sanuki province there was a big and deep lake called Mano. It was a habitat of dragons. One day a dragon left the lake and assuming the shape of a small snake basked in the sun. Just then a *tengu* living on Mount Hiei flew over the lake. He saw the snake and snatched it with his claws. The dragon-snake without water lost its magic power and let itself be taken. The *tengu* took his victim to his quarters on the mountain, hid the snake and forgot all about it. The snake stayed there for four or five days despairing its lot. As a snake it had no wings, and without water it could not change its shape.

Meanwhile the *tengu* wishing to get hold of a monk flew to Mount Hiei. He saw a monk who left his cell and went to piss in the bushes. He carried a bowl of water for washing his hands. The *tengu* fell on him, grabbed and carried him away. He deposited the monk in the same place where he had hid the snake and then flew away. The monk and the snake easily understood each other's predicament. Thanks to the monk's bowl of water the snake regained its supernatural power. It produced a tempest and escaped taking the monk. Later on, the snake killed the *tengu*<sup>116</sup>.

In this story, side by side with the *tengu* there makes its appearance another creature endowed with supernatural powers. Dragons had had a long tradition in China. Implanted on the Japanese soil they easily mixed in popular imagination with native snakes. The belief in snakes endowed with magic powers had been strongly rooted in native folklore and mythology (see p. 81–82).

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 11.

## 2.6. Heavenly maidens (*tennin*)

The Japanese word *tennin* (or *tennyo*) may be translated as “angel”<sup>117</sup> but we prefer the term “heavenly maidens” because the *tennin* were always female and had no ambitions of influencing people on their way to salvation. They came to Japan with Buddhism as one of the ideas borrowed from the Hinduistic pantheon<sup>118</sup>. In Japan their role was more ornamental than spiritual, and was more pronounced in the iconography than in the beliefs circulating among the laity. In the iconography, they were depicted as beautiful maidens hovering in the sky, dressed in flowing and flowery garments or in robes of feathers with feathery wings. They were believed to be fond of music and dancing.

They are not absent from the tales of the period, but most of the stories belong to the kind nearest to the nursery tales. The best known tale about *tennin* is to be found in the *Kōdanshō*<sup>119</sup> (scroll I): Temmu tennō, who was an accomplished flutist, one day climbed a peak of Yoshino mountains and there descended to him five heavenly maidens. They sang and danced to the accompaniment of his flute. A similar story may be found in the *Konjaku monogatari* (XXIV, 1) where it is said that two or three *tennin* came down to another famous musician, Minamoto Makoto. The heavenly maidens were about one *shaku* tall, and they radiated light.

In both stories there appear *tennin* who descended to human beings lured by their wonderful music, and later on returned to heaven. In both cases there is no mention of wings of feathers. It seems that the robes of feathers (*hagoromo*) were a native addition to the silhouettes of imported heavenly maidens and were not a necessary element in their picture. Or, perhaps (and we would be inclined to take that view), whenever we meet beautiful maidens in flowing garments without any feathers, we can suspect that they are *tennin* of Hindu-Buddhist origin, while the girls with feathers belong to the Japanese tradition with some foreign admixtures.

The robes of feathers have been one of popular motives in folk legends since the Nara period. Certainly, they could have been already a product of syncretism, but the climate of the stories they appear in<sup>120</sup> does not show a foreign influence to any marked degree. They look more like a native idea. In the Heian period

<sup>117</sup> Kotański 1963: 84.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> A collection of stories by Ōe Masafusa written down about 1104–1107.

<sup>120</sup> In various existing *fudoki* (collections of local customs and legends) there are stories of *hagoromo* pointing to the popularity of the motive in Japan of the Nara period. The stories show similarities in quite distant provinces. E.g., the legends from Ōmi have eight heavenly maidens coming to the earth, one of whom married a man. In a legend from Tango there are also eight heavenly maidens and also one of them stays on the earth. The stories are not identical but the main features are common. In the *Hitachi fudoki* the heavenly creatures come to a lake in the form of swans. See *Heian chō bungaku jiten* 1972: 92.

the motive have been a very popular one as the *hagoromo* are alluded to in almost all novels and diaries of the time. It is a matter for speculation which elements – imported or native ones – played a greater role in that popularity, but in the Heian period the distinction between the elements has already been blurred beyond recognition. The most famous novel, classified as one of the so-called *hagoromo setsuwa*<sup>121</sup> (*setsuwa* – story, narrative) shows all the marks of highly syncretic literature. The novel, *Taketori monogatari*, was written probably in the first half of the 10th century by an unknown author. “It is what we should call a fairy-tale. The scene is laid in the neighborhood of Kiōto (Kyōto), and the personages are all Japanese. The language too is as nearly as possible pure Japanese. But there are abundant traces of foreign influences. The supernatural machinery is either Buddhist or Taoist, and most even of the incidents are borrowed from the copious fairy-lore of China”<sup>122</sup>.

An old bamboo-cutter called Nuribe Maro found in bamboo stem a tiny girl, 3 *sun* in height. Taken to and cherished in Maro’s home she very soon attained a normal human height, and became the most radiant beauty in whole Japan. She was named Kaguyahime (Shining One). She had many suitors, but to every one of them she gave quite improbable tasks. At last the Emperor himself asked for her hand. She refused explaining that she was not from this world. And, indeed, one night there came for her a chariot from heaven and she disappeared from the earth.

That story (in which the robe of feathers appears in the last part) repeats some fragments of native legends belonging to the *hagoromo* kind but with a rich embellishment of foreign motives. It has become a model for many later stories (hence, so many literary allusions in the novels and diaries of the Heian period). The *Konjaku monogatari* (XXXI, 33) looks like a short resume of the *Taketori monogatari*, but there is no *hagoromo* and the conclusion is a little different. In the original tale it is said that the girl came from the moon “whence it seems she had been banished for an offence which she had committed”<sup>123</sup> In the *Konjaku monogatari* version it is concluded: “It is not known, after all, who the girl was (...) People thought that the whole affair was rather quite inexplicable” (*sono onna tsui ni ikanaru mono to shiru koto nashi (...) subete kokoroenu koto nari to namu yo no hito omoikeru*).

The XXXI scroll of the *Konjaku monogatari* groups folklore tales, and it is evident that the author did not treat them seriously. It may be assumed that it was not his exclusive opinion, but he shared it with the majority of his contemporaries.

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Aston 1972: 76.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 77.

### 3. Animals endowed with supernatural powers

Among the animals endowed with supernatural powers the most popular ones were undoubtedly foxes (*kitsune*). Quite often when something extraordinary happened, people were apt to suspect foxes or demons as the perpetrators. There was even a monograph written by Ōe Masafusa entitled *Kobiki* (A Chronicle of Foxes' Frolics). It was a collection of legends and stories compiled in 1101. Apart from that, mentions concerning foxes can be found in the whole literature of the Heian period.

Foxes had, it seems, two very disconcerting attributes: they could bewitch people and they could change themselves into human beings (as well as into other forms). They were prompted to action by various motives which ranged from most sinister to quite innocent ones. Sometimes they were simply playful, sometimes they made fun of people. Some were dangerous and even lethal in their doings, others were frivolous and mischievous but not exactly harmful. There were also foxes very devoted to particular people and very helpful to them. But the majority of their pranks was quite troublesome and awe-inspiring, and people were afraid of them.

There was a strangely behaving woman (*monotsuki no onna*) who announced that she had become possessed by a fox. According to her words the fox did not come to make mischief (*tatari*) but to feed itself. Telling this the possessed woman took out a whitish ball of the size of orange and played with it. One of the men present there took it from her. She seemed then very excited and begged for the return of the ball, saying "If you do not return it to me we will be enemies. But if you do, I will protect you like a deity". Finally the man consented and returned the ball. Soon afterwards the fox was expelled from the woman by means of exorcism and it disappeared together with the whitish ball.

Some time passed and one night the man who returned the ball was passing the Ōtemmon gate. The atmosphere was oppressive and he felt very uneasy. He remembered the fox's promise and called *Kitsune, Kitsune*. The fox came at once and sent the man off to his house. Later on the fox was of great help to the man in many of his undertakings<sup>124</sup>.

The story is valuable as it demonstrates several points connected with foxes (possession, devotion to the benefactor, *tatari* and exorcism) and offers one more interesting observation – the first sentence of the story runs: *ima wa mukashi, mononoke yami suru tokoro arikeri* which means "long time ago there was a case of the *mononoke* – caused illness". Here the possession by a fox is identified with *mononoke*, and the *mononoke* with illness.

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<sup>124</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 40.

In the *Reiki* there is a story belonging to those very few of a non-Buddhist climate. A man went to look for a wife and met a woman who was wandering with the similar intention of finding a husband. They married and in due time had a son. At the same time their bitch had a litter of puppies. When the puppies were three or four months old the woman entered the kennel where they were kept. All the dogs leaped at her with obviously malicious intentions. She took to flight and running she' turned herself into a fox. It appeared then that from the very beginning she had been a vixen and she had only pretended to be a woman. The story has an optimistic ending: the husband made the best of a bad bargain and did not divorce his fox-wife because of their son. The son was given the name Kitsune<sup>125</sup>.

The above story could have been an archetype for many similar stories of later times of which the most famous became the tale of Kuzunoha, the vixen of Shinoda woods<sup>126</sup>, a faithful wife and devoted mother. The children and even later generations of descendants often manifested some extraordinary abilities. Kuzunoha's son, Abe Seimei, was one of the most famous magicians of the Heian period. In the *Reiki* there is also a story about a woman called Mino no Kitsune (the Fox from Mino) who was a descendant of a fox in the fourth generation. Her body was of gigantic proportions and she had the strength of a hundred people<sup>127</sup>.

The stories described above may serve as examples of useful foxes. The following stories will be about foxes of playful but rather mischievous character.

East of the Ninnaji temple, on the shore of a narrow river Kōyagawa there often stood a girl who accosted men riding s horse and asked to be taken for a ride to the capital. If invited, she sat behind the back of the rider and after going some distance, she jumped down, turned into a fox and disappeared. The story became well known among men belonging to the imperial guard and one brave man decided to catch the insolent fox. He went to Kōyagawa, met the girl and took her for a ride. As soon as she sat behind him he took out a strong rope and tied the girl to the horse's back. They rode for some time in silence but then, all of a sudden, they were surrounded by a big group of guardsmen carrying torches, shouting and displaying enmity towards the man and his captive. The girl took advantage of the commotion and escaped changing herself on the way into a fox. At that instant everything disappeared: the guardsmen, torches and all. The man found himself in darkness, and without his horse, in the middle of the Toribeno cremation grounds. He returned home on foot and next day he was almost dying. But he was a sturdy young man and a very obstinate one. Three days later he was again in good enough condition to repeat his adventure. Again he went to Kōyagawa taking with him a company of other guardsmen and again he met a girl, but this

<sup>125</sup> *Nihon reiiki* 1975: I, 2.

<sup>126</sup> The story of Kuzunoha is played up to this day as a *kabuki* drama.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 4.

time another one. The story repeated itself up to the moment when they became surrounded by the group of excited riders. The man did not pay any attention to them but held fast the girl. In this manner they entered the city and at the Tsuchimikado street the man hauled his victim by heir into his house with no regard to her laments and entreaties. Even when she turned into a fox he did not let her go. With a torch he charred her fur and then most severely forbade to play tricks on people. She promised to be good from then on. Then he let her go. Ten days later he again went to Kōyagawa and the girl was there standing on the bank. She did not look well. “Would you like to go for a ride?” asked the man. “I would like that very much but I am afraid to be charred again” answered she and quickly disappeared<sup>128</sup>. In this story the poor fox was punished for its pranks.

But in the next one the fox will be more lucky. One man had a surprise of his life when he discovered one night that there were two identical wives of his. He was sure that one of them was a fox but did not know which one. He got hold of a sword and threatened both women with it. For a long time he was helpless because both of them claimed to be his true wife. At last the fox could not bear the suspense any longer and, taking its own shape, escaped through the window shrieking “koo, koo” and urinating on the way<sup>129</sup>.

Another story is rather tragic for the fox. A man went at night to look for his lost horse. He was accompanied by a servant. Wandering in darkness in the fields they saw suddenly a solitary cedar tree. It was very big. They were convinced that in this place there had never been any such tree. They wondered what it might be and the master concluded that they encountered a *madowashigami*. The servant proposed to mark the tree with arrows and come the next day to see the thing in broad daylight. The master agreed and both of them at the same moment shot their arrows. The instant both arrows hit the tree, it disappeared. The master and the servant ran away in panic, but next morning they returned and at the place where the cedar had stood they found a dead fox, so old that it had lost almost all its hair<sup>130</sup>.

In most stories concerning foxes of mischievous but not lethal intentions the action takes place at night or in twilight. The most dangerous foxes, those casting spells and bewitching people, operated round the clock. The foxes were quite often victorious in their dealings with people although in many cases they had to seek safety in escape, and sometimes they were killed. People were afraid of them but it seems that the foxes should have been more cautious in their frolics, as people with their bows, swords and magic incantations could have turned into deadly adversaries. Woe to the foxes who were too old or too weak to defend themselves!

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<sup>128</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 41.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

The belief in bewitching foxes came to Japan in ready made form from China and it found good spiritual background on Japanese soil<sup>131</sup>. There have lived great many foxes on the archipelago pestering people and probably fascinating them with their sharp muzzles, clever eyes and agile movements. Besides, the thievish practices of foxes did not make them liked. There was still another factor, a very important one; the old faith in spirits and ghosts haunting people. The three elements – existence of real foxes on the archipelago, the Chinese folk-tales, and the faith in possessive spirits – merged together into the belief in supernatural powers of foxes. According to Ikeda, the belief in possession by foxes (or other animals) was a vulgarized form of older beliefs in *onryō* (vengeful spirits)<sup>132</sup>. Some traces of the merging process may be found in the Heian literature. For example, in one of the stories of foxes in the *Konjaku monogatari*, there is told in the conclusion that finally people were in doubt whether the strange trick they had witnessed was due to a fox or to some spirit (*mono no ryō*)<sup>133</sup>. In the *Genji monogatari* there is a scene where priests stand over the unconscious figure of Ukifune and are debating if she is a fox or a spirit, and similar instances of such a confusion may be found in other sources, as well.

The foxes in the service of god Inari, so popular even in the present-day Japan, seem to be of a later origin than the Heian period, although the legend explaining their appearance in this role is dated for the 9th<sup>134</sup> century. Anyhow, there is nothing about the foxes-messengers of Inari in all our sources, even in the *Sarashina nikki* (which describes among others, a pilgrimage to the Fushimi shrine)<sup>135</sup>.

Wild boars (*i*, contemporary: *inoshishi*) were also endowed by people's imagination with some characteristics similar to foxes. Boars liked to change their shape, they could speak and they had a taste for making strange antics. But they did not do any harm to people. The stories about boars are not as popular as those about foxes. We will quote three of the *Konjaku monogatari* stories, as the most characteristic ones.

A hunter while hunting in the woods for several nights, was confronted by a very strange happening: an unknown voice called his name. At first he tried to find and catch the speaker but to no avail. Later on, thinking that it was some demon, he wanted to kill it. But whenever he let the reins on the horse's back and took his bow, the mysterious voice stopped calling at once, As soon as he put off the bow and took the reins in his hands, the voice was heard again. At last, after several very nervous nights, his clever brother made a trick with his bow and shot an arrow in the direction of the voice. When it became light he went to the spot

<sup>131</sup> See Noguchi 1961.

<sup>132</sup> Ikeda 1974: 150.

<sup>133</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 29.

<sup>134</sup> Noguchi 1961.

<sup>135</sup> The Fushimi Inari taisha in the legend is claimed to have been the place of origin and the headquarters of fox-messengers.

where his arrow should have hit the unknown target and found traces of blood. Following the bloody track he reached a place where lay a dead boar<sup>136</sup>.

Another frivolous boar chose the very worst place for playing its comedy. It emitted light which shone brightly at night above a house where a dead body was kept, scaring people out of their wits. A son of the deceased, a very courageous man, made an ambush and killed the boar<sup>137</sup>.

The last story shows a more elaborate performance. Once a man on his way to the capital had to spend the night in an old shack in the fields. He became a witness to a ceremony of cremation. At first there came very near to the shack many people carrying a body and lamenting over it. Then they put the body on a pyre, set a fire to it and burnt it. Next they made a grave and constructed above it a memorial tower. Then the people left, their silhouettes and voices faded away in distance. While the man in the shack still peeped through the window, he saw the fresh grave heaving and a moment later an indistinct shape leaped from it. The man was horrified but did not panic. Thinking that it was a demon he decided to die in fight. With a naked sword he attacked the thing and cut it to the ground. In the morning it turned out that he had killed a boar. There was no trace of the pyre nor the grave and tower. People commented that the boar had seen the man entering his shack and it had wanted to play a trick on him<sup>138</sup>.

In all three stories the boars were killed by people. The poor animals could not cast spells like foxes and were not sufficiently equipped for a war with the humans. No wonder that they became extinct as the animals of mystery and magic. Their place in later times was taken by badgers (*tanuki*), the cheerful jesters so very such alive in various folk-tales of today. Boars are still living in Japan, but as very average animals stripped of their former wit and supernatural powers.

With some hesitation we will mention two stories concerning monkeys, described in the *Konjaku monogatari*. The stories may be of Chinese derivation as they look quite alien to the Japanese tradition, although they are heavily draped in Shintoist accessories. In *The Religious System of China* de Groot quotes a legend of “the marriage of the Riverlord” which is very similar in character to the Japanese stories in the *Konjaku monogatari*. In the Chinese legends there are no monkeys, but “the River-lord”, nevertheless the main idea, the sequence of events, and the endings show striking resemblance<sup>139</sup>.

In one of the stories<sup>140</sup> the action takes place in the Mimasaka province, in the second story in the Hida province<sup>141</sup>. In both cases the heroes (a hunter and a monk,

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<sup>136</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 34.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>139</sup> de Groot 1910: 1196–99.

<sup>140</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVI, 7.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

respectively), come across villages worshipping monkeys as their gods. What strikes one in the worship is the fact that the gods of both villages demanded annually living sacrifices of young girls. The victims, purified and beautifully dressed, were led to the gods and left in the sanctuaries where already there had been prepared chopping boards, sharp knives and various spices. The stories are rather unusual on the Japanese ground as blood has always been abhorrent to Shintoist deities, and the deities have always been kept on a strictly vegetarian diet. Anyhow, both stories have happy endings; the heroes after a long time of blood-curdling suspense succeeded in making terrible shambles of the sanctuaries and the monkeys. They lived happily ever after (with the would-be victims, most probably).

Our hesitation in mentioning the stories has come from the fact that the monkeys were only blood-thirsty and well-fed by their worshippers, but they had no supernatural powers. They could not even speak: in human language and were quite helpless in case of real emergency. And so, they do not enter into the category of animals endowed with supernatural powers. On the other hand, the stories give a clue to a superstitious cult connected with animals<sup>142</sup> and on this account we decided finally to include them here.

In the story about the hunter there is mentioned another blood-thirsty deity appearing in the form of a serpent (*orochi*, *kuchinawa*; contemporary: *hebi*). Here we are on a more solid ground because serpents in Japanese folklore have had a long tradition reaching into the remote past. There had been many bizarre tales of serpents before the Helen times<sup>143</sup>, but in that period, as well, there was a belief in supernatural powers of serpents. The serpents, in contrast to foxes and boars, were never joking. They were menacing animals and often licentious<sup>144</sup>. They liked to curse people, if they were disturbed. As an example may serve the case of a little boy Fukutari (a son of Fujiwara Michikane) who tormented a snake. The snake cast a curse on the boy. A lump popped out on Fukutari's head and soon afterwards the boy died<sup>145</sup>.

Serpents found special pleasure in sexual intercourse with women. There are many stories on the subject and we shall present as an example one of the most drastic ones.

A young girl in the village of Umakai climbed a chestnut tree in order to pluck some chestnuts. She was not aware of the presence of a serpent under the tree. When

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<sup>142</sup> Even if there has never been such a cult in Japan, the stories are interesting enough on many points.

<sup>143</sup> As examples may serve: Yamata orochi, Ōmononushi and Yamatototo, Yamatotakeru and the god of Ibuki of the *Nihongi*, etc.

<sup>144</sup> Investing serpents with lustful impulses was probably connected with very old phallic cults. An interesting echo of those cults as symbolized in the form of serpent will be described in the chapter on magic (see p. 141).

<sup>145</sup> *Ōkagami* 1967: 200.

she jumped down the serpent entwined her in its coils and raped her. Other villagers seeing what was happening surrounded the scene of action and called a famous physician. The serpent, it seems, all the time did not stop its foul activity, even when the girl fainted. The physician ordered them – the serpent and its victim – to be taken to a garden and left there. When at last the serpent made its escape, the physician began his ministrations over the unconscious girl. Finally he restored her to health. But, alas, three years later she was again raped by a serpent and that time she died. It was clear for everybody in the village that she had been destined to die in this horrible manner because of her karma from a previous life<sup>146</sup>.

There are other stories<sup>147</sup> about girls promised to serpents as wives, but these girls were more fortunate than the one from Umakai because they were saved (always at the last moment) thanks to the intervention of crabs or other creatures which they had rescued before.

In the moralist literature of the *Reiki* type one may frequently find various animals (turtles, oysters, frogs) saving people's life out of gratitude, and also animals behaving like human beings, speaking fluently in Japanese, and using the language mostly for preaching. The stories of such animals had not had any strong foundation in folklore. They served only as exponents of the Buddhist idea of retribution, and thus they are beyond our sphere of interest.

Almost all examples for this chapter we had to take from the *Konjaku monogatari* and *Reiki*. In the historical tales and diaries the most often mentioned animals are foxes suspected of some mischief. Other animals of the bewitching group may appear sporadically but not too often. They were obviously not so popular as foxes which gained recognition in the capital as well as in the country.

#### 4. Inanimate objects endowed with supernatural powers

In the Buddhist legends and moral stories there are many sacred objects endowed with miraculous powers: statues and pictures or scrolls of sutras radiating golden light or speaking in human languages. They belong to the category of religious didactics as they served the purpose of demonstrating the power not of the objects themselves, but of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and sutras which they represented or symbolized. They are, therefore, beyond our interest. We can exclude also from this chapter flying bowls sent by hermits for alms. The bowls did not fly of their own volition but were propelled by magic powers of their owners. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Buddhist legends could have contributed to spreading beliefs in supernatural powers of inanimate things, even of non-sacral objects.

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<sup>146</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXIV, 9. *Nihon reiki* 1975: II, 41.

<sup>147</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XVI, 16. *Nihon reiki* 1975: II, 8.

In the Heian period there are not many recorded cases of such objects but the belief existed. There is, for example, the story of the imperial lute (*biwa*) called Genjō. The lute played only for people who were in a good psychical condition. If somebody irritated or angry tried to play it, the lute did not give forth even the slightest sound. Once when the palace was on fire and when everybody forgot all about the lute, it marched out from the flames by its own power and waited quietly in a safe place till the furor subsided and it was rescued<sup>148</sup>.

Into the category of inanimate things endowed with supernatural powers we would like to include two objects qualified by Japanese writers<sup>149</sup> as demons. This qualification follows the *Konjaku monogatari* where both stories appear in the chapter on demons (scroll XXVII) and where are used the terms *mononoke* and *oni* in regard to the objects.

The first story is about Fujiwara Sanesuke who saw a jar for oil rolling and bouncing along the street. Sanesuke thought it highly suspicious. He stopped his carriage and watched it. The jar halted in front of a mansion and then leaped over the gate. It tried many times to squeeze itself through a hole in the door and, at last, it succeeded and disappeared from Sanesuke's sight. Next day he sent a man to inquire at the mansion and was informed that the jar killed somebody there. In the conclusion of the story it is told that "there were such *mononoke* appearing in shapes of various objects" (*kakaru mono no ke wa samazama no mono no katachi genjite aru narikeri*<sup>150</sup>).

In the second story the malicious thing – a wooden board in this case – came flying from somewhere, entered a house and also killed a man. The board is called a "demon" (*oni*) in the title and at the ending<sup>151</sup>.

It is possible to treat both objects as demons in the forms of inanimate things, especially in the light of the quoted sentence on *mononoke*. But then we would like to know something more about the spirits impelling the objects to action. Were they persons who had died with a grudge against the victims? Were they *tengu* taking such shapes, spiteful on principle? The stories give no clue and no answer to the questions. Therefore, we feel justified in treating the jar as a jar and the board as a board and they become for us the things endowed with supernatural powers.

<sup>148</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXIV, 24.

<sup>149</sup> Ema 1976. Ikeda 1974.

<sup>150</sup> *Konjaku monogatari* 1975: XXVII, 19.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

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## PROF. JOLANTA TUBIELEWICZ (1931–2003)

We present a reprint of the first part of a book by professor Jolanta Tubielewicz (1931–2003), entitled *Superstition, Magic and Mantic Practices in the Heian Period*, which constituted her habilitation (postdoctoral dissertation) defended in 1978. This book was published in English by Warsaw University Press in 1977, though its print-run was small and it is unknown among scholars of Japan abroad.

Professor Tubielewicz was an eminent scholar of Japanese studies and one of the founders of the postwar Warsaw school of Japanese studies. Her interest in this distant country dated back to childhood. “It seemed to me that it was something unusually delicate, something that could crack if touched, something unique in the world,” she said 30 January 1996, when the ambassador of Japan in Poland, Hyōdō Nagao, presented her the Order of the Rising Sun – Gold Rays with Neck Ribbon, which was awarded by the Emperor of Japan in recognition of her outstanding services in the field of promoting knowledge about Japan in Poland and academic cooperation between Poland and Japan.

She pursued her academic interest in Japan as a student at Warsaw University (1949–1953). Because there was no Japanese studies at the time, she enrolled as a student of Sinology, attending every course and lecture concerning her favorite country that she could. She learned the grammar of Japanese from Professor Wiesław Kotański, whom she called My Great Master, and the history of Japan from Professor Witold Jabłoński. She also studied Japanese at the Department of Eastern Languages and Affairs at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (1948–1950). After completing her undergraduate studies she became fascinated with the aristocracy of the Heian Period (794–1192), in particular one of the most influential political figures of that era, Fujiwara Michinaga, who became the subject of her doctoral dissertation (*Fujiwara Michinaga – the Most Prominent Statesman of the Heian Period*), defended in 1971. In the years that followed, Professor Tubielewicz continued to explore the Heian Period and Japanese antiquity, focusing on superstitions, augury and magic.

The result of this research was her postdoctoral dissertation *Superstition, Magic and Mantic Practices in the Heian Period*. This work became the basis for her elevation to Assistant Professor in 1979. After further research, teaching and organizational work, she was awarded the title of Professor of the Humanities (1987).

She visited Japan many times, under academic fellowships (from the Society for the Promotion of Knowledge about Japan, 1965–1967; the Heian Museum in Kyoto, 1971–1972, and the Japanese Foundation, 1983–1984) as well as private visits. “A feeling of gratitude to Japan grew inside me day by day until I began to think about it as my second homeland”. Professor Tubielewicz later described her Japanese experiences and fascinations in a very personal book entitled *Japan – changing or unchanging* (Wydawnictwo TRIO, 1998). She conveyed her expert knowledge in numerous publications, including: *Mythology of Japan* (WaiF, 1977), *Nara and Kyoto* (WaiF, 1985), *History of Japan* (Ossolineum, 1984), *Culture of Japan. A Dictionary* (WsiP, 1996), *Great Discoveries and Mysteries of Japanese Archeology* (Wydawnictwo Trio, 1996), *Men and Women in Ancient Japan* (Nozomi, 2000). Her last lectures for students of Japanese Studies at Warsaw University were published posthumously as a book entitled *From Myth to History* (Wydawnictwo TRIO, 2006).

A tireless researcher plumbing the secrets of ancient Japanese history, she also had the time and energy to actively participate in the Institute of Oriental Studies. Starting in 1981 she performed the function of Deputy Director of the Institute, then Director in 1985–1986 and finally Dean of the Faculty of Modern Languages in 1985–1990. Through all these years she was simultaneously a teacher and mentor for successive generations of Japanese Studies students. While demanding and strict in academic matters, she demonstrated inexhaustible patience and kindness to her students. Even in the last years of her life, when illness made it impossible for her to come to the university, she conducted master’s seminars in her home and tape-recorded lectures for every new class of students. We all remember her fascinating lectures, which were never the same because she was always enriching them with her latest findings. Some of them assumed the form of articles which appeared later in the journal *Japonica*.

Professor Tubielewicz imbued us, her disciples, with a love for Japanese culture and a passion for scholarship. Her erudition, intellectual honesty and engagement in the life of the university were always a source of support and a model for us.

Ewa Pałasz-Rutkowska

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 Munro, Neil Gordon 1962.  
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Gaca, Maciej & Alfred F. Majewicz (eds.) 1999. *Through the Gate of Yunnan Borderland (Ethnic Minorities of Southern China). Linguistic and Oriental Studies from Poznań* Monograph Supplement 4. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM [Adam Mickiewicz University Press].

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