Maro DOTULONG:

The Conquest of Shell: Ecology, Technology, and Non-State Communal Networks of Japanese Pearl-Shell Divers in 'the Arafura Zone', 1870s-1920s

My research is on the history of Japanese pearl-shell divers active in the tropical oceans of the Indo-Pacific from the Meiji period (1868-1912). It focuses on the formation of 'non-state communal networks', and the ecological as well as technological developments that enable them to come into being. I define the 'non-state communal network' as a web of deterritorialized social relations in which mutual aid, self-organisation, and voluntary association play a major role. This project takes an ocean-centred approach to historical research and therefore constitutes a break from the pattern of land-based approaches. Surprisingly, it is the latter which is most prevalent in histories of modern Japan, despite the central role that the ocean has long played in the lives of the inhabitants of the archipelago.

From the early Meiji period, highly-skilled fishermen took the 'standard diving dress' and transformed it from a technology utilised by the state to repair ships and build large public works, into one that allowed ordinary people to live autonomous lives far beyond the state's purview. The 'standard diving dress' was an unwieldy piece of equipment that consisted of a metal diving helmet and a canvas suit, supplied with oxygen from the surface of a boat through a long hose. Reminiscent of an early version of a spacesuit, it was a new technology that allowed people to discover parts of the seas that were incredibly rich in abalone, a type of mollusc which had been fished along the coasts of Japan for several centuries, if not much longer. Banking on the old abalone trade with China, pioneers of the new technology thrived as they had never before. However, this was quickly put to an end when the Meiji state banned abalone fishing using the standard diving dress in the 1880s. The fishermen and their supporters, mostly from Wakayama prefecture, increasingly moved outward and became active in the seas and oceans between the Australian continent, the Dutch East Indies, and German (and later British) New Guinea. This moment signalled the start of an exodus of Japanese divers into what I tentatively call the 'Arafura Zone', where they continued to hack state-centred technology to the advantage of their non-state communal networks.

Working closely with Malays, aboriginal Australians, Pacific Islanders, Papuans, and Europeans, the divers challenged hierarchies based on cultural – and increasingly, biological – differences. As is now well known, these were believed to be the principal reason for the variations in civilizational progress attained across the globe, serving as a justification for the colonisation of those at the lower rungs of the hierarchy. Unlike the Meiji state, which tried to insert itself into this hegemonic framework to avoid being colonised, the divers were much more concerned with the creation of communal networks that allowed cooperation across these newly-emerging, yet, by today's standards, already archaic divisions of historical time and imaginary space.

A close look at these divers changes our current understanding of Japan's 19th century opening

as part of a 'revolution from above', spearheaded by samurai and oligarchs, or the start of modernisation processes through an unambiguous transfer of technology from the West to the East. Furthermore, shifting our focus to the Indo-Pacific, we may start to see these marginalised historical actors not as mere puppets swept along by the imperial ambitions of a modernising Japanese nation-state, but as important players in the creation of transnational networks that overcame boundaries of race, language, and culture. The divers' actions seem to have been rooted in the successful river and sea-based livelihoods of commoners along the Japanese littoral, which necessitated strong forms of cooperation in order to cope with nature's furies.

Research in Japan

The history of the pearl-shell divers has concerned local historians of Wakayama since the first wave of divers returned home, but it has barely received any attention anywhere else in Japan. The research for this project was therefore largely conducted in Wakayama prefecture, where a wealth of material can be found in local and prefectural libraries, local archives and museums, and community centres (*kōminkan*).

The local and prefectural libraries are almost always guaranteed to have a section for local history (*kyōdoshi*), where you can find self-published works, pamphlets, or rare and out-of-print copies of books that are not available in the National Diet Library in Tokyo. Local archives provided me with invaluable written work, such as diaries of the pearl-shell divers. Sometimes, local libraries simultaneously serve as archives, as in the case with the Kushimoto town library. Upon entering this library, the staff recognised me from a local newspaper and provided me with several boxes of materials containing photographs, contracts, diaries, and passports. Few people knew about this repository even at the local level. Small local museums housed tools that the divers used, diving dresses, diving helmets, air pumps, compasses, and plenty of pearl-shells of various shapes and sizes – punctured to supply button industries with raw material, or framed in the rare case that the two halves of a pearl oyster shell break symmetrically.

I further stumbled upon surprising material in community centres (*kōminkan*) in the towns and villages along the southern coast of Wakayama prefecture. These would often contain reading rooms with publications that might not even be found in local or prefectural libraries. Furthermore, they held items that were not considered important enough to be housed in a museum, but which local residents nevertheless cared to donate for the community to see. Boab nuts with carvings of kangaroos and boomerangs were among some of the artefacts that the divers brought back home from their encounters with aboriginal Australians.

With the help of a journalist of a local newspaper who interviewed me for a short article, I was able to reach out to local residents of Wakayama prefecture and ask whether they would like to share any stories or show me any artefacts that their pearl-shell diving grandparents brought

back from abroad. I was fortunate enough to be contacted by a number of descendants of pearl-shell divers, local historians, and an artist couple. This opened many doors for me on my research trip and made it possible for me to visit several places that I would otherwise not have been able to visit. One particularly memorable example is the old primary school in Tanami, in which one can find many artefacts brought back by divers from various places in Southeast Asia in addition to Australia. It is now off-limits for the general public because of its severely dilapidated state, and I suspect that the abandoned artefacts will be buried under the rubble in the near future.

Several discoveries made during my research trip forced me to expand my geographical scope. Tracking down notable pearl-shell divers and delving into the details of their encounters with others, I came across a Buddhist priest who was active as an anthropologist and businessman in the same area as the pearl-shell divers. This took me to the Honganji archives (*honganjishi shiryō kenkyūjo*) in Kyoto, which house an extremely rich collection of documents relating to the history of the largest school of Shin Buddhism (*jōdo shinshū*). Among these, a small amount of written material relating to Buddhist priests who either worked with pearl-shell divers or were active in the same places could be found.

Following the trail of other pearl-shell divers led me to Chiba prefecture. At a Buddhist temple in a fishing village stands a statue of a pearl-shell diver who devised an improvised method for dealing with 'the bends', a common and fatal problem for divers using the standard diving dress at the time. It was erected in his memory with the donations of fellow divers who felt thankful to have been saved by his method. The statue stands covered in rust at the back of the temple grounds and is accompanied by a humble monument with an inscription.

Finally, my search took me to the storage rooms of Keio University's little-known collection of indigenous art from New Guinea. The artefacts belonged to a former pearl-shell diver who had learnt a number of indigenous languages and who was engaged in many different activities in German (and later, British) New Guinea. It seems to have been obtained from him after his death by businessmen, and had later fallen into the hands of a Keio University graduate whose descendants decided that the collection should be donated to the University.

I spent the rest of the research trip in the Wakayama Civic Library Migration Archives in Wakayama city, the National Diet Library in Tokyo, the Kansai-kan of the National Diet Library in Seika (Kyoto Prefecture), the local libraries of Katsuura and Tateyama (both Chiba prefecture), and the library of the National Research Institute of Fisheries Science in Yokohama.

Acknowledgements

This research trip would not have been possible without the invaluable support of the Toshiba International Foundation, and the following persons (in the order in which I met or corresponded with them):

Andreas EDER-RAMSAUER:

Who saves 'the people'? The success and failure of populist frames in voter mobilization and the architectonics of the political space in Japan's liberal democracy

Project outline

Since events like the rise of right-wing parties in Europe around the year 2000 – not the least in my home country of Austria –, protests ensuing in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis or the tumultuous Brexit elections in 2016, everyone and everything suddenly seemed to be populist. This trend fuelled my interest in the subject. And when I discovered that academic literature was very divided about what populism actually meant, my scientific curiosity became even stronger. Since the analyses of different phenomena often vary significantly and the term populism is often used very normatively, devising a conceptually rigorous analysis of populism became a very inspiring project for me. Finally, as a Japan specialist, I quickly realised that Japan was almost completely absent from populism literature. Wondering why this might be the case, I began with the conception of this doctoral thesis.

The fact that populism exists in Japan quickly becomes obvious. For example, former Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichirō or the prominent former governor and mayor of Osaka Hashimoto Tōru have already been identified and analysed by Japanese scholars following populism theory (see for instance Ōtake Hideo or Matsutani Mitsuru). Their anti-elite rhetoric shows numerous similarities with populist discourses that are more familiar to western audiences. However, I have noticed that the work of Japanese scholars on populism does not yet intensively examine the role and relevance of populism for a liberal-democratic political space. Questions as to how populism expands or narrows democratic space with its imaginaries and practices have not yet been empirically examined for Japan. Moreover, since the relative success of populism in Japan is rightly regarded as smaller than in Europe, for instance, Japan offers an interesting case of why populism could not flourish more in a particular context. This issue has also not been addressed so far. This study addresses these research gaps by systematically analysing the relationship between populist discourses and other structuring logics of the political space, such as nationalism, regionalism, and so forth and their respective consequences for a liberal representative democracy.

By comparing different cases in which populist discourses have already been identified in existing literature, I aim to understand what impact populism has had on democratic space, if successful. Further, on a discursive level, I plan to examine what other forms of identity construction have been successful in defending against populism's anti-establishment appeals. By doing so, I strive for a better understanding of political discourse, culture and democratic practice in Japan. Methodologically, this project combines a discourse-theoretical, formal

reading of populism based on Ernesto Laclau with frame analysis, aiming at measuring structuring frames in campaign materials of ten key elections. Starting with the successful election campaign of the "first successful populist" Koizumi Jun'ichirō in 2001 and ending with the upcoming lower house election, which is currently planned for 2021, the collected data will be analysed using a mixed-method approach. Intensities as well as qualitative differences in the framing of the topics are taken into account in this approach. By explaining the success or failure of numerous populist election appeals to the democratic political identity of "the people", by looking at contestations against it through other structuring logics of the political space, or specific combinations of populism with additional logics, the underlying mechanisms should explain the impact of populism on and its role in Japanese democracy in a rigorous fashion. The project will contribute to democratic theory by more clearly attributing effects on liberal democracy to specific constructions of the architectonics of the political space. It will thus contribute to further research into whether populism is a threat or corrective to democracy.

Research in Japan

I prepared my two-month research stay by setting three objectives. First, I needed to collect "older" primary sources from elections since 2001. These sources are not easy to find online, since, for example, available newspaper interviews with politicians are almost always summarised in Japan and therefore do not necessarily reflect the way in which politicians communicate. Therefore, I planned to collect unaltered interviews, speeches and campaign texts in Japan. Second, since the upcoming upper house elections (2019) and the lower house elections (2021) are among the cases to be examined, I wanted to obtain as much in-depth data as possible about the campaign process and the mobilisation efforts of Japanese politicians. I prepared an address book of politicians I could get in touch with while in Japan, and prepared introductory emails I could send before I came to Japan. Third, to better grasp the scope of existing research on populism in Japan, it was also an important objective to find further secondary sources. Since I had to submit this report before my research stay in Japan ended, I am writing it while still trying to achieve the outlined objectives. Therefore, I cannot yet fully assess the success or failure of my research stay. Nevertheless, I will also try to describe current obstacles.

Concerning my first goal, I found the National Diet Library very helpful. Weekly or monthly journals like *Bungei shunjū*, *Chūōkōron* or *Seiron* offer a wide range of useful material, either discussions (*taidan*) between politicians and scholars, or even essays by these politicians themselves. The National Diet Library's copying service can be a little tedious and costly, but once understood it works very efficiently. Additionally, the official electoral gazettes (*senkyo kōhō*) can be consulted in a special room. In the process, I got to know the publishing landscape in Japan much better, and the various possibilities that politicians can choose or make use of offered interesting insights into the political culture of Japan. Besides journals, books written by politicians are also a very important resource. Thanks to Japan's very active and effective

second-hand book trade, I was able to buy all the books I wanted to collect at very little expenses.

Achieving the second goal has been the most time-consuming and stressful so far. Contacting, conversing with and meeting politicians has been nerve-wracking, but at the same time very enriching. In most cases, it was relatively easy to find contact addresses, while receiving replies proved to be rather difficult. A response rate of less than five percent nevertheless opened up great opportunities. As most interviewees were very helpful in finding additional interview partners, the initial response rate did not matter as much. So far, access to politicians varies from party to party, and I will intensify my attempts to correct these imbalances in the coming weeks. I must also admit that I have not fully taken into account the specific time politicians are currently in. More specifically, politicians who are campaigning or preparing for the upcoming local elections have so far been more willing to meet than those who are in the peak season of the diet session. Another strategy, which has been partially successful, has been to attend events organised by politicians and address them directly at these events. Social media has made it easier to stay up to date on who speaks when and where. However, staying informed is very time-consuming. Catching campaign speeches on the streets of Tokyo has been a little challenging, because most of them are not advertised in advance.

The last destination for my research stay led me for the most part back to the National Diet Library. The Social Science Library of Tokyo University was also an important place for research. As it is not possible to scan books or articles in these libraries to my knowledge, sufficient space must be taken into account in my luggage. Pleasant strolls through amazing bookstores such as Kinokuniya in Shinjuku or Maruzen near Tokyo Station have also made me aware of prominent commentators and political literature that I might otherwise have missed.

So far, the experience has been very enriching. In particular, it was extremely fascinating to experience the campaign activities first hand. The last month was a really motivating experience and I can hardly wait to see what lies ahead.

Acknowledgement

my supervisor Prof. Dr. Verena Blechinger-Talcott for encouraging me to apply for the Toshiba International Foundation Fellowship and for any constructive critique she has given me. Finally, I would like to thank Prof. Uno Shigeki and the Tokyo University for providing a very stimulating and comfortable working environment. Having the opportunity to discuss Japanese politics and my research with esteemed scholars such as Prof. Uno Shigeki, Prof. Gregory Noble, Prof. David Leheny and others was a great stimulus and pleasure. The research stay was an enriching experience, and I am grateful to all of the above and everybody else I met during the stay.

Shanshan HUANG:

Japanese Passive Constructions between Syntax and Semantics – A Study in Diachrony

Project Outline

My research aims to provide an extensive analysis of the passive constructions in Japanese throughout its historical development from its oldest attested stage, i.e. Old Japanese (8th century) to Modern Japanese. In particular, my research mainly focuses on the interplay of linguistic elements between the syntactical and semantical levels in passive constructions from a constructional approach, specifically, from the framework of Construction Grammar (cf. Goldberg 1995 et al.). By employing the constructional approach diachronically, I hope to provide a new perspective on the phenomenon of the passive and related constructions in Japanese, and to show how it compares to other languages from a typological point of view.

Methodologically, in order to account for all the functions of the construction in the analysis, I adopt a form-to-function approach by looking at all constructions that employ the passive marker within a pre-selected corpus. Therefore, the research is predominantly corpus-based, meaning that firstly, the linguistic materials I use for the analysis are taken from existing and annotated collection of texts; and secondly, I rely (at least in part) on the existing annotations for my own subsequent analysis. At first, I analyse the data from each stage synchronically, only to draw a contrastive analysis of all linguistic periods at the end by comparing all the synchronic data. Regarding the corpora I employed for this study: for the data in Old Japanese, I took advantage of the morphologically and syntactically annotated Oxford-NINJAL Corpus of Old Japanese (previously known as the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese) which contains all materials from this linguistic period; as for the following language periods, I am using the Corpus of Historical Japanese that is currently in development at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (hereafter referred to as NINJAL).

The analysis of each construction is based mainly on three parameters: the predicates' lexical semantic properties, their argument structure – within the framework of construction grammar as mentioned earlier – and the properties of the arguments of the said predicates. The analysis and the interpretation of the data from the two corpora is then achieved by taking into account previous typological studies on voice phenomena in general (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000), as well as specific studies on the passive voice, represented among others by the works by Siewierska (1984) and Shibatani (1985, 1988).

Research in Japan

I started my dissertation project in October 2017, and before I left for Japan, I conducted some basic literature review on voice phenomena in general and examined the theoretical approach

I needed for the analysis. Thereafter, I spent the first half of 2018 researching Old Japanese, which benefited greatly from a three-month stay at Oxford University, where I had direct access to the corpus of Old Japanese and to Prof. Frellesvig classes on Old Japanese.

There are a number of reasons why I applied for a research stay in Japan. First, by coming here, I was able to get direct access to the Corpus of Historical Japanese (CHJ) and learn how it is created by the development team at NINJAL, so I can use it properly. Second, there are a number of papers and previous research on the subject of my study, which are difficult to obtain in Italy because they are mainly written in Japanese. In addition, I also had the opportunity to attend various seminars on historical Japanese, which were very beneficial for my studies.

I arrived in Tokyo on November 9, 2018. In early December, I met with Toshiba International Foundation President Omori and Senior Program Officer Ms. Kuwayama at TIFO headquarters in Hamamatsu, along with two other TIFO Fellows. We received a very warm welcome and had a brief talk about our respective research.

The main goal of my research stay is the collection of linguistic data at NINJAL. Fortunately, I was able to arrange a room in a shared house in the city of Tachikawa, Tokyo, where NINJAL's research facility is located. I had previously applied to NINJAL to be admitted as a visiting researcher so that I could have access to their facilities during my stay. The entire duration of my stay is from November 2018 to mid-June 2019. As I will be staying in Japan for another three months at the time of writing this, this report will only be a progress report on the part of the work I have conducted so far.

The main activities I planned to carry out for the entire period of my stay are: a) data extraction, b) additional literature review, c) study of Japanese grammar of different periods and d) beginning with the data analysis. The following paragraphs describe briefly, what I have achieved out up to this point.

a) Data extraction

Since each corpus is structured differently and has different functionalities, I spent the first period of my stay to learn to use the CHJ online platform properly while carrying out other activities at the same time. Ms. Matsuzaki from the Language Change Division at NINJAL was very helpful in this respect. After several attempt to use the online interface, I was able to select the number of texts I wanted to include in my study from each period (i.e. Early Middle Japanese, Late Middle Japanese and Modern Japanese). Since the subject of my study lies between syntax and semantics, I had to consider a number of factors before selecting the texts. First, I decided to select a sample of texts instead of using all the texts present in the corpus, as the sheer number of texts available for analysis after the Nara period is very large. This would make the research too impractical to be carried out in its entirety, since I have to analyse every single

occurrence of the phenomenon. Therefore, after careful consideration, I have decided to select approximately 100,000 words for each period in total. Additionally, the texts I selected are from textual genres suitable for this study. For example, for the Early Middle Japanese period, I mainly selected texts from *monogatari* 'stories' and *nikki* 'diaries', which have a higher probability of containing syntactically complete sentences than other genres such as poetry. To illustrate the product of this process, for the EMJ period I was able to extract 303 occurrences containing the passive marker (tagged morphologically as られる –*rareru* and らる-*raru* in the corpus) from a sample of 102,870 words (since it is not possible to determine the total number of words to be sampled in advance, I have selected a subsection of the corpus containing texts which sum up approximately to my desired word count). The search results are then downloaded and stored as CSV files locally, in order to make them more accessible during the analysis.

b) Additional literature review

At NINJAL, I also had the chance to access an excellent library and research materials on Japanese linguistics. Specifically, I examined materials written about the passive voice, studies on the potential use of the passive marker and generally studies on the Japanese syntax. As I have started to draft my thesis, I also found the books on the history of the Japanese language very helpful and informative. I was able to copy all the materials I found necessary, so they will also be available to me at a later stage.

c) Japanese historical grammar

Before I began analysing the data from each period, I wanted to acquire at least an "essential" knowledge of the grammar of that period in order to interpret the data correctly. I generally rely on interpretations of the texts in modern Japanese to maintain the general meaning of the sentence. This is also my approach to the analysis of the texts in Old Japanese. But since this is a linguistic study and I have to be able to explain every relevant element in the sentence or word, the study of grammar is inevitable. Until now, I have studied the grammar of classical Japanese, albeit sparingly. To this end, I have consulted a number of grammars, from the classical Japanese grammar of Mabuchi K., which is in Japanese, to the grammar of Shirane H., which is in English.

place to study. I would also like to thank Prof. Frellesvig at Oxford University for giving me invaluable knowledge on Old Japanese at the beginning of this journey. To the EAJS office, I thank Mr. Denninger Lorenz for his patience and helpfulness regarding bureaucratic matters. Finally, I want to thank my supervisor, Prof. Luraghi, who has supported my research enthusiastically in the last years.

Emanuela SALA:

Hermeneutical Strategies of Japanese Medieval Buddhism: the Yōtenki 耀天記

Project outline

Sannō shintō 山王神道 is what we now call the medieval and premodern wealth of narratives, doctrinal analyses and artistic depictions related to the deities of the Hie (now Hiyoshi) shrines, in Sakamoto (Ōtsu). The identity of the deities was conceptualised in a manner based on the vocabulary and semiotic framework of Tendai Buddhism, imported from China by Saichō 最澄 (767-822) in the 9th century.

Sannō shintō is somewhat a misleading label: clumped together under the same name, these multifarious narratives might be read as a unified, coherent theological system (possibly also created and diffused "top-down" by powerful religious institutions). Such a reading would however hide the fact that, at least in the middle ages, these were manifold and often in contrast with each other, produced by numerous institutions and lineages which used the identity of the Hie deities to "situate" themselves in the fluid religious world of medieval Japan. If we look at *sannō shintō* from an institutional perspective, we can regard the main foci of its elaboration as the Enryakuji, where most doctrines related to the Tendai worship of the deities were elaborated, and the Hie shrines, where the deities were enshrined. The latter were the main (but not only) organisational centre of the festival dedicated to the deities, the distant ancestor of what is still practiced to this day as *sannōsai* 山王祭 (*sannō* festival). Many kinds of ritual experts resided at the shrines, either permanently or temporarily. Among these were the Hafuribe 祝部, the lineage whose members held the title of head priest (negi 禰宜) in the middle ages.

My research looks at the development of *sannō shintō* between the 13th and 15th century, through the gaze of the Hafuribe and focusing on two of the Hie shrines, Ōmiya and Ninomiya, the main shrines of respectively the western and eastern compound of Hie. The deities enshrined at Ōmiya and Ninomiya, together with the third deity Shōshinji, formed the triad known as "mountain kings" (*sannō* 山王, hence the name *sannō shintō*), on which was focused the first worship of the Hie deities at the Enryakuji. Ōmiya and Ninomiya, in particular, had been the earliest object of this worship.

My research departs from a text called *Yōtenki*, a collection of traditions related to the Hie shrines composed between the 13th and the 15th century.

The remarkable thing about the *Yōtenki* is that it was compiled for the most part by members of the Hafuribe, in contrast with most medieval material relating to shrine origins which was produced, even in shrines, by Buddhist monastics. Even more remarkably, the Hafuribe sections

paint a lively portrait of institutional relations, often showing the Hafuribe evaluating and criticising monastic narratives about the Hie deities, and putting themselves in relation with numerous religious and literary circles (especially poetic) across the country, with which they claimed a relationship based on ties either familiar or mythological.

While thanks to the pioneering work of Kuroda Toshio we can now see medieval religion as emanating from binary systems composed of Buddhist temples and shrines with a local reach, material such as the *Yōtenki* is evidence that we can expand this system by also accounting for trans-local, nation-wide networks of shrines, escaping the paradigm claiming that *kami* discourses were emanated from and "directed" by Buddhist institutions. *Yōtenki* sections in which the Hafuribe discuss mythologies related to the Kamo and Matsunoo shrines, in Kyōtō, or the Miwa shrine in Yamato, are particularly crucial to understanding the geographical reach of medieval *kami* discourses. These were made up of multiple languages, ritual, textual, and artistic, generated by various groups: Buddhist monastics, laypeople connected to the court, shrine priests whose ritual duties centred around *kami* worship. While all these groups communicated with one another, they also had different ideas on what a *kami* was, what it looked like, and, crucially, on its relationship to their community.

The first section of my dissertation project focuses on the relationship between the Hafuribe and Tendai lineages at the Enryakuji. This is the most sizeable section of my research, as it introduces *sannō shintō* to a Western readership. While there are extended studies on *sannō shintō* in Japanese (such as a monograph by Sugahara Shinkai and extended research by the historian Satō Masato), this topic is treated in Western scholarship fragmentally, in portions of works on Tendai thought or in articles.

This first section investigates *sannō shintō* from four perspectives:

- Narrative
- Ritual
- Artistic
- Doctrinal

Following the order in which these are presented in the *Yōtenki*, I study narratives related to the deities of Ōmiya and Ninomiya, comparing these with primary sources other than the *Yōtenki*, and examining them by taking account of the Hafuribe point of view.

I also examine the problem of *kami* identities in *setsuwa* and sermons, confront these with how *kami* were conceptualised in ritual acts dedicated to them and discuss their figurative depictions. Lastly, and more challengingly, I investigate how their identity is treated from a Tendai doctrinal perspective, to establish it in a way that is coherent to a Buddhist worldview. I am especially interested in how Tendai conceptions about what a sacred body is and what it

looks like eventually be percolated into conceptions of *kami* not necessarily linked to Tendai institutions. At the end of this section, I will hopefully have a working framework for the various ideas of how the Hie deities are supposed to look and sound, how they manifested themselves, and how they are related to the territory around Enryakuji and the Hie shrines, and to Japan.

In the second part of my dissertation, I examine networks between the Hafuribe and institutions outside the Enryakuji. These are:

1. Shrines: I depart from an analysis of the relationships between the Hie shrine and other shrines involved in the *sannōsai*. I then examine Hie's relationships with Kyōto shrines such as Kamo, Gion and Matsunoo. Finally, I examine how the priests of the Hie shrines put themselves in relationship with shrines farther away, for instance the Miwa shrine in the Yamato area.

2. Literary and cultural circles: I depart from the explicit mention in the *Yōtenki* of relationships to literary circles (especially poetic) to examine the impact of *sannō shintō* and the Hafuribe in the literary world.

In the third and final section of my dissertation, I delineate how *Yōtenki* narratives were instrumental in constructing a new idea of religion based around *kami*: in other words, what we now call *shintō*. This section of my work entails looking at manuscripts and narrations produced after the *Yōtenki*, such as Edo-period texts on the Hie deities, but also working on marginalia of manuscript copies of the *Yōtenki* to investigate its later reception. I am especially interested in how Tendai conceptualisations of sacred entities were still instrumental to this seemingly "native" interpretation of deities.

Fieldwork

I arrived in Japan on October 11. Still very much jetlagged I headed for my dingy Nakano sharehouse, where my first encounter was with a cockroach – cockroaches being the only living creatures I truly fear. Facing the cockroach was not the only challenge of my three months in Japan; luckily, it was the only truly unpleasant one.

What luck I lacked in living arrangements, I made up for in academic ones. Being admitted as a Visiting Research Fellow at Waseda University meant three things: first, I could use the vast Waseda library, where I immediately began to consult secondary sources which are difficult to access in Europe (including the incredibly precious monographs on the history of Mt. Hiei and surroundings by Shimosaka Mamoru). For the first time I was also able to easily consult journals that are not accessible to me in Europe – most Japanese academic journals are unfortunately not yet widely digitised. This has allowed me to gain a hold on Japanese academia by going through numerous issues of specialised papers, especially literary studies.

Secondly, as a Visiting Research Fellow I became able to use the gym facilities at Waseda, which meant fighting off my terrible jetlag. Thirdly, and, most importantly, I was allowed to audit the

seminars of my host supervisor, Prof. Ōkubo Ryōshun.

Tendai philosophy is at the background of my project, which means that a good understanding of its principles is essential for my research. Prof. Ōkubo's seminars consist of reading philosophical texts (mainly Tendai) in Classical Chinese, translating them into modern Japanese, and discussing them in class by linking them to other texts of the Buddhist canon.

Following the classes was challenging at first: as I tackled the advanced study of Buddhist philosophy in Japanese, I had to grapple with my shortcomings in this language, but also with the fact that I had to make rapid progress with my classical Chinese. This was a challenge I took up happily, despite the initial difficulties: courses of this kind are very rare in Europe, and I felt very grateful to Ōkubo-sensei, one of the world's leading experts on Tendai Buddhism, for allowing me into his classes. I also received a lot of help from my fellow students, who immediately accepted me as one of their colleagues and helped me with generosity, offering warm friendship and crucial advice on scholarly articles (if they sometimes laughed more at me than with me, that is very forgivable. I was once 20 minutes late in class late because I had gotten hopelessly lost in the subway).

Halfway through my fieldwork I visited Sakamoto for a week, while residing in Kyōto. I did so for three reasons:

1. To attend the Tendai *gakkai* at the Tendai Gakuin.
2. To conduct archival research at Eizan bunko.
3. To visit the Hiyoshi shrines, the object of my research.

Attending the Tendai *gakkai*, a tight programme of presentations from some of the most important specialists of Tendai Buddhism, was a formative experience. I was listening to incredibly condensed, difficult lectures from experts who presented new and exciting material, and I was able to meet them and get some feedback on my work. I returned with a wealth of new material, making me more aware not only of Tendai thought, but also of methods of looking at texts while conducting archival research.

I could use this new information during my visits to Eizan bunko. It was three very full days (originally, it was supposed to be only two, but I was lucky enough to be allowed to visit once more). In the archive, I was able to inspect manuscript copies of my core text, the *Yōtenki*. While I initially only wanted to conduct a study of colophons in order to consolidate the philological studies already carried out on the *Yōtenki*, my attention was drawn by one of the two Edo-period manuscripts in the archive. It is a copy of what was a "standard" form of the text in the Edo period, which was apparently hastily copied, possibly for personal use, by a copier of which we do not know the name. As it is heavily annotated, this manuscript raised questions I had not thought of before, such as why was the *Yōtenki* copied so often in the Edo period?

This question has allowed me to steer my previous archival research, which I had envisioned more as description and compilation, in a new direction. Other manuscripts at Eizan bunko further consolidated my belief that the latter half of the Edo-period saw a renewed interest in the identities of the *kami* of Hie.

My archival research has thus enabled me to expand my thesis, adding a final chapter on Edo-period understandings of the deities known as *sannō*. Further research this Spring will hopefully tell me more about how the *Yōtenki* was transmitted and the reasons why it was so widely copied.

I concluded the Kansai leg of my fieldwork with a visit to the Hiyoshi shrines: this was not only an emotionally charged moment – I had never seen the Hiyoshi shrines before. It also gave me a spatial awareness that I could not have possibly gained from only looking at maps, medieval and not medieval. The opportunity to experience the layout of the shrines really helped to "place" the narratives I am researching.

While I was in Kyōto, I was also lucky enough to be allowed to listen to one of Prof. Uejima Susumu's lectures at Kyōto University. Attending a lecture at an institution other than Waseda gave me the opportunity to test my progress in classical Chinese and at the same time receive a valuable lesson in the historical method applied to the study of religions.

After my return to Tōkyō, my interest in trans-locality was further encouraged by two visits to Kanazawa bunko, where Prof. Matsumoto Ikuyo of Yokohama City University kindly accompanied me for the first time. Kanazawa bunko, the archive of the Shōmyōji and the largest medieval archive in Kanto, contains a wealth of heretofore not much studied material on the Hie deities, which will certainly prove useful to assess the diffusion of *sannō shintō* outside Kansai.

Another essential part of my fieldwork were the numerous exhibitions I was able to visit, which gave me the opportunity to actually "put a face to a name", placing the objects of my study physically. *Shinbutsu no katachi*, at the Ōtsu national historical museum, and *Arawareta kamigami*, in Kanazawa bunko, were particularly precious. A wealth of medieval depictions of *kami* have enabled me to construct a mental database about how *kami* were thought to (and allowed to) look like in the middle-ages. These representations can largely be related to *kami* depictions in my sources.

Towards the end of my Tōkyō stay, I also visited the Toshiba headquarters. While I had thought that this official occasion would be a bit daunting, the warm welcome by the President of the Toshiba International Foundation, Mr Ōmori, and the Senior Programme Officer, Ms Kuwayama, soon dissipated my fears. The insightful discussion of the research topics, both mine and those of the other Fellows, and the relaxed lunch afterwards truly made it a wonderful day. I was

particularly enthusiastic to find that the sponsors of my fieldwork had a genuine, warm interest in my research, and I truly enjoyed hearing stories about their academic history while enjoying a delightful lunch.

Acknowledgments

Firstly, I would like to thank the Toshiba International Foundation for granting me this Fellowship, without which I would not have been able to afford my fieldwork. I really appreciate how the Toshiba Fellowship is not merely a matter of financial help, but also manages to create a community, both among fellows and between Fellows and Toshiba. I am lucky enough to be able to visit Japan again in the Spring; I will do my best to organise another meeting – it is remarkable how the Fellowship manages to create bonds that last. I would especially like to thank Ms Kuwayama, who has kept in touch with great kindness for the length of my fieldwork, and Mr Ōmori, who has welcomed me warmly to the Toshiba headquarters.

I would also like to thank the EAJS for rendering the fellowship accessible; I especially need to mention Lorenz Denninger from the EAJS Office, who has given me invaluable help while calmly and timely answering all my increasingly anxious (sometimes outright silly) questions.

Finally, my two supervisors, both the London-based and the "adopted" one, have been endlessly kind to me. Ōkubo-sensei at Waseda University really went out of his way to make me feel welcome. He not only allowed me to audit his classes, he also reassured me that I would get used to them even though I only understood 20% of his courses. He was also kind enough to show me temples and shrines, and, most importantly, to advise me which sake to order in an izakaya.

Throughout the fieldwork, my supervisor at SOAS, Dr. Lucia Dolce, has been an indefatigable source of advice and reassurance. She has not only invested time and care on me with great enthusiasm, but has also made me feel that I am worth this time and care, even in moments of great doubt.

Niklas SÖDERMAN:

Subjectivity in the Philosophy of the Kyoto School

My Research Project

My research topic in comparative and modern Japanese philosophy is the Kyoto School's approach to subjectivity, or what it means to be human in the light of a philosophy that understands subjectivity through Buddhist concepts like no-self and absolute nothingness. My preliminary thesis is that the Kyoto School's view of subjectivity, while offering a distinctly welcome rearticulation of the self-Other or I-Thou relationship, is incomplete in the sense that it reduces sociality and society into that relationship. To support this view, my research seeks to articulate a socially and culturally embedded picture of the Kyoto School's view of subjectivity, focusing on works by two of its key philosophers, Nishida Kitarō and Nishitani Keiji. In addition to understanding the strengths of their philosophical approach to subjectivity, it also means analysing their oversights and what the implications of those oversights are for the Kyoto School's intercultural philosophical project. This requires delving into the cultural presuppositions underpinning their thought and explicating its tensions with both its own Japanese roots and the Western philosophical tradition.

My research moves from a phenomenological analysis of the Kyoto School's view of subjectivity to a more contextually embedded picture of their approach that also investigates its historical and ideological foundation. In the context of this project, "subjectivity" is not meant in the sense of something opposed to objectivity, but instead subjectivity is viewed as the constitution of our individuality and how we are connected in the social world, as individuals that experience the world and have agency. This kind of approach is often loosely called "political subjectivity" in reference to the deep embeddedness of subjectivity in the socially constructed systems of power and meaning, which is close to how I try to approach this topic. However, in my view this kind of view of political subjectivity folds into the idea of subjectivity as a concept that unites the self and its relations to the social world, while there is a more specific use for "political" subjectivity as an expression of the politicality of that kind of subjectivity.

I am particularly interested in the potential for emancipatory change contained in the Kyoto School's approach to subjectivity, and how it manifests on the level of individual existence as well as what is its potential on a societal scale. This is why my project seeks to chart out an immanent critique of the Kyoto School's approach to subjectivity, which means analysing both its conceptualisation and its ideological roots in relation to the historical and social context from which they emerged in order to better reflect on how they can relate to our particular circumstances and developments in both social and political thought. The goal is not to find inspiration from the Kyoto School's ideas or import them into contemporary discussions as such, although these are, in their way, certainly valid uses of their philosophy. Instead, this

approach aims to contextualise the Kyoto School's idea of subjectivity, to show how it is rooted in its historical situation and ideologies, and what this embeddedness would mean if we tried to apply this view of subjectivity now. The point is to be aware of both its potential and its shortfalls before we draw inspiration or try to introduce it to modern discussions. If we understand how this view of subjectivity emerged and functioned in its context, we can also begin analysing how it would interact with our particular context. This kind of critique as a historically situated approach does not aim at simply critiquing its target concept, but seeks to understand its context-based shortcomings in order to address them and thus contribute to realising the concept's emancipatory potential in the present.

Research in Japan

I arrived in Nagoya on September 17, 2018, for a research visit at the Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, a research institute that is part of the Nanzan University and is dedicated to promoting dialogue among religions, philosophies, and cultures of East and West. I was particularly interested in the work that the institute and its scholars have done on the philosophy of the Kyoto School and the extensive library the institute has, and my first few days were spent browsing the long shelves for material related to my own research interests. This was particularly gratifying, since accessing or even getting information about many of the sources on Kyoto School's philosophy outside of Japan is often difficult, if not impossible. Therefore, getting access to the Institute's extensive collection on the Kyoto School and related topics helped me secure a number of important new sources for my research project.

As my stay at the Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture was limited to two and a half months, I adopted a two-track agenda in my research activities. First, I focussed on the acquisition of research material from the Institute's library, where I could also familiarise myself with the collected works of key philosophers in the Kyoto School, such as Nishida Kitarō, Nishitani Keiji, and Tanabe Hajime. Furthermore, I could also access much of the secondary literature written on them inside of Japan and most of what has been written outside of Japan. This review of literature expanded my list of sources by dozens of publications. In addition, I also got access to journals like *Zen Buddhism Today*, which is now out of print and unavailable in electronic format. Professor James W. Heisig even kindly donated to me a complete print run of the journal, which should prove very useful both in my present and future projects. In addition, Prof. Heisig also gave me access to some unpublished translations of the Kyoto School philosophers and even shared some of his notes with me, for which I am deeply grateful.

As for the second part of my research agenda at the Nanzan Institute, I sought to put some of the sources I had located to use by focusing on a specific research topic. In doing so, my intent was to gain a better grasp of Nishida's central philosophical idea, the logic of place (場 所 の 論 理), both by understanding Nishida's own explication of this idea and by analysing it as an alternative approach to human subjectivity. This is a key issue in my doctoral research, since

Nishida's views on the topic are foundational for the Kyoto School's philosophical point of view in the sense that Nishitani and the others developed their own philosophical standpoints in elaboration of or in dialogue with Nishida's pioneering work. To this end, I spent quite some time working through Nishida's key texts on the logic of place as well as on secondary literature in the form of a few dozen research articles and several monographs.

Unfortunately, the end of my stay in Nagoya came before I could finish this subproject for my thesis. But I continued to work on it after my return home. While in Japan, I mainly had time to analyse Nishida's philosophical logic of place and to start considering it from the point of view of subjectivity. However, this latter part of the subproject is still in progress. In any case, my aim is to develop my analysis into a separate article as well as a central chapter of my thesis in the spring term of 2019.

In addition to the sources I found at the NIRC library, I also spent time hunting for sources both online and in second-hand bookshops during my stay in Nagoya and later in Tokyo. By the end of my research visit to Japan, I returned home with an extra bag and two big boxes full of books, including several volumes of Nishitani's collected works (西谷啓治著作集), the Complete Works of Tosaka Jun (戸坂潤全集), the complete Kōza Zen (講座禅) edited volumes, a pile of primary and secondary sources on the Kyoto School, and most delightfully, a whole set of the Complete Works of Nishida Kitarō (西田幾多郎全集), found at a Nagoya bookstore for merely 6,000 yen.

Getting my hands on these sources is something that will be invaluable both for my current and future research projects.

Acknowledgements

Culture. I am particularly grateful to Nanzan Institute's director Kim Seung-Chul for inviting me to the NIRC as a visiting researcher and for giving me the opportunity to stay at their wonderful institute. My deepest thanks go to Professor James W. Heisig from the NIRC for his time, kindness, patience, and help during my stay, and for sharing his vast expertise in this research field so unreservedly, and for inviting me to stay at the Paulus Heim while I was in Nagoya. I also wish to thank Professor Tõnu Viik from Tallinn University, who visited the NIRC at the same time as me, for many interesting discussions on philosophy. Lastly, I must extend my thanks to my supervisor Professor Rein Raud, both for his support for my visit and for my overall research project.