

Eiko HONDA:

The Emergence of Anarchist Nature in Modern Japan: Minakata Kumagusu (1867—1941) and the Politics of Planetary Knowledge

Project Outline

What if nature was ‘trans-gender’? This is one of the environmental philosophies of science that emerged at the turn of 19th to 20th century in Modern Japan and Britain, which remained invisible until now. The thesis will articulate this radically new history in writing what I call an ‘anarchist nature,’ revealed in the life and work of the Japanese naturalist Minakata Kumagusu (1867-1941). By ‘anarchist nature,’ I argue a notion of nature that is not governed by a single absolute doctrine of reasons confined within one culture. Concurrently, by calling ‘nature’ as ‘anarchist,’ it implies existence of subjectivity in what the history of modern science has long referred to as the environmental nature i.e. nature that is pliant in the hands of autonomous humans.

In the paradigm of the latter, the modern ‘nature’ has long been considered passive female in the hands of authoritative Caucasian male. Post-modern and feminist scholars have indeed challenged this view as it is intertwined with identity politics. My thesis project on Kumagusu uncovers the intellectual history of nature that transcended such logic of modern subjectivity, including that of the binary gender which continues to dictate its knowledge production. I will do so by revealing a vision of progress – a different kind of modernity that existed in the modern history – embraced by the transnational non-institutional scholar, that is Kumagusu, whose operational and intellectual scope was not confined within the politics of institutionalised knowledge or a single nation.

Kumagusu was a polymath who specialised in biology and ontology of slime mould – an amoeba-like micro-organism whose multiple sexes transcended clear-cut male-female and life-death binaries. He never completed any higher academic degree or fully belonged to institutions. Yet he made an extraordinary contribution of 51 articles to the renowned scientific magazine *Nature*. He lived and worked in the town of Tanabe, Wakayama in Japan, San Francisco and Ann Arbor in the US (1887-1892), with a brief time in Cuba (1891-1892), and eight years in London, UK (1892-1900). He reportedly read nine different languages and comparatively analysed the world’s studies of folklore, animal intelligence, and sexology, as well as philosophies of Greece, Buddhism, and social sciences at the library of British Museum. All these seemingly disparate interests were intertwined together as a form of knowledge with the planetary scope, beyond the divisions of nation-state borders and the culture-nature polarisation, all of it grounded in the existence of slime mould.

Such ways of knowing the world require a new language of science that operates beyond the normalised categories of thoughts and 'Western'-centred and nation-centred approach that surround histories of both modern Japan and modern sciences. In other words, the thesis aims to not only contribute to the history of modern Japan via the first monograph of the naturalist in English but also to shed a new light to the current field of global intellectual history of science.

The Research in Japan and the Archival Work

By the time I began my research in Japan in mid-January 2018, the thesis project had evolved greatly since I submitted the application to the TIFO Fellowship. I had written a draft of the first chapter and organised a conference expanding on the key aspect of the thesis – i.e. the interdisciplinary method of knowing 'nature' in the field of Japanese Studies and the Environmental Humanities. I began to revise my understanding of (non)disciplinarity and the notion of 'nature' in the work of Kumagusu. For that purpose, I have been in search for a method of writing that does not solely relying on the existing terminologies of our time – such as 'transgender' and 'sexology' – which emerged out of the modern science and subjectivity the thesis aims to challenge. Such adjustment of intellectual preconception was vital in reading primary materials with which I have been able to engage at the archives.

Moreover, I have been fortunate enough to be able to extend my research stay in Japan from March 2018 to early July 2018. Hence, this is an interim report.

The main site I have been working at is the Minakata Kumagusu Archives in the town of Tanabe, Japan, which hold the majority of Kumagusu's primary resources and almost all of the secondary resources that have ever been published. The Archives gave me unlimited access and freedom to explore and scan their materials. In addition to the archival work, I was able to meet many Japanese scholars who have been working on Kumagusu in Japanese with a focus on finding new primal resources and deciphering his badly handwritten Japanese diaries to make them accessible over the past ten years. They kindly gave me insights into the current field of research in Japan, where and what I could look at the archive, tips to decipher his Japanese handwriting, and the access to digitised diaries which helped enormously with the first aim of the archival visit.

Getting my hands on the personal library of Kumagusu at the Archives has been the most revelational part and vital to fulfilling the second aim of the visit. The library contained hundreds of publications in Japanese, Chinese, Latin, English, French, Greek, and Russian that Kumagusu amassed. I identified key publications that he frequently references in his numerous essays and letter correspondences on folklores, sciences, and religions. Some of them are well-known names such as Charles Darwin (1809-1882), Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), and the Edo period author of *Yamato honzō*, Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714), while others are less known. One of the lesser-known authors in the history of science that played a large part in Kumagusu's

work is, for example, the Italian scholar of Sanskrit Angelo de Gubernatis (1840-1913), the author of *Zoological Mythology or the Legends of Animals* (1872). Having married a cousin of the anarchist legend Bakunin, Gubernatis was heavily influenced by the political view. And despite the fact that he was nominated for Nobel Prize in Literature fourteen times, he is now regarded as an obscure figure in the history. Analysing publications of these authors in Kumagusu's library and his hand-written notes on their pages have illuminated the intellectual web of ideas that were present and certainly influential at that time, yet remained invisible in the contemporary understanding of the intellectual history of the period.

While looking at the materials that support the proposed research, I began to re-evaluate the use of categorical terminologies of knowledge I used to describe Kumagusu's work. Such notional frameworks include "sexology," "Buddhist," "ecology," and "nature." Are these notions commensurable among intellectual cultures of nature Kumagusu engaged at that time? Did he really have a belief in Shingon Esoteric Buddhism or was he simply employing their theories in order to construct his? Pigeon-holing someone's work into categorical labels is easy for our contemporary mind fixated on terminologies of how we understand the world and its history. However, it is a pitfall that obscures what actually happened at that time.

Another truly invaluable experience apart from the vital information gathering surrounding Kumagusu was to be able to live in the town of Tanabe in Wakayama Prefecture, where Kumagusu spent the majority of his life after his return from the UK. It was significant for me to visit key shrines and temples in town as well as in the mountain of Kumano-kodō (now the World Heritage Site) whose forests he tried to protect from the Shrine Amalgamation Policy of the Meiji Government, which caused demolitions of smaller shrines and thereby destruction of primordial forests and its ecosystem. My experience of living in the town was enriched by chance encounters with local residents who told me oral histories of Kumagusu and related local folklores he wrote; these are remains of the history that have not been written in 'academic' publications.

There was also a 150-year anniversary exhibition of the naturalist at the National Museum of Nature and Science in Tokyo, which marked the momentum of the domestic interest in the naturalist with over 180,000 visitors. The thoroughly researched exhibition gave me the chance to assess Kumagusu's work in a comprehensive manner with a theoretical approach that was different to my hypothesis, while considering the accessibility of academic work to the wider public.

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Hana KLOUTVOROVÁ:

Personal deixis in the speech of characters in shojo manga

Introduction

Japanese language has a large scope of person-designating terms which reflect how speakers identify themselves and the relationship between speaker and hearer in various communicative situations. Manga, or comic books, are often believed to have an influence on the speech of young generations, particularly regarding the use of masculine terms by girls. My dissertation thesis project is concerned with the usage of Japanese personal pronouns by fictional characters in comic books aimed at a teenage girl audience. I am seeking to answer what types of personal deixis can be found in shōjo manga (comic books for teenage girls) and how they compare to the speech of female junior high school students (between 12 – 14 years of age). My work will answer the question if shōjo manga can be a source of the increasing usage of masculine personal reference forms in the teenage girls' speech or whether these media promote traditional and stereotypical usage of a gender specific language.

Survey

Prior to my stay in Japan, I prepared a two-section survey to be conducted among junior high school students. In the first section of the survey, the respondents are presented six tables, three concerning the first person deixis and three concerning second person deixis. In the horizontal row of the table, there were options for various interlocutors chosen to represent possible relationships the respondents are likely to enter along the axes of social distance (social status, age) and psychological distance (unknown person, close person). These interlocutors were divided into groups by tables: “adults”, “peers” and “family” to make the design of the survey easier to follow. The vertical row of the table included various options for first person deixis, or second person deixis. The self-reference terms or address terms were chosen based on previous scholarly works concerning personal deixis in Japanese language and their relative frequency. However, to draw respondents' attention to non-standard possibilities, terms such as *atai* (for the first person) or *temee* (for the second person) were also included. Respondents were also able to add their own term, in case they felt the presented terms did not include their preferred deictic word. The purpose of the table was for the respondents to evaluate their awareness of their usage of given words according to a frequency scale from 1 (never) to 4 (always).

The second section of the survey was concerned with students' reading habits and their favourite manga titles. They were asked to judge how often they read manga either as a printed media or by using internet or smartphone applications. In a next step, they were asked to choose from a list of comic magazines the titles they read and to write the title of their favourite manga. With the aim to understand to what extent Japanese junior high school

students are aware of deictic terms used in the media they consume, they were asked to pretend they are their favourite manga character and to choose an appropriate term to fill into a line from a manga image (scene). Besides finding out which terms the students are most likely to assign to the speech of fictional characters, another reason for including the images was to make the survey more enjoyable and easier for students to fill in, as I anticipated that after filling out the tables in the first section of the survey, attention span of the students might suffer a lapse. On the last page of the survey, there was an empty space, which students could use to leave their comments about the survey and its topic, or to comment on anything else they wished.

Although my dissertation is concerned only with personal deixis in the speech of characters in shōjo manga in comparison with the speech of female junior high school students, my survey was prepared to include questions and scenes concerning shōnen manga (comic books for teenage boys). I drafted the survey in this fashion to also be able to gain valuable insights in similarities and differences between the speech patterns of Japanese teenage females and males and to make the survey worthwhile for girls who read other types of manga, as well as for their male classmates. This also made it possible to conduct the survey in co-educated schools without adding further interference to the schools' busy schedules.

Stay in Japan

Before my stay in Japan, I had started communicating with the junior high schools which I planned to visit. They kindly opened their doors for me to come by and conduct my survey. The communication and negotiation of suitable dates continued even long after I arrived in Japan on 16 January 2018. I stayed in Tōkyō until the end of the month. During that time, I visited Gakushūin Girls' Junior and Senior High School and Ushiku Shiritsu Ushikuminami Junior High School. After that, I travelled to Kyōto with a short stop in Nagoya for a visit to Aichi Shukutoku Junior High School and High School. In Kyōto, I conducted my survey in Hieizan Junior High School and in Kyōto Sangyō University Junior and Senior High School. On 14 February, I returned briefly to Tōkyō for a scheduled meeting with representatives of the Toshiba International Foundation, President Ōmori and senior programme officer Ms Kuwayama, as well as for another visit to Gakushūin Girls' Junior and Senior High School. I spent the rest of February in Kyōto as it allowed me to travel to Hiroshima Daigaku Fuzoku Chugakkō Kōtō School and visit both the Kyōto International Manga Museum and the Hiroshima City Manga Library, where I was not only able to have a look at pioneering works of shōjo manga, but also could study theoretical works on Japanese comics. As my stay was slowly nearing its end, I visited the last school in Nagakute, the Nagakute Shiritsu Minami Junior High School, on 15 March and travelled back to Tōkyō for a second meeting with Toshiba International Foundation and for purchasing materials for the corpus that I intend to create.

With the help of Professor Itō, and later on also Mr Kloutvor and Professor Oteki, I was able to print the blank survey sheets very efficiently, so the only challenge was left was to carry the

dauntingly heavy stacks of paper around Honshū. I visited seven schools in total. As the answering of the survey was expected to take only 20-30 minutes and as I usually visited classes during one lesson (usually 50 minutes long), I was asked to prepare a short presentation (in some cases in English, in some cases in Japanese) by the host schools and to be ready to answer questions from the students about myself, my home country or my research.

I gathered surveys from 1024 respondents in total, 712 girls and 312 boys. The data collected from boys will not be lost or deemed useless, but on the contrary, will provide valuable insights into the use of personal deictic terms by Japanese boys, as well as constitute a possible starting point for a new research project in the future.

When explaining the survey to the respondents, based on a several questions I received from the students, I realized that not all students perceive a clear difference between shōjo manga and shōnen manga (or other manga genres). Apart from that, there were no students, who would admit having problems with understanding the survey (either when asked at the end of the survey or in the comment section of the survey itself). However, there were students who claimed they had never given much thought to the forms of personal deixis they use before and that they in fact found the survey interesting and entertaining. Hopefully, the design of the survey proved itself to be engaging for the students.

I had anticipated that the sorting of the surveys and their subsequent analysis would be very time-consuming. Yet, prior to my stay in Japan, I had only a rough estimate of how many responses I would be able to gather, so being able to gather as much as 1024 was a great (and very welcome) surprise to me. However, in the wake of collecting this enormous number of responses, I had to abandon my original plan to start with digitalizing the data and analysing them while still in Japan. Instead, I focused on tracking which shōjo manga magazines and shōjo manga titles the girls listed as their favourite. Beside the magazine titles, which were given as selectable the options in the survey, the respondents mentioned more than twenty other magazines they frequently read. The number of listed favourite shōjo comics was even greater – in total, over 270 individual shōjo manga titles were listed by students. I intend to purchase the most frequently mentioned magazines and individual titles and subsequently create a corpus of shōjo manga to compare the speech of the students and the characters in manga.

I was also curious about which self-reference terms female junior high school students would admit to use. In particular, I was interested to see how many girls would admit using masculine first person terms such as *ore* or *boku*, and what terms besides those I listed as options would appear in the responses. Among the 712 female respondents, 42 girls admitted they use *ore* and *boku* – mostly during conversation with their peers or with their families (interestingly, *ore* was more frequently listed). Other terms not conforming to the stereotypical gender specific language were, for example, *ware* or *washi*. The preliminary results also show a tendency

towards the frequent use of the term *uchi*. These findings correspond to recent research papers concerning the speech of young women. Moreover, based on the preliminary results, I intend to examine the relation between the reading habits and preferred manga genres and the tendency to choose more (gender-) stereotypical deictic terms in the second part of the survey (scenes from manga).

During my research stay I was not only able to gather a significant amount of data and material, that will become a valuable foundation for one part of my dissertation thesis, but I was also fortunate to be able to visit various junior high schools throughout Japan and to meet and communicate with many enthusiastic students and teachers. This made my stay a unique and rewarding experience.

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Daniel WOLLNIK:

The Ministry of Communications (Teishinshō) in modern Japan: Anatomy, power and ideology in times of change (1919-1949)

Project Outline

This dissertation project deals with the organizational history of the Ministry of Communications (Teishinshō) that was in charge of developing most of the communication and transportation infrastructure in Japan between its founding in 1885 and its final dissolution in 1949. As starting point serves the observation that the Teishinshō underwent a remarkable organizational growth during its relatively short period of existence. Whereas at the time of its founding its scope was limited to postal service, telegraphy, lighthouses and maritime shipping, the Teishinshō since then successfully expanded its competences by temporarily or permanently seizing control over a variety of businesses in the following years and decades, such as the telephone business, railways, electric power generation, civil aviation, radio and insurance services. At the height of its organizational expansion, the ministry has become a huge bureaucratic complex nearly impossible to oversee in detail. This is why Chalmers Johnson, who briefly noticed this organizational growth in an article almost 30 years ago, categorized the Teishinshō as one of “Japan’s superministries of development” that allegedly also became a “cockpit of ultranationalism and militarism” in the 1930s and was thus finally dissolved under the American occupation¹.

Its huge scope and central position in many important political sectors raise a lot of questions concerning the overall importance of the Teishinshō in modern Japanese history, in particular its role as an agenda-setter in the political arena, its relevance to the industrial and technological modernization, its economic and social influence. But all these aspects have by no means been sufficiently explored or even addressed yet. It is astonishing how little research has been carried out on the history of the Teishinshō as an organization by now. Most of the previous research related to the Teishinshō has focused either on single high-ranked bureaucrats or on the various businesses under the auspices of the ministry (post, telecommunications, radio etc.). But in both cases, the organizational setting has been neglected with the result that in these studies the Teishinshō is often just briefly mentioned and appears as a monolithic, taken-for-granted bureaucratic apparatus in the background. In the field of bureaucratic history, it seems that the Teishinshō could not draw much scholarly attention since it was overshadowed by the “first-class ministries” like the Naimushō, Gaimushō or Ōkurashō.

Departing from this state of research, my dissertation project focuses on the organizational

¹Johnson, Chalmers (1989) “MITI, MPT, and the Telecom Wars: How Japan Makes Policy for Technology”. In: Johnson, Chalmers; Tyson, Laura D’Andrea; Zysman, John (Ed.) *Politics and Productivity: The Real Story of Why Japan Works*, pp. 177-240 (quoted: p. 187).

dimension of the Teishinshō and asks the following questions:

- How did the organizational structure of the Teishinshō change over the time of its existence, especially against the backdrop of the changing political circumstances? How can its multiple organizational transformations be explained and what were the implications of these changes?
- What characterized the (power) relationship between the Teishinshō and its organizational environment, in particular the other ministries?
- Which ideology and political agenda was propagated by and within the Teishinshō?

One aim of this study is to deliver a new perspective on the development of the communication and transportation systems in modern Japan by deepening the understanding of their institutional foundations. I originally intended to focus solely on the telecommunications business but revised this focus in the course of the last half year (which is also reflected in the changed working title). It seems more promising to look at the ministry as a whole, as this approach offers the chance to see entanglements, dependencies and similarities between the various Teishinshō administered businesses that are mostly treated separately in the literature, although they were institutionally bound to the same ministry. Another aim is to contribute to the study of bureaucracy in modern Japan by bringing the almost ignored Teishinshō into discussion. The term *gijutsu kanryō*, which has often been indiscriminately applied to many employees of the Teishinshō and other technology-oriented ministries, seems at least a questionable concept if one takes a closer look at the specific organizational culture and identity of the Teishinshō. Finally, this project seeks to shed light on the role of the Teishinshō as a political force itself, which still deserves a lot more attention.

The temporal focus is still up to consideration, but preliminarily lies between the mid-Taishō era and the dissolution of the ministry under the American occupation. The reasons are that the quantity of source materials from this period allows more insights compared to the lack of sources from the Meiji period and that many of the most interesting and fundamental organizational changes occurred during this time, because the existence of the Teishinshō itself became contested. In terms of methodology and theory, this study draws on approaches from political sociology and organizational theory. Especially system theory approaches deliver a fruitful analytical framework and terminology to scrutinize the above-mentioned organizational growth.

Research in Japan

I arrived in Japan on 8 January 2018, and at the time of writing these lines my fieldwork is still going on, which means that the following summary should be understood as an interim report.

Since I was granted an affiliation as a guest researcher at Keiō University, I was in the

comfortable situation of taking up residence at a University dormitory right upon my arrival and to make use of the well-stocked library just a few feet away. As it was my first research stay in Japan during my PhD course, I started there by assembling all the secondary Japanese literature that somehow relates to the Teishinshō and that I was not able to obtain in Germany. Furthermore, I collected some of the vast literature on the bureaucracy in modern Japan in general, and on *gijutsu kanryō* in particular, which helped me to put the Teishinshō into perspective. The next step was to get an overview of the organizational development of the Teishinshō. Therefore, I went through the comprehensive histories that were published by the Teishinshō and its successor institutions like the Yūseishō. These multivolume book series, e.g. the *Teishin jigyo shi* (1940-41), provide narrative and statistical information on the overall development of the Teishinshō and often quote primary sources or even offer reprints of them. Although some information of course has to be treated with caution, these materials served as a good starting point.

Subsequently, I began searching for primary sources that provide insights into the decision-making processes within the Teishinshō and its organizational structure and changes. I started with collecting published and edited sources first. The massive edited source collection *Yūsei hyakunenshi shiryō* (1968-1972) has one volume dedicated to documents dealing with organizational matters of the Teishinshō, which especially proved to be relevant to my research focus. I went on by collecting the published diaries and personal records of Teishinshō bureaucrats and politicians like Den Kenjirō, Yoneda Narakichi, Tanabe Harumichi, Sakano Tetsujirō, Gotō Shinpei and Tanabe Ryūji. These sources are especially valuable since they allow rare insights into the “inner life” of the Teishinshō. I was able to make copies of these materials or purchase some of them from antiquarian bookshops.

The next step was to search for archival materials. Most archival materials related to the Teishinshō are preserved at the National Archives of Japan (Kokuritsu kōbunshokan), the Postal Museum Research and Documentation Center (Yūsei hakubutsukan shiryō sentā) and the National Diet Library (Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan). Since the majority of materials of the National Archives is accessible online via its digital archive or the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (Ajia rekishi shiryō sentā), I focused on the latter two. The materials I discovered at the Postal Museum Research and Documentation Center are too many to describe in detail in this short report. But just to mention one highlight, the protocols of the annual meetings between the Minister of Communications (Teishin daijin) and the directors of the regional bureaus of the Teishinshō (Teishin kyoku-chō) are especially noteworthy sources. They are the only materials that allow following up the discussions and interactions within the Teishinshō directly. Unfortunately, these protocols did not survive completely. At the National Diet Library the Modern Japanese Political History Materials Room (Kensei shiryōshitsu) was of special interest for my research. I examined the records of the American occupation forces concerning the Teishinshō and copied a variety of research reports as well as materials related to its organizational changes during the initial phase of the occupation.

Finally, I also spent a lot of time going through magazines associated with the Teishinshō, in particular the *Teishin kyōkai zasshi* and *Kōtsū keizai*. Both magazines served as forums of discussion for Teishinshō bureaucrats and provide interesting insights in terms of their ideology, political agenda and future visions.

In a nutshell, I was able to collect a great amount of different sources and literature in Japan, which will certainly enhance my research project enormously. Since I have not found the time to read all the materials during my short stay in Japan yet, the detailed analysis will be done after my return to Germany.

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