Carmen SĂPUNARU TĂMAŞ
Kathryn M. TANAKA
(Editors)

Epidemics and Ritual Practices in Japan

Carmen SĂPUNARU TĂMAŞ
Kathryn M. TANAKA
(Editors)

Epidemics and Ritual Practices in Japan

PRO UNIVERSITARIA
2022
BUCUREŞTI

Editat de **Pro Universitaria SRL**, editură cu prestigiu recunoscut.
Editura **Pro Universitaria** este acreditată CNCS în domeniul Ştiinţelor Umaniste şi CNATDCU (lista A2-Panel 4) în domeniul Ştiinţelor Sociale.

Copyright **© 2022**, **Editura Pro Universitaria**
Toate drepturile asupra prezentei ediţii aparţin
Editurii Pro Universitaria.
Nicio parte din acest volum (fragment sau componentă grafică) nu poate fi copiată fără acordul scris al **Editurii Pro Universitaria**.

Descrierea CIP a Bibliotecii Naţionale a României

Redactor: Elena Onea
Tehnoredactor: Liviu Crăciun
Copertă: Vlad Pătruţa

Redacţie:
tel.: 0732.320.664
e-mail: editura@prouniversitaria.ro

Editura Pro Universitaria

Librăria UJmag:
tel.: 0733.673.555; 021.312.22.21
e-mail: comenzi@ujmag.ro
ujmag.ro

Ujmag.ro

Cover image: Stained glass Amabie by Mark W. Pierce

The publication of this volume was supported by a special research fund granted by the **University of Hyogo**.

Contents

About the authors

Carmen Săpunaru Tămaş (editor), a Romanian anthropologist, is the coordinator of the Japanese language and culture program at the University of Hyogo. After obtaining her PhD from Osaka University in 2009, she has been teaching Japanese mythology and anthropology at Osaka University, Kobe University, and Doshisha University. Her most recent publications include: "Ritual Practices and Daily Rituals. Glimpses into the World of Matsuri" (Pro Universitaria 2018), "Beliefs, Ritual Practices and Celebrations in Kansai" (Pro Universitaria 2019), and "Forms of the Body in Contemporary Japanese Society, Literature, and Culture" (edited with Irina Holca, Lexington Books 2020). She is also the author of a textbook of Japanese mythology (Osaka University 2012) and of several academic papers in Japanese and English, on topics related to the mythology and ethnology of Japan.

Kathryn M. Tanaka (editor) is a Japanese literary scholar who works on the intersections of medicine and literature. She is an associate professor at the University of Hyogo where she teaches in the Global Business Department. Her work focuses primarily on Hansen's disease and modern Japanese literature, in particular a genre of writing that became popular in the 1930s and was known as Hansen's disease literature. She has published several translations of works by one of the best-known writers of this genre, Hōjō Tamio (1914-1937) in The Asia-Pacific Journal (2015) and The Annals of Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University, Volume XXI, No 1 (2021). Her work primarily focuses on the minority experience of Hansen's disease within the Japanese empire, as she has taken up writing by children (2016), depictions of women and the experience of Hansen's disease (2016, 2019), and has a forthcoming article on patient writing in Taiwan (2022). In addition to her work on Hansen's disease, she has also researched Amabie and medical humanities in the COVID-19 pandemic (2021). She is currently completing a book manuscript on gender and Hansen's disease in Japan, while continuing to explore Amabie, medical humanities, and fictional accounts of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Rt. Rev. Yoshinobu Miyake (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yoshinobu_Miyake_(religionist)) was born in 1958 into a well-known family of Shinto priests in Osaka, Japan. After studying at Doshisha University and Harvard University, he took on the role of Superior General in his Konko Church. For the past four decades he has been active worldwide in the interfaith field, such as Religions for Peace and the International Association for Religious Freedom. In 1997 he established RELNET Corporation, whose website publishes widely on religion-related matters in Japanese. He is serving Chair of the Board of International Shinto Studies Association, and he also led the G20 Interfaith Forum 2019 in Kyoto. He published extensively in Japanese on religious matters, and he was recently appointed the Director General of the United Nations Association in Kansai.

Debra J Occhi is a linguistic anthropologist employed at Miyazaki International College, researching leisure, gender, cuteness, characters, and regionality. Recent publications include Idolization of Miyazaki Ken Local Mascots (*yuru kyara*) and Himukaizer Local Heroes: The Animate Spirits of Miyazaki, Japan in *Idology in Transcultural Perspective: Anthropological Investigations of Popular Idolatry*. Hiroshi Aoyagi et al., eds. Palgrave Macmillan (2021), and Social and Affective Implications of Pokémon GO in Japanese Contexts: "Mind your Manners and Have Fun" in *The Augmented Reality of Pokémon Go: Chronotopes, Moral Panic, and Other Complexities*, Neriko Musha Doerr and Debra J Occhi, eds. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books (2019).

Evelyn Adrienn Tóth is a Hungarian philologist specializing in Japanese Studies, especially on the Ainu people of northern Japan. After obtaining her MA in Japanese Studies from Osaka University in 2018, she has been teaching Japanese culture at the University of Hyogo and Otemae University. She is currently working on obtaining her PhD from Osaka University. Her most recent publications include: ""Az elbocsátott vad": A medve jelentősége és a medveszertartás az ainu népcsoport életében ("Sending him away": The Importance of Bears and the Bear Ceremony Among the Ainu People)" (Hibiki Japanistic Journal 2020), and "Peasant Art Movement in Hokkaido in the 20th Century: Tokugawa Yoshichika's Contribution" (Annals of "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Linguistics, Literature and Methodology of Teaching 2020).

Christophe Thouny is Associate Professor of Media, Literary and Cultural Studies at Ritsumeikan University. His field of research covers East Asian media and urban cultures, Japanese literature, intellectual history, ecocriticism and planetary thinking. Thouny is co-editor of Planetary Atmospheres and Urban Life After Fukushima (Palgrave Mcmillian, 2017) and has published on modern Japanese literature, contemporary animation and film. He is now working on a monograph on cartographic practices of modern Tokyo in urban ethnography and literature, and an edited volume on the work of Kon Wajirō.

Introduction

In recent years, "new" illnesses such as Ebola, SARS, MERS, and now COVID-19 have demonstrated to us again and again that human beings are part of a web of forces: environmental, natural, socioeconomical, biopolitical. Illness and infectious disease mark matrices between these intersecting forces, and it is not hyperbole to say that Illness has changed the course of human history. And while illness is acknowledged to be a biopolitical and social experience, such treatments often overlook other responses to disease, such as psychological responses, religious responses, and other ritual practices. It is easy to ignore the ways in which disease infects the world beyond the body: disease alters economies, can upend our politics, and can shift cultural activities.

The spread of disease and its impact on human and animal populations is hardly new. While the present volume is focused on epidemics and pandemics in Japan, with many of the articles sharing a focus on so-called "modern" Japan, the spread of illness has always meant that people's daily lives changed: responses to epidemics have always included ritual approaches such as prayer, incense, and the use of talismans (*omamori*), as well as practical measures such as social distance, changed behavior, and the use of medicines, among other things. And while during the current COVID-19 pandemic, much attention has been devoted to the biological, political, and social approaches to illness, this volume seeks to think about how ritual practices are shaped and changed by illness.

The papers collected in this volume cover a wide historical range, yet all are informed and written in the time of the COVID-19 pandemic. The current volume brings together a collection of papers that thinks about how pandemics influenced ritual behavior and practices in Japan through a number of different disciplinary lenses: religious, historical, anthropological,

literary. It also weaves together different illnesses, and their impacts on different groups of people within Japan. While this is not an exhaustive work, we hoped to address most major epidemic diseases that affected Japanese society, with a focus on ritual practices that were either newly created or made more popular by the appearance of new maladies.

The volume begins with an essay by Rev. Yoshinobu Miyake, who gives an overview of epidemics in recorded in Japanese history - both factual and sacred - and the ritual responses to such crisis. We thought that including an essay by a religious practitioner in this volume would offer our readers a much-needed insight into the lived and performed daily ritual life in Japan, something different from a researcher's perspective. While the editors do not necessarily agree with all the opinions expressed in this essay, we believe that it represents a useful introduction to our selection of papers.

Evelyn Adrienne Tóth takes up responses to smallpox amongst indigenous Ainu populations, tracing traditional healing approaches to the disease and the tensions underpinning the drive to promote vaccinations. Ultimately, she demonstrates that vaccinations were part of a colonial medical campaign to domesticate Ainu bodies and health. Kathryn M. Tanaka looks at how matsuri culture in a Hansen's disease sanatorium shifts as the biopolitical treatment of the illness changes, resulting in a matsuri celebration as a community-creating activity. Carmen Săpunaru Tămaș's chapter is a case study of a shrine located in the apothecaries' district in Osaka, an interesting occurrence where ritual practices were influenced by medical responses to cholera, the tiger (current symbol of the shrine and its main matsuri) being connected to the first medicine created to fight the 1822 epidemic.

Debra J. Occhi has written an important ethnography and autoethnography in which she traces changing handwashing rituals and practices as the COVID-19 pandemic spread. The book closes with a chapter by Christophe Thouny, who situates illness within the failures of the socioeconomic structures of modernity, and challenges us to think of the possibilities beyond our current frameworks. Thouny's reading of Maupassant, as linked to his discussion of Mori Ōgai, is a provocative rethinking modernity, place experience and epidemy as allegory. His work lays out a radical new framework to think about viral connections and the practice of writing.

Collectively, these pieces seek to highlight new ways of thinking about and responding to illness. Without minimizing the tragedy of those who have been affected by disease, this volume also thinks about the limitations and possibilities of new practices and new rituals that illness sometimes necessitates. The papers collected here broadly represent some of the ways illness and the behaviors associated with it have reflected social problems in our present day and the past. In addition, the research collected here is both inspired by, and limited by, the pandemic: it represents engagements with the world around us in a time of restrictions on travel, reduced access to field work and limited access to archival sources. In that sense, the volume is at its very core deeply imbricated in the disruptive force of the pandemic. We hope that this disruption leads to new conversations and new possibilities even as we fight our way through the current COVID-19 pandemic.

Defilements Are Purified by Shinto *Harai*, Hauntings Are Rendered Harmless by Buddhist Offerings, and Plagues Are Overcome by Hospitality

Yoshinobu MIYAKE

An introduction to the understanding of "epidemics" in Japan and how to deal with them

In February 2019, one year before COVID-19 caused a global pandemic, I published *Kazamidori: How Humanity Has Confronted Contagious Diseases* (2019 Shukousha), in which I predicted that in the near future, an infectious disease would cause a pandemic in human society and wreak havoc on the global economy. In the same book, I stated that religions as well as writing, law, and money were created by ancient city-states, and that the overpopulation brought about by city-states brought about the crisis of epidemics to human civilization. In response to an invitation to write for *Epidemics and Ritual Practices in Japan*, published by the University of Hyogo, I would like to focus my discussion on the basic understanding of and coping methods for epidemics among the Japanese.

In ancient times, whether in the East or the West, people considered demonic forces as the cause of epidemics that took the lives of many people suddenly and without any visible form. From ancient times to the present, the religious sentiments of the Japanese people have been greatly influenced by Shinto and Buddhist doctrines, which were also used to alleviate the fear of "hauntings."

In Shintoism, humans are viewed as inherently pure and clean. Therefore, when an "unfavorable situation" occurs, not just an epidemic, it is because we have come into contact with an external *kegare* (impurity),

which must be "purified" by *misogi* or *harai*, which involves certain specific gestures/ rites in order to remove it. Even today, many people practice the ritual of purifying themselves with salt when returning home from a funeral.

In Buddhism, human existence is inherent with *karma*, so even in the event of an "unfavorable situation," not limited to epidemics, we can be saved by the Dharma power of a virtuous person or ascetic, or by absolute devotion to the transcendent Amitabha Buddha.

In any case, since the deities and buddhas are supposed to bring good fortune to human beings, epidemics were not seen as "punishment" from an absolute god for the lack of faith of the human society, as in the Judeo-Christian context, but rather epidemics were often seen as "hauntings," powerful negative energy from people who died with a grudge against the world.

1. Japanese measures against infectious diseases in ancient times

1-1a. *Mogari* in the Kofun period→ Izanagi's return from the Other World

When a person dies, their body starts decaying in a matter of seconds. In this sense, we are not so different from other animals, but in the case of animals, it often happens that they end up as food for predators, so their corpses are not always left to decompose naturally. However, since humans, the "spiritual leaders of all things," who stand at the top of the food chain, die without being preyed upon, "disposal of the body" has been a problem in all ages. This is one of the reasons why religious sentiment is present only among humans. When someone close to us dies, one of the reasons we dispose of the body is that it is a psychological burden to look upon the decaying body of someone who used to be an important part of our lives.

The myth in *Kojiki* (*Records of Ancient Matters*) depicts the story of Izanagi, a husband who was unable to accept the death of his beloved wife Izanami, and who visited the Land of Yomi (the Other World) to see her again. In the ancient times, when a nobleman died, a temporary building (*mogari* palace) was set up to perform *mogari*[1] for a long period of time, and the decaying corpse was washed clean before being coffined and buried in a tomb.

[1] *Mogari* 殯 — a set of funerary rituals performed after death, but before disposing of the body. (*Nihon Fûzokushi Jiten* 1979: 372)

b. The disappearance of burial mounds and mourning→ the spread of cremation in Buddhist style

The "Thin Burial Decree" (646) of the "Taika Reform" forbade the construction of large anterior and posterior round tombs, and tombs rapidly became smaller and simpler. In addition, according to the *Shoku Nihongi*, the oldest recorded cremation in Japan was that of the monk Dōshō, who entered Tang Dynasty China as an envoy, learned the *Yogācāra* doctrine from the Buddhist monk Xuanzang, and returned to Japan to become the founder of the Gangōji Temple. Emperor Jitō, who died just two years later (702), became the first emperor to be cremated after a year of mourning. Thereafter, many emperors came to be cremated in the Buddhist manner, and the aristocracy followed suit, so that the custom of *mogari* practically disappeared, and the period of death pollution was shortened.

1-2. Epidemics in the Era of Emperor Sujin → expulsion of the altars of Ōmononushi and Amaterasu from the Imperial Palace

Epidemics of infectious diseases are inextricably linked to dense populations in both the East and the West. Whenever a state is established, an ample spread of an infectious disease is bound to occur in its capital city, and along with war and famine, this is an opportunity for rulers to prove their governing abilities. The first documented record of a plague in Japan appeared as early as the reign of Emperor Sujin (late 3rd century), the first emperor whose existence is a historically attested fact. At that time, the Imperial Court enshrined Amaterasu (Supreme Sun Goddes) and Yamoto Ōkunitama (Great Spirit of the Nation = Ōkuninushi) in the palace where the emperor resided, but their divine authority was too strong, so Amaterasu was entrusted to Princess Toyosukiiri-hime and Yamato Ōkunitama was entrusted to Princess Nunakiiri-hime to be enshrined elsewhere. Later, Amaterasu was re-enshrined at Ise by Emperor Suinin's daughter, Princess Yamato-hime.

Soon after Emperor Sujin's accession to the throne, an epidemic broke out in the country and the population plummeted. In the dream of Emperor Sujin, a deity who called himself "Omononushi" appeared and said, "If my son, Ōta-Taneko, worships me, the country will be leveled immediately." It is likely that various compromises were made in the process of the Yamato

Kingdom, which was a newly emerging power, conquering the indigenous peoples that it had militarily conquered, and as one of the means of compromise, it was staged to show respect for the national deity, Yamato Ōkunitama rather than Amaterasu, the imperial ancestor deity.

1-3. Epidemics in the Era of Emperor Mommu → Deceptive spirits of rivers and mountains → *Tsuina* (*Setsubun*) becomes a regular event

Centralization of power (concentration of power in the capital city) has always meant that contagious diseases are more likely to spread. During the Era of Emperor Monmu, there were also many epidemics in the world. On the 7th day of the 1st lunar month in the first year of the Taiho Era (701), the year of the *Koshin* (one of the Chinese sexagenary cycle), the monk Gohan prayed, and *Seimen Kongo Doji* appeared as a messenger of *Taishakuten* (=*Śakra*). There is a legend that the plague was dispelled when he enshrined this image, and the Shitennoji Koshindo was built there. In Taoism, there was a custom to stay up all night on the day of *Koshin* because it was believed that on the day of *Koshin*, a worm inside the body called *Sanshichu* would escape while sleeping and tell the sins of the person to the Supreme Deity in Heaven.

According to *Shoku Nihongi*, in the 3rd year of the Mommu Era (706), there was a ceremony of *Tsuina* (driving away evil spirits) held in the palace. In China, the Chinese character "鬼" meant "corpse." Dying was called "entering the ghost's register," and the concept of "soul" was literally a combination of "soul," which floated around with the corpse (ghost), and "white," or skeleton. These concepts were combined with *onu* (hidden), an invisible and negative power that has existed among the Japanese people since ancient times, and visualized as *oni* (demon). On the other hand, it is the *Mononoke* that has remained invisible.

In China, the Chinese characters for "deceptive spirits of mountains and rivers" were used to lump together monsters of different origins, and contagious diseases were attributed to "plague demons." In this era, when the Tang Dynasty Style was respected in everything, in order to drive away these "plague demons" from the court on New Year's Eve, the role of *Hōsōshi* (*Fangxiangshi*), dressed as the four-eyed exorcist of Taoism, who could distinguish the normally invisible "plague demons" to the human eye, was established, and this became the *Tsuina* event. By the end of the Heian period

(late 12th century), the *Hōsōshi* was rather treated as a monster and driven away, probably because of its odd shape.

Hōsōshi at Yoshida Shrine (photo by Carmen Săpunaru Tămaş)

1-4. Epidemics in the Era of Emperor Shōmu → the return of the envoys to Tang and Silla dynasties → observation of progress by stopping at Dazaifu

The worst recorded pandemic in Japan was caused by smallpox in the 7th (735) to 9th (737) years of the Tempyo Era. According to the *Shoku Nihongi*, the epidemic began in northern Kyushu and spread eastward from Kyoto to Tohoku, killing between a quarter and a third of the total population of the time. Eleven of the thirty-three court nobles died one after another, including the four sons (the four brothers) of Fujiwara no Fuhito, including Fujiwara no Takechimaro, the Minister of the Left (Prime Minister), who was at the center of the government (the Grand Council of State). To use a metaphor from today's Japan, the Prime Minister, Minister of Finance, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Chief Cabinet Secretary were all killed in at the same time by an

infectious disease, which greatly changed the balance of power in the newly established political world of "monopoly of power" by the Fujiwara clan. However, at that time, the Emperor Shōmu was the son of Emperor Mommu and Empress Miyako, the eldest daughter of Fujiwara no Fuhito, and his spouse Empress Komyoshi was the third daughter of Fujiwara no Fuhito.

In the first half of Emperor Shōmu's reign, Prince Nagaya, the Minister of the Left, who was the grandson of Emperor Temmu and the cousin of present emperor's father, Emperor Mommu, was in charge of the Grand Council of State, and ruled well. However, he was falsely accused by the four Fujiwara brothers, who wanted to suppress the rule by the imperial family and monopolize the throne by a prince born to women of Fujiwara no Fuhito lineage. In the latter half of Emperor Shōmu's reign (Tempyo era), there was a series of natural disasters and epidemics, many of which were feared to be caused by the Prince Nagaya. In the face of these national difficulties, Emperor Shōmu took deep refuge in Buddhism and established Kokubunji and Kokubunnichiji temples in the prefectural capitals, built the Great Vairocana Buddha Statue at Todaiji Temple, and repeatedly moved the capital, placing an excessive burden on the nation's finances. In order to compensate for this, the *Ritsuryo* (Tang Dynasty style state management) system was undermined by the enactment of the Law on Private Property under the *Ritsuryo* system, which led to a decline in national power. In addition to this, he became the first male Emperor Emeritus to be ordained as a Buddhist monk in his own right, abdicating to his daughter, Princess Abe in 749.

The Nara period (710-794) saw the most frequent dispatch of envoys to the Tang Dynasty, including the construction of the Heijo-kyo Capital and the establishment of the *Ritsuryo* system, both of which were modeled after the Tang Empire. At the same time as introducing the latest technology and systems from the Tang Dynasty, the envoys also brought to Japan, which was an "isolated safe island country" in terms of infectious diseases, a number of infectious diseases that had spread in the Tang Empire, which had built a world empire by trading with countries on the vast Eurasian continent. This led to the mass loss of life of the Japanese people who were not immune to these contagious diseases. The smallpox epidemic of the 9th year of the Tempyo Era, which caused the death of the four Fujiwara brothers, began immediately after the return of the Shilla envoys, and since there were deaths on board, it was clearly an epidemic brought on by them. Even in

those days, when there was no scientific knowledge, it was empirically recognized that epidemics started due to human interaction with the continent, including the Korean Peninsula. When foreign envoys arrived in Japan, they were first kept at Dazaifu in Kyushu, where they were asked to go to the capital, where a meeting of the Imperial Council was held, and after Dazaifu received the reply, it would either take the envoys to the capital or turn them away by refusing to accept the state documents. It would take about a month for the disease to spread, so if there were any infectious diseases among the foreign delegation, they would certainly get sick. This is the perfect period of incubation and observation, empirically preventing the invasion of unknown infectious diseases into the capital region.

The *Ritsuryō* System and the "*Nakatomi* Exorcism"

Defeated in the Battle of Hakusukinoe (Baekgang) in 663 over control of the Korean peninsula, Japan had a sense of crisis over the survival of the nation, and actively adopted various systems of the Tang Dynasty, the "world class empire," in an attempt to centralize power from the old confederation of powerful clans. The culmination of these efforts was the enactment of the "Taihō Ritsuryō" (701), promoted by Fujiwara no Fuhito. This was completed with the enactment of the "Yōrō Ritsuryō" (757), which was revised by Fujiwara no Nakamaro from Fujiwara South Family, a grandson of Fuhito and the first non-royal vassal to hold the position of Grand Minister of State. However, with the death of Emperor Shōmu the year before and the death of Empress Kōmyō, who had been Nakamaro's backer, in 760, he was falsely accused of treason and beheaded by Emperor Kōken, who had newly assumed the center of power, and her lover, the monk Dōkyō. As a result, the Fujiwara North family clan, which continued to be the external relatives of the emperors for the next thousand years, monopolized the governmental positions. In addition, the *Ritsuryō* system, which preached the principle of complete state ownership of land and citizens, became bogus, and the manorial system spread.

The Fujiwara clan came to the forefront of Japanese history in 645, when Fuhito's father, Nakatomi no Kamatari, together with Prince Nakano Ōe (later Emperor Tenji), defeated Soga no Iruka, the supreme authority of the time, in a court coup d'etat "Isshi Incident." In 669, the day before his death, Emperor

Tenji bestowed upon Kamatari the symbol of the highest rank, the *Taishoku* Crown, and the new surname Fujiwara. Only the descendants of Kamatari were given the new surname of Fujiwara clan and held the position of Grand Councilor, distinguishing them from the Nakatomi clan, which had continued as a Shinto service clan since ancient times. At the end of June and the end of December every year, all royal family and hundreds of other officials, both male and female, gathered in front of Suzaku-mon, the main gate of the Grand Inner Palace, where the "Great Exorcism" was proclaimed by the Nakatomi clan and the "Grand Purification" was carried out by other Shinto service clan, Urabe. This ritual is still widely practiced at Shinto shrines all over Japan, along with the "*Chinowa Kuguri* (passing through a grass ring)." Of the two annual "*Ōharai* (Grand Purification)," the one at the end of June is included in Volume 8 of the "Engi-shiki," the detailed regulations for the enforcement of the *Ritsuryō*, compiled in the middle of the Heian period (927), as "Grand Purification in the Last Day of the 6th Month." On the other hand, the New Year's Eve Grand Purification declined as it was combined with the "*Tsuina*" event at the Imperial Court.

The author passing through the *chinowa* (purifying grass ring)

1-6a. "Feng Shui City" *Heian-kyo* and Infectious Diseases

Emperor Kammu regained the throne from the Emperor Temmu line, which had lasted for a long time after the Jinshin War (672), to the Emperor Tenji line. He ascended to the throne in 781, the year of the *Shin-yū* (one of the years in the Chinese sexagenary cycle), when the dynastic change (revolution) was supposed to occur in ancient China, and tried to construct the capital Nagaoka-kyo in 784, the year of the *Kōshi* (one of the years in the Chinese sexagenary cycle), when a minor revolution was supposed to occur. He moved the capital from Heijo-kyo (Nara) to Nagaoka-kyo in 784, the year of *Kōshi*, when a minor revolution was expected to take place[2]. He was such a China-obsessed emperor that the "Imperial Rescript on the Relocation of the Capital to Heian-kyo" of 794 was issued the 28th of the 10th month, the day of *Shin-yū*. In the imperial decree for the relocation of the capital, it was said that "this place is a natural castle surrounded by mountains and rivers like a collar" ("*Nihonkiryaku*"). Heian-kyo (Kyoto) was an ideal location for the four deities of feng shui: the blue dragon, the guardian of the east, was located in the Kamo River; the red phoenix, the guardian of the south, was located in the Ogura Pond; the white tiger, the guardian of the west, was located in the San-in Road; and the black turtle, the guardian of the north, was located on Mt Funaoka. In addition, in order to get rid of the overly powerful Buddhist forces in Nara, Saichō, who had brought the latest Tendai Buddhism back to Japan as a Japanese envoy to the Tang Dynasty, had Enryakuji Temple built on Mt Hiei in the direction of the northeast, which was the demon's gate to Heian-kyo, to spiritually protect the new capital.

Thanks to the many other feng shui devices that were set up to protect the capital, Heian-kyo remained the center of Japan for a long time as the "Capital of a Thousand Years." However, this made the people living in Kyoto face three kinds of suffering. The first is warfare. Whether it was the Genji-Heike War, the Ōnin War, or Oda Nobunaga's ascension to the capital, the people of the capital inevitably suffered the ravages of war each time a war broke out. The second was famine. Living in Japan, an "island of disasters," it

[2] However, the Chief Builder of Nagaoka-kyo was assassinated due to opposition from the large Buddhist temples of Heijo-kyo, who were not aware of the fact that it would no longer be capital. Also, the alleged coup d'état orchestrated by the Crown Prince Sawara, Emperor Kammu's younger brother, led to the abandonment of Nagaoka-kyo only ten years after construction had begun, and the capital was relocated again to Heian-kyo (Kyoto) in 794.

was not uncommon for people living in the "consumer city" of Kyoto to starve to death in large numbers due to famines triggered by periodic natural disasters. The third is the spread of epidemics. The biggest cause of the spread of contagious diseases is and always has been "dense population," and the "Capital of a Thousand Years" has always been exposed to this danger. However, while the causes of the loss of life due to war and famine were obvious even to the ancients, the causes of the spread of plague were unknown until modern scientific and medical knowledge was obtained. It is easy to imagine that the fear of the sudden and massive death of family members and other loved ones due to unseen forces would have reminded people of demonic forces as the cause. There is room for religion to play an active role.

b. "*Gion Matsuri*" and "*Pesach*"

Most of the *matsuri* (annual festivals) found in shrines throughout Japan are "autumn festivals" to thank the deities and ancestors for the year's harvest, but the Gion Matsuri in Kyoto, the Tenjin Matsuri in Osaka, and the Kanda and San'no Matsuri in Edo (Tokyo), all major cities, are performed in the summer when food and bodies are more likely to decompose, in an obvious attempt to prevent contagion. Until the Meiji Restoration of 1868, when a decree was issued to clearly distinguish between Shintoism and Buddhism, the Yasaka Shrine in Kyoto was called "Gion Shrine," a very Buddhist name. The deities enshrined there were Gion Shrine (*Jetavana Vihāra*), the guardian deity of Gozu-Ten'nō (*Gośirsa Devarāja*), where the Sakyamuni Buddha is said to have preached, and his consort, Hari-saiñyo, and their eight princes. Incidentally, after the Meiji Restoration, the foreign deity Gozu-Ten'nō was replaced by Susanoo no Mikoto, and his spouse Harisainyo was replaced by Kushiinada-hime no Mikoto, both of which are Shinto deities.

According to "Hoki Naiden," which is said to have been compiled by Abeno Seimei, a great yin-yang master, Gozu Ten'nō went on a journey to marry the daughter of the Dragon King (Sāgara) of South Sea, and when the sun went down on the way, he asked for lodging for the night in a village. A younger brother, Kotan Shōrai, despite being wealthy, refused Gozu Ten'nō's request, while his older brother, Somin Shōrai, despite being very poor, welcomed Gozu Ten'nō. The next morning, as he left the house, Gozu Ten'nō revealed his true identity, saying that he was the deity who would

exterminate the plague, and gave Somin Shōrai a "*chinowa* (grass ring)" to ward off bad luck, telling him that all his descendants would be spared from the plague. Soon after, a plague struck the village, killing many villagers including Kotan Shōrai, but none of Somin Shōrai's family members died, according to the legend. Therefore, even today, the *chimaki* (rice dumplings) handed out to ward off evil spirits during the Gion Matsuri have the words "This is the Home of Somin Shōrai's Descendants." written on them, and in Ise City, there is a *shimenawa* barrier hanging at the entrance of every house that says "This is the Home of Somin Shōrai's Descendants."

Shimenawa (sacred rope) decoration (photo by the author)

This story of the future of the people is very similar to the origin of the "Passover (*Pesach*)" in *Exodus 12*. When the Israelites were enslaved by Pharaoh in Egypt, Moses demanded that the Pharaoh release the Israelites, but the Pharaoh did not accept, so Yahweh had the Israelites mark the doors of their houses, and then spread an epidemic throughout the land of Egypt, but only the marked houses were allowed to pass over. Remembering these traces, Jews still faithfully perform Passover every year, thousands of years later. It is very interesting to note the similarities in the myths about the causes of epidemics and how to avoid them between the Israelites, who lived on the western edge of the Asian continent, and the Japanese, who lived on an island on the eastern edge of the Asian continent, who seem to have had almost no historically attested relationship at that time.

1-7. Plagues in literary works

So far, I have considered various historical events from the Kofun period to the Heian period to discuss Japanese perceptions of infectious diseases and how they dealt with them. Even in the world of literature, even if it is fiction, it is difficult to gain sympathy from many people unless it is based on the common understanding of the people of the time. Therefore, in this chapter, I would like to introduce the epidemics depicted in literary works and people's (authors') perceptions of them. In *Genji Monogatari* (The Tale of Genji), Hikaru Genji meets his "ideal woman," Murasaki no Ue, at the beginning of the chapter "Wakamurasaki." When Hikaru Genji contracted malaria, he was given various kinds of blessings and prayers, which was the standard therapy at the time, but they had no effect. When he visited a famous ascetic who lived in a cave in the northern mountains, he suddenly saw a girl (the future Murasaki no Ue), and the story took a sudden turn. The unusual behavior of Hikaru Genji, who is seeking a cure for an infectious disease, brings about a turning point in his life.

In *Makura no sōshi* (The Pillow Book), in the section titled "Heartbreaking Things," it is written, "Just because my parents are sick, I cannot be in a normal mood. Even more, when the society is in turmoil due to the spread of a plague, I cannot imagine what it must be like. The author, Sei Shōnagon, describes "a state of pestilence" as "a world in turmoil." In the *Eiga Monogatari* (Tales of Glory), in the fourth chapter of the book, "A Dream Without End," it is written, "The year 994 has come to an end. What in the world is going on here? This year, the society is in turmoil, many people are wandering from spring, and there are many shaky things (abandoned dead bodies) on the road. In *Sagoromo Monogatari* (The Tale of Sagoromo)," the story goes, "At that time, the world was in turmoil, and there were many dead bodies left on the road. Many people of high status had died, and it was a pitiable and shameful thing. Once an epidemic broke out in the capital (Kyoto), a large number of people died, regardless of their status, and their bodies were left in the streets without burial, which also contributed to the unsanitary environment.

Since there was no scientific knowledge at that time, once an epidemic broke out, there was nothing to be done except to pray to the deities and buddhas, regardless of their status. There must have been a lot of quips flying

around. Each of the authors uses the phrase "the society is in turmoil" in a way that is similar to present Japan. The fact that epidemics were described in many diaries and novels throughout the Heian period (794-1185) suggests that, although the influx of new infectious diseases from the continent decreased after the abolition of the Japanese envoys to China, epidemics must have recurred frequently in the densely populated capital.

However, the situation changes slightly in the essay *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in Idleness), which was written between the end of the Kamakura period and the beginning of the Muromachi period (the first half of the 14th century). In the 50th chapter of *Tsurezuregusa*, an interesting episode is introduced. Here's a little quote from the text: "In the year 1311, a woman who had turned into an *oni* (demon) was brought to the capital from Ise Prefecture. Every day for about twenty days, the people of Kyoto went to the streets to see the demon." People said, "Yesterday, the demon appeared at the residence of Minister Saionji. Today, it appeared in the palace of the Emperor Emeritus. Now it is there!" However, not a single person said that they had seen the demon with their own eyes. But just as there was no one who said, "I saw the demon with my own eyes," nor was there anyone who said, "This is a falsehood." The people of Kyoto, regardless of rank or status, only gossiped about the demon. This state of affairs is no different from that of the current Japanese mass media, which spends its days reporting on COVID-19 pandemic, such as "a cluster has broken out at this hospital" or "the number of infected people in that prefecture today is…" Urabe Kaneyoshi (Yoshida Kenko), the author of the *Tsurezuregusa*, described the situation in more detail, saying, "In those days, when people wandered about for two or three days, the false words of the demon were an indication of this sign. The demon's falsehoods are proof of that." He concluded that the gossip about the demon sighting was a sign that the "three-day measles" (rubella) that would spread soon after. The people of the 14th century seem to have been able to look at the turmoil in the society much more critically and objectively than the people of the Heian period, who only feared the epidemic and prayed to the deities and buddhas for help.

2. Japanese Measures against Infectious Diseases in Modern Times

2-1. Measles and Smallpox in Edo → Various Folk Beliefs (*Abhicraka* and Feast)

In contrast to the people of ancient times, who had only the means to pray to the deities and buddhas in fear of a sudden pandemic, the people of the Edo period (1603-1867), who were already on the threshold of modernity, had a very different attitude toward epidemics. With a population of one million people, Edo (Tokyo) was the largest city in the world at the time, but naturally, because of its population density, it was frequently struck by pandemics of disease. However, with the world's highest literacy rate and the spread of color printing technology using woodblock prints, "Hoso-e" (smallpox pictures) and "Hashika-e" (measles pictures) became popular in the homes of many Edo citizens, and although they lacked scientific evidence as we think of it in the present sense, they personified and visualized "invisible" infectious diseases such as viruses and bacteria in the form of smallpox and measles deities and itemize in concrete and easy-to-understand terms the actions and things that they like (which worsen the disease condition) and the actions and things that they dislike (which improve the disease condition). These were only at the level of folk remedies, but for example, in order to get rid of the smallpox deity, it was specifically instructed to "avoid sexual intercourse, bathing, drinking alcohol, acupuncture and moxibustion, and not to eat river fish, leeks, burdocks, shiitake mushrooms, kon'nyaku (yam cake), and other things. On the contrary, you should eat kampyo, radish, loach, udon noodles, and azuki beans." These are specific instructions. In other words, instead of denying all the plague deities that were thought to be the cause of the epidemic, they wanted to entertain them to some extent, put them in a good mood, and have them quickly move on to another place.

A list the things that are effective in killing measles and the things that aggravate it.
Photo published with the permission of Tokyo Metropolitan Library

Feast on the Measles deity and get him to leave.
Photo published with the permission of Tokyo Metropolitan Library

Smallpox, which was introduced to Japan with the Tang Dynasty envoys, had been in the archipelago for a thousand years, and many people had already acquired immunity to it. In the Edo period (1603-1868), people were already saying that the "pox is a sight to behold," meaning that even if they were infected, the possibility of death was not very high, and they were rather concerned that they would be left with severe pockmarks on their faces after recovery. It is also not widely known that Ogata Shunsaku, a private doctor of the Land of Akizuki, performed the world's first varicella vaccination in 1792, six years earlier than Edward Jenner's cowpox vaccination (1798). Japan was an advanced country in the field of varicella, and at the end of the Edo period, Ogata Koan even set up a large-scale inoculation site in Osaka called the Shogunate-approved Vaccination House.

2-2. Cholera epidemic at the end of the Edo period → External pressure from Western powers → Expulsion of the barbarians

The arrival of the Black Ships by Matthew Perry in 1853 was a major shock to Japanese society, which had been enjoying the Pax Shogunate for 250 years. The next year, in 1854, a massive earthquake struck the Nankai Trough, causing tsunami damage in many Pacific Ocean side areas, and the following year, a direct earthquake struck Edo. In the midst of this situation, a cholera epidemic broke out in Edo in 1858, killing as many as 280,000 people, a quarter of the population. This is because the Mississippi, a ship in Perry's fleet, stopped in Nagasaki on its way back from the Qing Dynasty, and the cholera that had infected the crew spread to Japan, and the cholera pandemic that started in Nagasaki spread all over Japan. The Omicron strain of COVID-19 is also said to have spread in Japan from U.S. military bases in Okinawa and Iwakuni, indicating that the structure of the disease has not changed since 160 years ago and the time of Perry's fleet. Cholera was called "*korori*" (a Japanese onomatopoeic term for the condition of falling to one's death in the blink of an eye) and was feared because it caused death in two to three days due to dehydration caused by violent diarrhea. In Edo, where there were no sanitary flush toilets and many people drank well water, there was nothing that could be done about the cholera epidemic.

In 1862, when the 14th Shogun, Tokugawa Iemochi, married the Imperial Princess Kazuno-miya, a sister of Emperor Kōmei’s, and Tokugawa

Yoshinobu took over as the shogun's guardian, cholera once again broke out in Edo. Many Japanese believed that the brunette, blue-eyed aliens had brought a new plague to Japan because they had soiled the sacred land with their feet. This is one of the origins of the "*Son'nō- Jōi* (Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians)" ideology that has rapidly spread. Nishiki-e (woodblock prints) painted around this time also show scenes of new drugs from both the Western and Chinese medicine fighting off plague with the blessings of the deities of Edo, including the Kanda Daimyojin, Samukawa Daimyojin, and San'nō Daigongen, as well as the Amaterasu, headed by Gozu Ten'nō, the ancient deity of avoiding plague. It is worth noting that while the deities are depicted in concrete forms, only Amaterasu is mentioned, and

Image 1 Image 2

1. Gozu Ten'nō (*Gośirsa Devarāja*); 2. Pestilence brought in by foreigners is fought off with medicine with the support of Japanese deities. Photos published with the permission of Tokyo Metropolitan Library

only the name of the shrine where she is enshrined is given. The emperor, like Amaterasu, was believed to be an "invisible divine being" who could also be effective against plague, an "invisible impurity. Until now, there has been insufficient explanation of how the Tokugawa shogunate and domain regime, which had enjoyed peace and tranquility for 250 years, came to a screeching halt in the wake of the arrival of the Black Ships and the surge of "Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians " ideology. This can be explained, however, if nationalism is linked to an overreaction by the Japanese to an unknown epidemic brought by the Western powers.

2-3. The Meiji Emperor meets with the Prince of England → Utilization of Shinto purification

Thus, the Meiji Restoration established a nation-state in Japan, but in the following year (1869), a big diplomatic problem arose. Harry Parkes, the British Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Japan since the Tokugawa Shogunate period, used Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria, who was then a captain of the frigate Galatea in the Imperial Navy on a Pacific Ocean voyage, to force the Meiji government to implement the "Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce," which the Tokugawa Shogunate had been forced to conclude without knowing the international practices of the time, which had been institutionalized by the European powers.

For more than a thousand years until the Meiji Restoration, the emperor, as euphemistically described as "the awe-inspiring area," was a being that sat further behind the curtain in the innermost chambers of the palace, an "invisible sacred presence" to the Japanese who were not allowed to see him directly, even if it was the supreme authority like Shogun. It was an act of sacrilege to even think of giving the emperor an audience with a foreigner. However, it was an important foreign ritual for the king, as the head of state, to have a friendly meeting with foreign royalty in Europe, where all the major powers were lined up, so Minister Parks used the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Japan to put pressure on the Meiji government. After much deliberation and debate, it was decided to treat him as a state guest. The Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Japan was the first instance of receiving foreign royalty, so careful plans were made and detailed guidelines were drawn up for his reception.

For many years, Chinese Empires had established the "*Huayi* Order" in East Asia based on the system of feudal lords, in which the kings of neighboring countries were vassals of the Chinese emperor. Since the time of Prince Shotoku, in the early 7th century, Japan had been aware that it was outside the scope of the *Huayi* Order. However, in the European powers, under the modern nation-state system after the Napoleonic Wars, the relationship between the powers, whether large or small, was considered to be "equal." The Duke of Edinburgh was a marquis, but as he came to Japan as a "guest of honor," he demanded to meet the Emperor Meiji on equal terms. Of course, since all Japanese are "vassals" of the emperor, there was no protocol in Japan for the emperor to treat anyone as an equal. The customary way to gain an audience with the emperor in Japan was for the emperor to listen to his retainer's speech from within the curtain, and for the retainer to never look directly at the emperor. An "equal" meeting is one in which the emperor steps outside the curtain to show his presence to the other party, stands to greet the guest, and shakes the guest's hand when he asks for it. In other words, it was considered infinitely dangerous for the emperor, a "sacred being," to come into contact with a foreigner who might be possessed by any kind of evil spirit or banished deity, even if the other party was a royal family.

Therefore, it is interesting to note the approach taken by Prince Arisugawa, the Chief Shinto priest of the Meiji government. The imperial envoy welcomed the Duke of Edinburgh and his party when they landed in Yokohama and arrived at Shinagawa which is the gate of Tokyo on a palanquin. During the welcoming ceremony, the envoy repeatedly waved a large, flapper-like object used in Shinto rituals, called "*ōnusa*," which was made of hemp and white paper tied to a stick, to purify the Duke of Edinburgh and his party. The Duke of Edinburgh and his party did not understand that it was a Shinto ritual to purge the impurities from one's body, and they seemed to have interpreted it favorably as a unique Japanese welcoming ritual, like the flower leis that are hung around the necks of guests in Hawaii. Probably, the priest who was assigned to play the role of *harai* purification also exorcised with all his might. In fact, the purification by *ōnusa* was carefully performed not only in Shinagawa but also at the gates of the Imperial Palace, which was called Edo Castle until the previous year. About 20 years ago, I read this purification prayer (a kind of *norito* prayer)

that was read prior to this purification ceremony. In it, he asked not only the four traditional Shinto deities of the purification, but also the deities of the doors and wells that were thought to have inhabited Edo Castle for many years, to protect the emperor's holy body from the barbarians who were about to enter the sacred territory.

2-4. Japanese Belief in the Priority of Science Confirmed by the Spanish Flu

In 1919, exactly 50 years after the arrival of the Duke of Edinburgh, the world lost 40 million lives due to a pandemic of the Spanish flu (H1N1 subtype of Influenza type A). It is ironic that World War I, which used the first weapons of mass destruction in human history, such as airplanes, tanks, and poison gas, killed 8 million people in combat, ended with the Spanish flu pandemic that killed far more than the total of battle deaths, making it impossible for any country to continue the war.

Even in Taisho era (1912-1926) Japan, where the modern enlightenment of the Meiji era (1868-1912) to "break through superstition" had come to an end, the Spanish flu claimed an enormous 380,000 victims. At that time, the number of victims in each region is reported in detail in the newspapers every day, and the content of "masks have disappeared from stores" and "Bon dances everywhere are crowded" are reported with interest, which is essentially the same as the current TV wide shows. Newspaper articles from that time emphasized the need to wash one's hands when returning home and when going out everyone should wear a mask. It can be said that the high level of public health awareness of the Japanese people, which is still maintained today 100 years later, was formed during the Spanish flu.

It was at this time that the Japanese people's "faith in the primacy of science" was established. One hundred years ago, a global pandemic of the Spanish flu claimed the lives of 380,000 people in Japan and 500,000 in the United States. However, 100 years later, the global pandemic of COVID-19 has already claimed 953,000 lives in the United States, while only 23,000 people have died in Japan. The number of casualties in the U.S. was 40 times greater! Even if we consider the population ratio between Japan and the U.S., the gap is still 15 times. This is despite the fact that COVID-19 vaccines such as Pfizer and Moderna are manufactured by U.S. pharmaceutical companies,

making it easier for Americans to be vaccinated than Japanese. This difference between Japan and the U.S. is the difference between the Japanese, who became believers in the scientific religion 100 years ago, and the Americans, who still hold evangelical (fundamental) Christianity. The excessive media coverage of COVID-19 that is repeated daily in Japan can be explained if we think of it as a ritual act of the religion of science.

The Curse of *Payoka Kamuy*[1]: The History of Smallpox and Its Prevention and Cure among the Ainu from the 18th Century to 1868

Evelyn Adrienn TÓTH

Displays of skulls of animals and birds, men sitting together patiently and making *inaw* [wooden sticks with shavings, used in Ainu prayers] – in certain cases, some of them marching around the village with swords in their hands, howling: these were all common signs that illness or contagious disease was present in an Ainu village on the island of Ezo before the Meiji period (1868–1912).

This paper aims to give a coherent insight into both traditional ritual and modern healing practices related to disease among the Ainu people, with a special focus on smallpox, which was one of the most significant diseases that seriously affected their population until the beginning of the Meiji period. Various studies have been conducted in the past decades on the traditional belief system and healing practices of the Ainu, while others emphasize the positive effects of modern forms of medications and methods among them, such as vaccination. The purpose of this chapter is to summarize prior research and to provide a historical overview on both traditional methods of healing among the Ainu, and how modern methods helped them survive smallpox epidemics. The first part describes traditional healing methods and rituals among the indigenous people, gradually putting the focus on smallpox, while the second part mainly focuses on the introduction and history of vaccination.

[1] Literally "the wandering god," also known as the Punishing God. Being the god of pestilence, Payoka (or Paikai) kamuy came down from the world of gods to the human world to spread diseases in human villages.

According to their traditional beliefs, the Ainu people, who are an indigenous people of today's Japan and Russia, think that possessing a spirit or a soul is not exclusive to humans and other living beings; inanimate objects and natural phenomena are also capable of having them. Consequently, each plant, animal, everyday object and natural phenomena possess a *ramat* [spirit]. However, some of them are looked upon with great reverence as they are thought to be on a higher level and more important than others; these spirits are called *kamuy* (also transliterated as *kamui*) in the Ainu language. The original meaning of the word is god or deity, but its exact concept is still disputed. Simply described, a *kamuy* is a spirit that either provides help to people in their daily lives – for example, fire and water, or is in possession of supernatural powers that people cannot control or avoid, such as natural phenomena and epidemics (Kameda 2009: 14–15).

The prevention and curing of various diseases have always been a crucial part in the traditional Ainu life. People maintained that all diseases are in fact demons, or were brought upon their villages by evil spirits (Batchelor 1901; Ohnuki-Tierney 1980; Williams 2017). As both Ohnuki-Tierney and Williams point out, shamanistic rites played a key role in treating various illnesses and driving them away, which required elaborate preparation and execution (Ohnuki-Tierney 1980: 133; Williams 2017: 45). Ohnuki-Tierney states that the Ainu separated illnesses into three groups (namely, epidemics, somatic illnesses and mental illnesses), and describes the process of treating or expelling them in detail in her paper that analyzes Ainu illnesses and healing:

"A male elder recites *hawki*, which are epic poems constituting the most sacred genre of Ainu oral tradition. This is followed by the construction of a series of elaborate charms. Men of the settlement carve *inaw* ritual sticks, considered to be the favorite of deities whose help the Ainu view as essential in combating demons. The men also make wooden swords and place them at the entrances to their homes. They hang stalks of the *sikataro kina* (a plant in the *Allium* family) in the doorways so the smell will repel demons. *Oken* statues, images of a man carrying a sword, are fashioned from the stumps of alder, elder, and white birch. Together with bundles of sedge grass, or puppy skulls fastened to wooden sticks, these statues are placed along the sides of the path that connects the settlement to the shore. Aromatic juniper branches are placed in doorways, as well as on the *oken* statues. As the

demons approach, all these charms come alive and frighten them away from the settlement.

> When this ritual fails – as, for example, in the case of smallpox – the Ainu smear menstrual blood on affected spots of the body. It is the only antidote, they say, although boiled red bog moss, the color of which is considered similar to that of blood, is sometimes substituted."
>
> (Ohnuki-Tierney 1980: 133)

As seen above, the Ainu believed that chanting, praying, making specific statues, and strong smells would keep demons from bringing disease to the people of the village. Upon examining primary sources and research, we find that especially the latter, namely, strong smells are being emphasized as a repellent for illnesses. The Anglican English missionary John Batchelor, who spent more than sixty years of his life studying the culture and language of the Ainu while living among them, describes one occasion when the indigenous people mixed brimstone with rotten fish, "the odour of which was nearly enough to kill anyone." (Batchelor 1901: 107) Pungent plants, such as *ikema*[2] or *eburiko*[3] had long been used by Ainu healers to drive epidemic diseases away, as the 19th-century explorer, Matsuura Takeshirō notes in his diary (Yoshida 1971). The reason for using the methods described above was the Ainu people's belief in diseases and contagions having their own free will and ability to think, as they were looked upon as having an essential and spiritual existence (Batchelor 1901: 108). Thus, strong, pungent smells were essential to keep illnesses and diseases away from villages, as "diseases of every kind have such a strong dislike to them, that they will not, unless the people of a village are especially great sinners, or the demons of disease extraordinarily spiteful and wicked, bring their noses near them - nay, indeed, they will flee away post-haste to a purer and more congenial atmosphere" (Batchelor 1901: 107). It is interesting to consider how diseases that are often associated with germs and pathogens seemed to be repelled by unpleasant smells and instead preferred a pure atmosphere in the traditional belief system of the Ainu.

Not only smells, but certain *inaw* [wooden sticks with shavings] were also carved and used to drive the demon of disease away, especially when

[2] *Cynanchum caudatum*; a perennial climber native to China, Japan and the Korean Peninsula.
[3] *Fomes officinalis*; a type of mushroom that grows on tree barks.

sickness was already present in a village, or after people had already become ill. Such ritual wooden sticks were called *Nitne inao*[4] [evil fetich] or *Nitne hash inao* [evil bush fetich] in Ainu, which rather means that the setting in which they were used was bad, not the sticks themselves (Batchelor 1901: 111). *Inaw* were essential ritual tools for Ainu prayers, since they acted as messengers and intermediaries between the human and the spiritual world. Upon carving and shaving the aforementioned *inaw* meant for the demon of disease, the Ainu made a specific kind of stew, called *Nitne haru* [evil stew] by boiling leftover food with fish-bones and vegetables, which resulted in a foul-smelling mixture, and were followed by the following prayer: "O evil fetich, take this evil food, together with the disease of this sick person, and also the demon who has possessed him, and go with them to hell. When you arrive there, please make it so that the demon will not again return to this earth. I have supplied you with food, take it to the demon and propitiate him; please feed him with it" (Batchelor 1901: 112). As another example, Batchelor also mentions the Ainu using snakeskin as a possible remedy for certain diseases, such as warts, that are supposedly caused by rats. According to traditional belief, since rats are naturally afraid of snakes, rubbing snakeskin onto the affected areas drives away the disease caused by them, too (Batchelor 1901: 301).

Nevertheless, Ohnuki-Tierney also mentions that the above-mentioned methods were not particularly effective against every kind of illness. Chanting and the making of statues often failed to drive away an especially dangerous disease that decimated the Ainu for many decades and caused a series of epidemics that resulted in devastating consequences: smallpox. To drive smallpox away, as the above excerpt shows, the Ainu were said to have smeared menstrual blood on themselves, or sometimes substituted that by meticulously prepared red moss. The color red was closely associated with blood, and parturient and menstrual blood was thought to be especially offensive to demons, therefore it was capable of expelling them (Ohnuki-Tierney 1981:64–65).

Expelling demons and all kinds of diseases were a part of so-called exorcisms during shamanistic rites in the culture of the Ainu, which already appear in early 18th-century documents, such as in the commentary of the

[4] *Inao* is a transliteration of *inaw*.

fifth head of the Matsumae clan[5], Matsumae Norihiro, who mentions that exorcisms have taken place in order to pacify *Payoka Kamuy*, the god of pestilence. A number of sources identify *Payoka Kamuy* with smallpox itself, therefore opinions differ as of whether this *kamuy* is the disease or the demon that brings it upon the people; however, according to general belief, it has the ability to transform people into ghosts (*tukap* in the Ainu language) who would then keep wandering in the human world, further spreading the disease (Walker 1999). As Walker points out, Ainu diviners or physicians (called *uepotarakur* in Ainu) have tried curing and driving the disease away at least from the beginning of the 17th century, with both exorcisms and natural remedies, using plants and charms. They especially believed in the healing powers of the *ikema* plant, which people chewed and then expectorated over the infected area, or over the body of the sick person. However, the healers had no real power of stopping smallpox epidemics from happening, and the situation only kept getting increasingly devastating throughout the decades (Walker 1999: 153–154).

The question may arise as to why indigenous communities would have to ward off a disease that originally did not exist among them. For this reason, it is important to examine smallpox and its prevalence on the island of Ezo from a historical perspective as well. The Ainu and the Japanese have been in contact since the 14th century, and along with the strengthening of commercial ties came the rising number of Japanese settlers and merchants encroaching on the territory of the indigenous people (Godefroy 2011). However, it was specifically the Edo period (1603–1868) when trade and contact with the Ainu on the island of Ezo became significant. The Matsumae clan was granted exclusive trading rights with the Ainu people by the shogunate, which inevitably resulted in continuous contact between the Ainu and *Wajin* [mainland Japanese]. Unfortunately, this contact did not only lead to increased trading activities, but also to exchanging epidemic diseases, especially tuberculosis and smallpox for which the indigenous people had not yet developed immunity (Eddy 2019).

[5] Originally called the Kakizaki family, the Matsumae clan received the exclusive right to trade with the Ainu from Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1604, and continued to exercise trading monopoly and control the southern part of Ezo (now mainly Hokkaido; originally the area where the Ainu people lived) well into the 19th century (Kramer (ed.) 2003).

According to the Japanese explorer and official of the Tokugawa shogunate, Mogami Tokunai, the Matsumae clan had forbidden the Ainu to learn the language and culture of the Japanese, and also prohibited them to wear Japanese-style clothing or hairstyles. He suggested that the domain edicts aimed to further emphasize the ethnic and cultural differences between the two people, which proved to be useful in marking the boundaries of Japanese territory in the north. Mogami also described Matsumae officials as being rather indifferent to epidemic diseases that decimated the Ainu, such as smallpox, and refusing to help the indigenous people, since the illness only affected certain areas at the time instead of the whole country (Mogami 1790; Suzuki 2011). Since the Matsumae clan was the only one that had the exclusive rights to trade with the Ainu, it is understandable that they did not want to lose their position; however, their indifference to epidemics only worsened the spread of smallpox among the Ainu, as infected people acted as carriers of the pathogen (Walker 1999).

As Walker points out, "Medical historians have estimated that between about 1600 and 1870 the *Wajin* and Ainu inhabitants of Ezo suffered through about twenty smallpox and measles epidemics." (Walker 1999: 130) These epidemics can be attributed to the increasing number of mainland Japanese settlers and merchants on Ezo, who had introduced the disease through the southwestern part of the Oshima Peninsula, which belonged to the Matsumae clan, and spread it further on the island through trading and operating fisheries. One old record written in 1669 mentions an ongoing smallpox epidemic in Ezo, especially in Oshamambe (now Oshamambe town in Hokkaido). In this case, an Ainu had visited *Wajinchi* in southern Hokkaido, which is the area where mainland Japanese lived at the time, contracted the illness and then brought it back to his people (Nagano 2020).

Devastating epidemics and the spreading of contagious diseases were not exclusive to the Ainu population; however, their example illustrates the negative impact illnesses had on those living under colonial pressure well. Walker also states that based on contemporary records, the frequency of smallpox epidemics further increased in the 19th century (Walker 1999: 130), to which the Ainu often responded by leaving the sick behind and evacuating to the mountains, so as not to contract the disease (Walker 1999, Nagano 2020).

In 1800, after decades of being indifferent to epidemics among the Ainu, the Matsumae domain decided to take certain measures in order to prevent the spread of smallpox among the people in the area. Such measures included the prohibition of sending *Wajin* (even those who have not contracted the disease and developed rashes) to areas where Ainu lived, forced evacuation (usually by ship so as not to spread the disease on land), and the treating of the Ainu who contracted smallpox at the trading posts. Furthermore, the clan prohibited the Ainu to travel to crowded places where numerous travelers used to gather (Nagano 2020). From the above actions, it is clear that the Matsumae family changed their perspective and now were willing to treat not only *Wajin*, but Ainu people as well if they contracted the disease, and also to take measures to prevent the spread of smallpox infection across the border between *Wajinchi* and Ezo.

As we know from contemporary sources, the physicians that were to treat both people were sent to the island of Ezo by the Tokugawa shogunate and were a part of a broader program sponsored by the shogunate that aimed at assimilating the Ainu and integrating parts of their land in order to emphasize and strengthen the borders of Japanese territory at the time. This was deemed necessary due to the collision of geopolitical interests between the Russian Empire and the Tokugawa shogunate, and the southward expansion policy of the former. As Bukh explains, this kind of relation between the two nations were part of Japan's hierarchical understanding of the "self" (this time including the Ainu people) and the "other" (being the Russian Empire). Moreover, "the Russian expansion of influence over the native residents of the border area was seen as an expansion of a superior culture, conducted through enlightenment and amicable policies." (Bukh 2010: 35) Since the shogunate saw that a key element of the Russian expansion's success was their friendly approach of the indigenous people, (namely, avoiding conflict with them), the Japanese side also aimed to strengthen its authority and territory the same way, by approaching the Ainu without any unnecessary aggression – especially between 1799 and 1807, when the shogunate temporarily took back control over trading posts in Ezo from the Matsumae clan (Virág 2020).

A crucial part of assimilating the Ainu lied in teaching them Neo-Confucian virtues, such as respecting authority, and convincing their elders to revise and change certain traditional customs. On the medical side,

Japanese physicians generally refused to perform surgery and traditionally emphasized holistic medical treatment, as recreating the natural balance within the body in this way meant keeping the "microcosm of the universe" in balance. Physicians had to carry out a variety of services, such as providing blankets, or using traditional Chinese medical therapy (Walker 1999: 133-134).

However, stopping the disease from spreading and the Ainu population from decreasing required even stronger measures from the shogunate. The smallpox epidemic of 1817, for instance, resulted in a serious decrease of the working-age Ainu population in the Ishikari region (today's Ishikari city), and as a consequence, the shogunate had to reduce business taxes that were to be paid to the Tokugawa shogunate due to this lack of working force, as per request of the local *basho ukeoinin* [contract merchants and traders who worked in designated areas and were commissioned by samurai landlords]. The Matsumae clan had swiftly recognized the severity of the problem and asked for direction from the shogunate, who contacted a former chief financial official of the Matsumae and asked for his opinion about the Ainu and their own ways of preventing the disease from spreading among themselves. This former official cited the custom of evacuating to the mountains as the reason why hundreds of people had not died of smallpox earlier, and suggested the continuation of this custom. As a result, the shogunate instructed Matsumae officials the following month to tell all *basho ukeoinin* to have unaffected Ainu evacuated to the mountains in times of smallpox epidemics. Historical sources prove that this method was in use at least until the 1850s (Nagano 2020).

Nevertheless, evacuating unaffected people to the mountains was far from enough to prevent the disease from affecting the population. The Ainu kept contracting smallpox at an alarming rate, and the usual contemporary methods were not adequate to control the situation. As Walker explains in his research in detail, the next step to be taken was the introduction of Jennerian vaccinations[6] on Ezo.

Jennerian vaccinations proved to be an effective way to stop the disease from both developing and spreading. The creator of the vaccine,

[6] Vaccinations developed to prevent smallpox. Its name derives from the name of the developer of the vaccine, Edward Jenner (1749–1823).

Edward Jenner was born in England in 1749, and took interest in the effects of cowpox after having heard many tales about how dairymaids had seemed to be naturally protected from the effects of smallpox – previously having contracted and recovered from cowpox. He posited that to provide this natural protection, cowpox could be transmitted not only from cows to human, but also from one person to another. After having done some experiments and inoculated a few people in 1796, he saw that no disease was contracted or developed, and deemed the method successful. The next year, his papers about his findings were rejected, but in 1798, after having made some changes in his method, he published his own booklet about the causes and effects of *Variolae Vaccinae*, which was the name for "smallpox of the cow." Jenner decided to name his own procedure "vaccination" by taking the Latin word for cow (*vacca*) and mixing it with cowpox (*vaccinia*) (Riedel 2005). His method required "transferring the fluid from a live cowpox pustule and injecting it into surface levels of the skin" (Braytenbah 2020: 37). Jenner's publication was initially met with mixed reactions, but despite some errors and controversies, it quickly became rather popular in the next few years and reached many (mostly, but not exclusively European) countries by the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries (Riedel 2005).

However, news of the vaccine reached Japan while the country was still following its isolationist foreign policy. As per the orders of the Tokugawa shogunate, Japan had closed its ports to foreigners (among them traders and missionaries) and ships early in the seventeenth century and maintained limited contact with nations other than the Chinese and the Dutch, who were the only nations having been allowed into the country. However, this did not mean that Japanese physicians and scholars did not have the opportunity to hear about Western ideologies, technology and medical techniques; in fact, they were among the very few who were allowed to gather information and expand their knowledge regarding this matter (Jannetta 2009; Walker 1999). News of Edward Jenner's discovery first reached the country in 1803, and physicians, albeit not having the possibility to use the method, could still learn about it from Western and Chinese medical books that reached Japan. In general, Western books were all subject to censorship in the country, but books about medicine were treated as an exception and were largely accepted, since they were considered nonpolitical and valuable. After 1810,

not only Jennerian vaccinations, but their success also became known to Japanese physicians (Jannetta 2009).

In passing, it is also worth noting that since smallpox had been present all over the country, folkloric customs and rituals have also played a crucial role in treating the disease among Japanese people on the mainland during the Tokugawa period, well before any serious attempts of medical treatment. These rituals involved dancing to guide the demons out of a village, or offerings of food to the demon of the illness (Suzuki 2011).

As mentioned above, Japanese physicians initially learned about the new technique of vaccination from foreign books and had no means of using it in practice. However, it is quite probable that even if they had had the possibility to use it, their skepticism towards the new method would have stopped them from doing so. As Trambaiolo (2014) explains, doctors of Chinese medicine (*kanpō*) described the nature and symptoms of smallpox as "the eruption of an innate poison present in patients' bodies at the time of birth. Once the poison had erupted, triggered by causes such as improper diet, "fright," or epidemic qi, the normal development of the disease was thought to result in complete expulsion of the poison from the body" (Trambaiolo 2014: 435). Physicians of the time explained that this eruption and eventual expulsion of the poison was the reason most people contracted the disease only once in their lives. People have long been used various methods and techniques to treat the illness; for instance, some Chinese doctors were convinced for centuries that all eruptions had "thermic quality" to them, as Volkmar (2004) calls them. Certain physicians regarded the eruptions hot, and thus recommended "cooling" therapy for them, while others stated the opposite, explaining that such eruptions are generally cold and need to be treated with "warming" therapies (Volkmar 2004). On the other hand, Japanese doctors of the Tokugawa shogunate distinguished different kinds of smallpox, and used a combination of thermal therapies for the treatment of the disease (Trambaiolo 2014).

However, these were only attempts at alleviating symptoms and provide medical care for the ill, as there were still no effective ways of curing smallpox at the time. Nevertheless, some physicians did not see these attempts as their own limitations, but had a different understanding of the situation. As Trambaiolo (2014) explains, "since they thought of the symptoms of smallpox as a necessary consequence of the process by which

the innate poison was expelled from the body, a patient who failed to experience significant symptoms might be thought to have undergone only partial expulsion of the poison." (Trambaiolo 2014: 436) For this reason, skeptical medical practitioners assumed that if vaccination would stop the eruptions and symptoms of smallpox altogether, that would result in the delayed expulsion of the innate poison, and would only prolong its stay in the body (Trambaiolo 2014).

According to Walker (1999), the dissemination of Jennerian vaccinations in Japan, specifically in Ezo was a result of two Tokugawa officials' reports to the shogunate after an inspection tour they had taken in the island of Ezo in the 1850s. During the tour, they made careful observations of the Ainu population and their circumstances. One remark of theirs was about the need to reduce the devastating impact of contagious diseases and epidemics that was decimating the population on the island. One reason for the need of reduction was the disease itself, as it was spreading rapidly among both Wajin and Ainu; other reasons included commentaries on how the Ainu fleeing into the mountains during epidemics had a negative effect on the production of local fisheries and disrupted their visit numerous times (Walker 1999). Nevertheless, their main reason for promoting the vaccine was to stop the spread of infection and its impact as effectively as it was possible.

By the 1850s, the vaccine was already known in Japan and some clinics had already started using it on the main island. However, its introduction to Ezo, and especially the vaccination of the Ainu generally met with opposition from the indigenous side for two main reasons. One of them was the interpretation of medical assistance as a way for the Japanese state to demonstrate its control over the northern island. As Walker (2015) explains, dispatching physicians to Ainu villages on Ezo also meant the further exploration and outlining of new political boundaries for the Japanese side. Moreover, the Ainu considered smallpox to be *Payoka Kamuy*, a powerful deity that people have no control over, therefore the idea of Japanese physicians being able to end epidemics with the new method of vaccination was perceived as a threat to their traditional belief system (Walker 2015).

The above points justify the Ainu people's objection to vaccination; however, the spreading of the disease and its effects on the Ainu, along with smallpox epidemics being increasingly frequent on the island had a

significant negative effect not only on the beliefs, but also on the social system of the indigenous communities, as many Ainu elders fell victim to the illness. Ainu village elders had a crucial role in keeping the village community together. The Ainu social system had no tradition of choosing one collective leader who would unify all communities under his or her power; instead, each village had its own leader, usually an elder, who had an extensive knowledge of history and customs – including the oral traditions of the people. The latter was especially important, considering that the Ainu traditionally had no written language; for a long time, they preserved and transmitted their traditions by orally passing such cultural information from one generation to the next. With the premature death of their elders, the Ainu were in danger of losing a great part of their cultural knowledge, including practical understanding of their traditional hunting and fishing techniques, which also posed danger to the historical and cultural autonomy of their people by possibly making them dependent on the Japanese government (Walker 2001). This latter point explains why some Ainu elders eventually reconsidered their villages' disapproval of the vaccine.

As Walker (1999) further explains, in certain areas, the main objection came not from the Ainu, but from the local Wajin, who did not want their trading and the preparations for fishing seasons disrupted. Contemporary accounts tell of Ainu elders and even fishery supervisors asking for polite persuasion instead of forceful vaccination, which clearly shows the indigenous peoples' willingness to cooperate if being treated in a respectful manner – or, in some cases, if they or their immediate environment experienced the devastating effects of the disease. This polite persuasion meant the cooperation of Japanese physicians and the shogunate with Ainu communities and taking into consideration their political and social system, instead of imposing rules on them. A good example of physicians gaining the consent of the Ainu is the *omusha* [ceremonial greeting of Japanese magistrates at local trading posts] (Walker 1999).

Having obtained consent, there was no further need to use force to bring the Ainu to local trading and administrative posts from the mountains where they had been hiding. The shogunate tried various ways, such as offering them treasures that they could keep as a way to lure them to vaccination spots (Walker 1999). Using the above and similar ways of polite persuasion, Japanese physicians of the Tokugawa shogunate managed to

successfully vaccinate thousands of Ainu people a year, especially in 1857, when about 6,400 vaccinations were carried out on the island of Ezo as a result of the vaccination project (Igarashi 2021). Contemporary paintings of group vaccinations often depict Japanese physicians sitting in a ceremonial setting, surrounded by lacquered cups and exquisite clothing intended for the Ainu, who are usually talking in groups, often sitting around an open fire (Walker 1999; Igarashi 2021). Among all physicians, the most notable were Ryūsai Kuwata and Fukase Yōshun, who achieved great results in the vaccination of the Ainu – a state-sponsored, pioneer project in an era when both the production and the long-term storage of the vaccine was rather complicated, if not entirely impossible. Ryūsai was particularly enthusiastic about vaccination and vowed to administer 100,000 of them; he reportedly died suddenly at the age of 58, still holding the needle, having administered 70,000 vaccinations during his lifetime (Igarashi 2021).

As Walker (1999) explains, Ryūsai understood the colonial overtone of the Tokugawa shogunate's project to vaccinate the Ainu on Ezo, and believed that introducing them to more modern forms of medications and methods will result in them becoming more civilized and healthier, altogether more "Japanese," compared to their backwards and unhealthy, almost barbaric lifestyle. He especially pointed out how Ainu huts were similar to dog houses, and how their clothes were made of tree bark instead of textile. Ryūsai was convinced that the vaccination project would eventually "save the Ainu"; the use of the new medical method could not completely change or reform traditional customs, however, it meant that the Ainu were now being taken care of by the benevolence of the Japanese state, which used modern methods and techniques rather than traditions and rituals with a high inefficiency rate.

This chapter aimed to introduce the reader to how smallpox appeared in the island of Ezo, what were the ways the Ainu tried to prevent and treat it, along with other illnesses that affected them, and how Japanese physicians dispatched by the Tokugawa shogunate decided on the pioneering dissemination of a new method of treating the disease: vaccination. Ainu people traditionally tried to drive away the demons of diseases by chanting, making charms, using certain plants and conducting rituals; however, such methods eventually proved to be ineffective about especially dangerous illnesses, such as smallpox, which had been introduced to the island by Japanese settlers and merchants and against which the Ainu had had no

immunity. The Matsumae clan, who had complete control and trading monopoly in the area, had initially disregarded the devastating effect smallpox had on the indigenous people; however, as epidemics often resulted in the death of many working-age Ainu, or people fleeing into the nearby mountains, the shogunate eventually decided to take stronger measures to end smallpox epidemics without them decimating the population.

The vaccination initially met with skepticism and doubt, both from the Japanese and the Ainu side. Japanese physicians based their understanding of smallpox on a certain theory, according to which all people carry an innate poison within them. They believed that the poison gets expelled from the body upon the eruption of pustules, and vaccination would only hinder its expulsion. Concurrently, the Ainu believed the new method to be a threat to their political autonomy and traditional belief system, as Japanese physicians would have the means to explore and outline new political boundaries for the shogunate, and end epidemics – caused by a powerful *kamuy* – with a prick of the arm. However, the rapid spread of the disease resulted in Ainu elders dying, leaving their people without the possibility to preserve and transmit their culture from one generation to the next, thus making the indigenous population reconsider their opposition.

In essence, the vaccination of the Ainu was especially critical for two reasons; to stop the spreading of smallpox among the indigenous people, and also to make them more civilized and healthier, thus more "Japanese" in the face of the Meiji Restoration of 1868, which required the Japanese to present the picture of a unified nation with shared history and language (Walker 1999).

References

Batchelor, John. 1901. *The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore.* London: Religious Tract Society.

Braytenbah, Jeffrey. 2020. Crania Japonica: Ethnographic Portraiture, Scientific Discourse, and the Fashioning of Ainu/Japanese Colonial Identities. Master's thesis, Portland State University.

Bukh, Alexander. 2010. Ainu Identity and Japan's Identity: The Struggle for Subjectivity. *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 28(2). 35–53.

Eddy, Zoe. A. 2019. When God Was a Keychain: Commercial Goods and Ainu Indigeneity in Hokkaido, Japan. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University.

Godefroy, Noémi. 2011. The Ainu assimilation policies during the Meiji period and the acculturation of Hokkaido's indigenous people. Paper presented at the 1st symposium of the Center for Japanese Studies of the University of

Bucharest. https://theasiadialogue.com/wp-content/uploads/2018 /05 /Godefroy_Ainu_assimilation_policies.pdf (accessed 6 February 2022).

Igarashi, Satomi. 2021. Ainu-e wo yomitoku [Reading and understanding Ainu-e]. *Asahi Shinbun Digital*. 4 February. http://digital.asahi.com/area/hokkaido/articles/MTW20210204010860001.html?ref=comkiji_txt_end_s_kjid_MTW20210204010860001 (accessed 6 February 2022).

Jannetta, Ann. 2009. Jennerian Vaccination and the Creation of a National Public Health Agenda in Japan, 1850–1900. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 83(1). 125–140.

Kameda, Yuko. 2009. Aspects of the Ainu Spiritual Belief Systems: An Examination of the Literary and Artistic Representations of the Owl God. Master's Thesis, University of Victoria.

Kramer, Eric M. (ed.). 2003. *The Emerging Monoculture: Assimilation and the "model Minority."* Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Matsumae, Norihiro. 1715. Shōtoku gonen Matsumae Shima no kami sashidashi sōrō kakitsuke [Notes Submitted by Matsumae Shima no kami in 1715]. In Takakura Shin'ichirō (ed.), *Saisenkai shiryō* [Historical Sources of the Saisen Association], 135–136. Sapporo: Hokkaidō Shuppan Kikaku Sentā.

Mogami, Tokunai. 1790. Ezokoku fūzoku ninjō no sata [Notes on the Customs and People of Ezo]. In Takakura Shin'ichirō (ed.), *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* [Collected Sources on the History of the Daily Lives of Common Japanese People], ed., 460. Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō.

Nagano, Masahiro. 2020. Ezochi ni okeru kansenshō taisaku – jūkyū seiki zenhan no tennentō to Ainu no kakawari [Countermeasures against infectious diseases in Ezo – the connection between Ainu and smallpox in the first half of the 19th century]. Sasakawa Peace Foundation, *Ocean Newsletter*. 20 December. https://www.spf.org/opri/newsletter/489_2.html?latest=1 (accessed 6 February 2022).

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko. 1980. Ainu Illness and Healing: A Symbolic Interpretation. *American Ethnologist* 7(1). 132–151.

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko. 1981. *Illness and Healing among the Sakhalin Ainu: A Symbolic Interpretation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Riedel, Stefan. 2005. Edward Jenner and the history of smallpox and vaccination. *Baylor University Medical Center Proceedings* 18. 21–25.

Suzuki, Akihito. 2011. Smallpox and the Epidemiological Heritage of Modern Japan: Towards a Total History. *Medical History (pre-2012)* 55(3). 313–318.

Trambaiolo, Daniel. 2014. Vaccination and the Politics of Medical Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Japan. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 88(3). 431–456.

Virág, Viktor. 2020. Contemporary Marginalization of the Indigenous Ainu People in View of the History of Colonization and Assimilation. *Nihon shakai gigyō daigaku kenkyū kiyō* [Issues in social work: study report of the Japan College of Social Work] 66. 153–164.

Volkmar, Barbara. On Sense and Non-Sense of Premodern Medical Theories: The Example of Theories on Smallpox. *Disquisitions on the Past & Present* 11. 73–94.

Walker, Brett. L. 1999. The Early Modern Japanese State and Ainu Vaccinations: Redefining the Body Politic 1799-1868. *Past & Present* 163. 121–160.

Walker, Brett. L. 2001. *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Walker, Brett. L. 2015. *A concise history of Japan.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, Dai. 2017. *Ainu Ethnobiology.* Tacoma: Society of Ethnobiology.

Yoshida, Takezō (ed.). 1971. *Sankō Ezo nisshi* [A Diary of Three Crossings into Ezo]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

"Tyger, Tyger Burning Bright": Ritual and Medical Practices in an Osaka Neighborhood

Carmen SĂPUNARU TĂMAŞ

Introduction. Matsuri and epidemics

In the spring of 2020, as a response to the rapidly spreading new epidemic, the religious leaders in my Romanian hometown (Odobeşti, Vrancea) organized a procession, taking a Holy Mary icon around the town in a prayer ritual whose purpose was to obtain divine protection against the disease. Odobeşti is a small town (population of about 6,000) where the majority of the people are Christian Orthodox, but the actual religious tenets underlying this procession are less relevant than the universal patterns of thought it represents: in times of crisis, the local deity is paraded through the streets in an attempt to either pacify it or obtain its mercy - in either case, the desired result is to stop whatever natural disaster is affecting the community. In Japan, many of the religious practitioners (especially Shinto) I have encountered often spoke about Japanese practices in comparison to their Christian counterparts - "you Christians have just one god, but here in Japan each shrine has its own *kami*," - to quote a young priest from Osaka Tenmangu, who was giving a tour to my international students. Using familiar categories and concepts to describe and explain new ones is a natural process - Joy Hendry stated in a lecture given online at the University of Hyogo (July 6, 2020) that an anthropologist's job is to "translate" culture in terms comprehensible to those belonging to a different culture, and thus the Japanese tendency to explain Shinto by contrasting it with Christianity is understandable. This act of translation (and comparison) sometimes obscures the fact that basic

constructs, tendencies, primordial fears are common across cultures, and often the automatic response to natural phenomena such as epidemics, draughts, floods is to try to appease (with elaborate rituals, parades, and performances built around similar patterns be they in Japan, India, Romania or Mexico - to give just a few more or less random examples) some powerful entity whose temper tantrum might have caused the disaster.

The set of rituals dedicated to specific *kami* (deities) in Shinto is called *matsuri* - "a noun derived from the verb *matsurau*, meaning 'to submit to the will of the Kami.' … The verb *matsuru* means to serve the Kami by receiving them respectfully and reverently." (Hardacre 2017: 477) According to Jinja Honcho (Association of Shinto Shrines), matsuri "are offered in thanks to the deities for their bounty,"[1] while in the *Dictionary of Ancient Rituals and Annual Events*, matsuri are seen as events where people thanked the deities for the crops and prayed for protection against natural disasters (Okada 2019: 2). Without looking into the specifics of the matsuri, it would be hard to explain what makes them different from all other rituals that worship deities of nature, yet Herbert Plutschow's definition of kami emphasizes a significant point: "Generally speaking, deities seem to be, in most cases, ethically indifferent. Their beneficent and maleficent potential seems to derive from their contacts with the living. If people fail to worship them in a way pleasing to the deities, then they will turn malevolent and cause natural disasters and social disharmony. Once malevolent, the deities will not change unless people ritually change their nature." (1996: 20) In other words, the deities associated with the ancient Japanese system of beliefs do not possess characteristics that make them inherently good or evil, it is the actions of the humans that can determine them to act either way. If properly entertained with offerings of food, drink, and performances, they will renew their bond with the community (matsuri are seen as rites performed to reinforce the connection between human and divine, as well as renew their covenant - Hardacre 2017, Nelson 1996, Plutschow 1996) and act benevolently towards it, if angered, they will punish it with disasters and plagues.

One of the oldest and grandest festivals in Japan, Gion Matsuri, traces its origins to a legend recorded in one of Japan's ancient chronicles, *Fûdoki*. According to this, the Heavenly Deity called Mûtan started on a journey to

[1] https://www.jinjahoncho.or.jp/en/festival/index.html, accessed on March 7, 2022.

find a wife near the South Sea. As night was near, he decided to look for shelter in a nearby village, where two brothers, one rich, named Kotan Shōrai, and one poor, Somin Shōrai lived. The rich brother refused to offer shelter to the deity, while the poor brother treated him with the utmost kindness. The god left in the morning, but years later eight princes returned to the village, inquiring after the descendants of Somin Shōrai. They found just one granddaughter and advised her to wear around her waist a wreath made of entwined reeds. During the night, all the people in the village were killed, except the Somin Shōrai's granddaughter, who received further advice from one kami. The divinity who asked for shelter and who revealed himself as Susano-wo-no-mikoto told the girl that from then on, when a plague was upon the village, she and her children should make similar wreaths and proclaim loudly "We are the descendants of Somin Shōrai", this being a sure way to escape disease (*Fûdoki* 2006: 496-497, Tamas 2019).

This legend is repeated under various forms not only during Gion Matsuri, but also during a festival in Iwate Prefecture, called Sominsai, or during the annual Grand Purification ritual performed at shrines all over the country in June, when a grass ring (*chinowa*) is used - not worn around the waist, but set up at shrines so that people could go through it and be purified.

Yasaka Shrine in Kyoto (the center of Gion Matsuri) has within its precincts a smaller shrine dedicated to *Ekijin*, the kami of epidemics, where a white notice board informs the visitors of Susano-wo's legacy.

The shrine dedicated to the God of Epidemics (Yasaka Shrine, Kyoto)

In his collection of translated *norito* (Shinto prayers), Donald L. Philippi includes one that was "recited occasionally at times of pestilence or calamity in order to drive the deities responsible for the misfortune out of the capital and to restore tranquility" (1990: 11):

"I place these noble offerings in abundance upon tables
Like a long mountain range and present them
Praying that the Sovereign Deities
Will with a pure heart receive them tranquilly
As offerings of ease,
As offerings of abundance,
And will not seek vengeance and not ravage,
But will move to a place of wide and lovely mountains and rivers,
And will as deities dwell there pacified." (1990: 70)

The ideal image of the universe according to this ancient system of thought (an image perpetuated nowadays by shrines and organizations that introduce Japanese culture to national and non-nationals) is that of a harmonious and aesthetically pleasing natural environment where efforts must be made to maintain order and equilibrium. Should the balance be disturbed by natural disasters or plagues, rituals had to be performed to appease the deities responsible for it, and to harness their strength, converting negative forces into creative energy.

Cholera

Smallpox seems to be the first recorded epidemic in Japan, but this chapter will focus on a malady which appeared a millennium later: cholera, and its connection to a small shrine in central Osaka. Cholera is defined by the Encyclopedia Britannica as "an acute infection of the small intestine caused by the bacterium Vibrio cholerae and characterized by extreme diarrhea with rapid and severe depletion of body fluids and salts.[2]" Similar definitions appear in the *Dictionary of Japanese Customs* (1979) and the *Grand Dictionary of Japanese Folklore* ((Fukuta et al. 1999), with the difference that the entry is listed as *korori* - the old Japanese term for "cholera," of Dutch etymology, and also derived from the popular term *mikka korori* - "three day drop dead."

[2] https://www.britannica.com/science/cholera, accessed on March 7, 2022.

It was in fact the Dutch physicians who had "warned their Japanese colleagues that a new and dangerous epidemic disease had spread through its colony in Batavia (Jakarta)." (Johnston 2019: 12)

Cholera first appeared in Japan in 1822, a historical moment which led to the ritual developments analyzed in this paper, and events which, as stated by William Johnston (12), "left an indelible mark on Japanese medical culture and society." Research on cholera (both in general and with a focus on Japan) is extensive; Johnston lists in his article 70 sources that discuss cholera, out of which 28 refer specifically to Japan. This chapter does not attempt to improve the scientific or historical discourse; it is a case study focused on the relationship between medicine and ritual in a particular neighborhood of Osaka: the apothecary district. Upon the first encounter with the disease, there were two kinds of responses: one - political and scientific, as measures had been taken to discover a cure and to improve hygiene and diet, the other - popular and based on the belief that it had been caused by what Johnston (13) calls "deities gone rogue," the kami who had not been duly worshipped and pacified, and thus had decided to play pranks on humanity.

The cholera breakout of 1858 (which lasted for four years) had a profound impact on society due to the high mortality rate - despite the not always accurate record keeping, researchers estimate that tens of thousands died in Edo (current Tokyo) (Johnston 2019: 12), the mortality rate being 2 to 4% in Edo, 3.17% in Osaka, and 8.3% in Nagasaki (Gramlich-Oka 2009: 37). If in the age of mRNA vaccines people still look for protection in the colorful images of the mythical Amabie, it is only understandable that in the 19th century, besides more or less efficient medical treatments, various amulets and charms flooded the market as weapons against the disease. According to Gramlich-Oka (51-52), for people in Edo the amulets sold by Mitsumine Shrine in Chichibu (current Saitama Prefecture), whose protector animal was the wolf, were seen as especially potent:

"The link between cholera and the shrine became even more important due to the rumors that the epidemic was caused by a fox, because it was believed that an efficient remedy against a beast was another beast, in this case the wolf… By borrowing from the shrine something related to the wolf one should be protected from the evil doings of the fox (*kitsune* 狐). That the neology of cholera *korori* ("drop" dead suddenly) was often spelled with fox 狐, wolf 狼, and *tanuki* 狸 (racoon dog) emphasized this imagined relationship."

Satoshi Takahashi (2005: 70-71) describes in detail this association between the symptoms of fox possession and those of cholera, as well as steps taken to cure patients, and records various examples of rituals performed to this purpose, such as allowing access to sacred relics - in the case of the Honmonji Temple (current Shizuoka Prefecture), a mandala painted by Nichiren[3] himself cured the sick in the nearby villages, thus proving the power of the scriptures imbued with the spirit of the saint against the epidemic. Other magical-religious practices include repeating rituals associated with the New Year, and Nishimura (2021: 57) refers to a specific example from the 1822 epidemic, when people from a village in Hyogo Prefecture decorated their houses with *kadomatsu*[4] and *shimenawa kazari*[5] in an attempt to "renew" the year - expel the evil and start afresh. Both Takahashi and Nishimura mention other rites, such as *mame maki* ("bean throwing") - a gesture usually performed on Setsubun, the Lunar New Year, to get rid of demons and invite good fortune, or *hyakumanben nenbutsu* [6] chanting, a practice that was referenced even in contemporary policies, when Prime Minister Yoshihide Suga promised to reach 1,000,000 vaccine inoculations per day in spring 2021[7]: from 1,000,000 invocations of Amitabha Buddha to 1,000,000 people vaccinated, the same magical number fulfilling the same practical purpose of preventing contagion and the spread of the epidemic.

As mentioned in the introduction, a universal pattern of thought and behavior becomes apparent now as well as 200 years ago: when confronted with a new and deadly disease, besides adopting practical measures that may (or may not) yield practical results, people also turn to prayer and magic, in the hope of obtaining protection and containing the cause of the evil. In two different historical periods, on two different continents, these magical tools are almost the same: prayers, processions, amulets, and images of supernatural beings that have the power to vanquish the epidemic.

---

[3] The founder of the Nichiren sect (1222-1282). Inagaki 1992: 227.
[4] Bamboo and pine decorations placed at the entrance of houses in celebration of New Year.
[5] New Year's decorations consisting of ropes decorated with strips of paper and an orange, hung above the doorway.
[6] The practice of chanting the *Nenbutsu* - *Namu Amida Butsu*, "I take refuge in Amitabha Buddha" - repeatedly in order to protect one's family from misfortune and disease, to guide the departed on their path in the other world, or to pray for good harvests. (Matsunami 2007: 59, Tsuboi 1965: 515)
[7] https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/14346721, accessed on March 8, 2022.

Sukunahikona Shrine and Shinnō Matsuri

The purpose of this chapter is not to provide an exhaustive review of literature related to cholera epidemics in Japan (a task already accomplished by researchers such as Bettina Gramlich-Oka, William Johnston, and Satoshi Takahashi), but to look into the relationship between cholera and a shrine located in Doshōmachi, Osaka's apothecary district. Doshōmachi 道修町, also known as *kusuri no machi* ("medicine district"), was established during the Edo Period, when "the 2nd Tokugawa Shogunate Hidetada ordered Kichiemon Konishi, a wealthy merchant of Sakai, to launch a medicinal business here. Many other medicine wholesalers followed. They were authorized by the government as the Doshomachi Association of Apothecary Brokers, who inspected various medicinal ingredients, set fair prices, and exclusively supplied trades nationwide.[8]" Many of the old apothecaries developed into modern pharmaceutical companies, some, like Takeda Pharmaceutical Company[9], having acquired a global presence. These companies still keep their headquarters in the old neighborhood, and display their traditional wares for a glimpse into almost forgotten lore and tradition.

[8] Information offered by Osaka City in English and Japanese on a plaque set near Sukunahikona Shrine.

[9] "Over two centuries ago in 1781, 32-year-old Chobei Takeda I started a business selling traditional Japanese and Chinese medicines in Doshomachi, Osaka, the center of the medicine trade in Japan. His small shop bought medicines from wholesalers, then divided them into smaller batches and sold them to local medicine merchants and doctors. This was the beginning of the present-day Takeda Pharmaceutical Company Limited." https://www.takeda.com/who-we-are/company-information/history/foundation-modernization/, accessed on March 7, 2022.

Medicinal plants displayed in Doshōmachi: jujube, licorice, ginger, peony, aralia cordata, puerarie radix, ephedra sinica, rehmannia glutinosa

According to official city records, Sukunahikona Shrine was established in this area in 1780, when "a divided spirit Sukunahikona-no-mikoto (the god of medicine) from Tenjin Shrine of Gojo in Kyoto was enshrined in the meetinghouse of the Doshomachi Association of Apothecary Brokers to pray for the safety of medicines and prosperity of business."

The explanatory plaque near Sukunahikona Shrine

Sukunahikona-no-mikoto is a complex deity, who showed himself to Ōkuninushi in a strange manner, riding in a boat made from a type of a gourd and wearing clothes made from the skin or feathers of a bird (the details are slightly different in *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*), claiming to be the son of Takamimusubi-no-mikoto/ Kamimusubi-no-mikoto, one of the first deities that appeared out of chaos when the world was created. According to the Japanese chronicles, Sukunahikona-no-mikoto and Ōkuninushi worked

together to complete the creation of the world, "establishing ways to cure illness" (Kamata and Inada 2007: 160). He is also seen as a "master of magic and wizardry,… associated with the folk figure of Hyottoko, a clownish figure representing the country bumpkin whose twisted-mouthed mask features in many *kagura*." (Ashkenazi 2003: 256) In the images kept at Sukunahikona Shrine he is depicted holding a medicine jar [10], while the other deity enshrined there, Shinnō Entei, is a character imported from China, who supposedly tested the medicinal powers of herbs and taught them to humans, which is why paintings and sculptures from the shrine show him holding or even tasting plants.

A sculpture of Shinnō Entei from Sukunahikona Shrine

In the center of the apothecary district and hosting two deities closely associated with medicine, Sukunahikona Shrine is the ideal setting for the creation of a miraculous cure, something that did happen during the cholera epidemic of 1822. At that time, the local apothecaries were hard pressed to come up with a treatment for the new disease, and they created a type of medicine called 虎頭殺鬼雄黄円 *kotōsakkikōen* (a round yellow pill about 1cm

[10] Images available on the shrine website: http://www.sinnosan.jp/gosaijin.html.

in diameter[11]). An approximate translation of this would be "round yellow thing made from tiger head that kills demons," and apparently it did include "powder of Tiger's skull." The explanatory plaque mentioned above indicates that this medicine was distributed for free together with papier-maché tiger amulets. Yuasa et al., however, state that the medicine supply was far from sufficient, and as such the apothecaries' wives got together and created tiger amulets which they took to Sukunahikona Shrine to be blessed, then attached them to bamboo branches and gave them to the people as protection against the disease (1992: 291).

The tiger, an animal which appears in the ancient Chinese tradition as able to fight evil and kill demons (Tō 1995: 124-125), has thus become the symbol of Sukunahikona Shrine, at the entrance of which one can see the metal statue of a tiger instead of the usual guardian dogs (*komainu*). If people in Edo chose the wolf to fight against cholera, it seems that the inhabitants of Osaka decided to appeal to the power of an even fiercer beast.

The main hall of Sukunahikona Shrine. Because 2022 is the Year of the Tiger, the tiger image usually taken out only for the annual festival will be displayed until the end of the year.

[11] http://search.eisai.co.jp/cgi-bin/historyphot.cgi?historyid=Z00054

The bamboo branches decorated with papier-maché tigers have become a powerful amulets, and thousands of people go to the shrine on November 22-23, the dates of the most important event of the year, Shinnō Matsuri, to return the branch purchased the previous year (whose protective power has diminished in time), and to get a new one for display in their homes and offices.

People lining up to enter the Shrine on festival day (the shrine is located between two tall buildings in Central Osaka, and it has a very narrow entryway)

Miko ("shrine maidens," unmarried young women who work at shrines and perform various rituals) blessing the visitors who have come to purchase the tiger amulets

Shinnō Matsuri has been traditionally performed not as a way to prevent disease and epidemics, but as a prayer that the medicine sold by the companies from Doshōmachi are safe and cause no harm, and that the companies prosper. As stated by Yuasa et al. (1992: 292), this is a matsuri of the people from the district, mostly apothecaries and other individuals involved in the pharmaceutical business, who have made the shrine a community center, a place to gather and exchange information related to their business, as well as make sure that they have taken all the steps towards acquiring the support of divinities as well. The shrine was built in 1780 at the initiative of the community, before the cholera epidemic of 1822, which added to its value and symbols, but did not change much of its initial role as gathering point for the Doshōmachi businessmen. The medicine created by their companies is donated for display to the shrine in a gesture that has a double meaning: Sukunahikona-no-mikoto and Shinnōsan will grant safety to the products, which, in turn, by being enshrined there will offer protection against illnesses to the entire community.

Medicine for display inside Sukunahikona Shrine

Decorations for Shinnō Matsuri with empty medicine boxes

Kentōsai. Hot water and prayer

Shinnō Matsuri is an important event in Osaka, where it is said that the year begins with Ebisu Matsuri (January 9~11) and ends with Shinnō Matsuri (November 22-23). Both events trace their origins to deities of interesting lineage and development (Ashkenazi sees both Sukunahikona-no-mikoto, who is sometimes identified with Ebisu, as "the *marebito*[12] par excellence. He visits, helps in providing magical gifts and in construction, then departs to his own country" 2003: 257), which somehow end up being focused more on *shōbai hanjō* - prosperity in business. With the exception of the *shinji* (Shinto ritual consisting of presenting food and drinks as offerings to the celebrated kami, followed by prayer and a *kagura* dance performed by miko), neither Ebisu Matsuri nor Shinnō Matsuri include any other

[12] "Visiting deities such as Ebisu (one of the Seven Happy Gods of China) come from overseas to bless the community with their riches. It is also understood, however, that when they leave, they take the human impurities with them." (Plutschow 1996: 19)

special performances, such as processions with ceremonial palanquins (*mikoshi*, used to take the kami around the neighborhood) and floats (*dashi*, bigger constructs whose purpose is to entertain the kami), special dances, or theatrical performances which are usually present in matsuri in order to amuse and pacify the deities. One can say that these two matsuri are characteristic for the culture of Osaka: practical, business-oriented, regarding the deities as something slightly but not much above a regular member of their community, whom they celebrate annually the way they conduct business meetings - to ensure that everything runs smoothly and according to plan.

The one event at Sukunahikona Shrine that is not related to business (although the businessmen from the district do make substantial donations towards its performance) is Kentōsai - a prayer ritual focused around a cauldron of boiling water which a miko sprinkles around using leafy bamboo branches. Kentōsai takes place on the 23rd of every month, with the exception of November 23, the matsuri day.

Yudate is a magical practice dating back to the Heian Period, where hot water was used for purification or divination. *Yudate kagura* is the ritual described above, where water is boiled in front of the kami (usually in front of the main hall of a shrine), first offered to the deities, then used to purify the area and the participants (Fukuta 2000: 764-765) *Kentō* ("hot water offering") or *yudate* ("raising hot water") is also associated with rituals performed during the winter solstice - purification to get rid of the evil and pollution accumulated in the community during the year, and spiritual renewal before the beginning of the new year (Mikami 2017: 20-21). Although the traditional attire of a miko consists of a white kimono over which they wear red trousers (hakama), during the performance of *kentō kagura* they are dressed in white only - a non-color that sets them in a liminal space between the world of humans and that of the kami, while their increasingly rapid movements executed to the chanting of the priest suggest that a state close to *kamigakari*, the mystical trance where the spirit of the deity temporarily descends into the body of the practitioner.

Miko performing *kentō kagura* in front of the main hall of Sukunahikona Shrine (May 23, 2021)

From an anthropological perspective, Sukunahikona Shrine represents an interesting case study. While most shrines adopt a certain mythical narrative as their "official" origin, here we know for certain that it was men, not gods, who decided to establish it as a kind of spiritual branch to their community center. The deities enshrined were selected so that their characteristics would match those of the district, and in times of crisis it was the science/ businessmen who came up with a solution that extended to a magical practice, not the other way around. The kami did not dictate human behavior, on the contrary, their power was addressed only when human resources proved quantitatively insufficient, and even then, the ritual created was derived from the medical practice. This may be one of the reasons that even during the Covid-19 pandemic, Sukunahikona Shrine did not come up with new rituals to fight the disease, but continued the old ones as they were, while the priest advised people after Kentōsai to rigorously follow the instructions of those in the medical profession.

The one true magical practice is *yudate kagura*, yet this is not something unique to Sukunahikona Shrine - similar rituals are performed on the first of each month at Namba Shrine, and on the first and 25th at Osaka Tenmangu Shrine, to name just two other sacred places situated less than two kilometers away (Sukunahikona Shrine is located somewhere in between the two). Despite lacking any real claims to fame, Sukunahikona Shrine remains, however, an important institution in the Doshōmachi district and in Osaka in general (it is mentioned in most guidebooks, as well as the official Osaka-knowledge textbooks), a fact that proves how the social aspect of ritual can be as significant as the sacred one. The apothecaries' community did not wait for miracles to happen, they adopted two deities, created a permanent dwelling for them, thus ensuring that their scientific endeavors had divine support as well.

References

Ashkenazi, Michael. 2003. *Handbook of Japanese Mythology*. ABC Clio.

Fûdoki. 2006. Shogakkan.

Fukuta, Ajio, Yoriko Kanda, Takanori Shintani, Mutsuko Nakagomi, Yoji Yukawa, Yoshio Watanabe. 1999-2000. *Nihon Minzoku Daijiten*. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan

Gramlich-Oka, Bettina. 2009. The Body Economic: Japan's Cholera Epidemic of 1858 in *Popular Discourse in East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* No. 30, Special Issue: Society and Illness in Early Modern Japan.

Jinja Honcho Association of Shinto Shrines https://www.jinjahoncho.or.jp/en/index.html

Johnston, William. 2019. Cholera and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century Japan in *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* (e-journal) 30.

Hardacre, Helen. 2017. *Shinto. A History*. Oxford University Press.

Inagaki, Hisao. 1992. A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms. Stone Bridge Press.

Kamata, Tōji, Tomohiro Inada. 2007. *Nihon no kamigami*. Tokyo Bijutsu Inc.

Kojiki. 2003. Shogakkan.

Matsunami, Kodo. 2007. *Essentials of Buddhist Manners and Rituals. A Practical Guide*. Omega-Com, Inc.

Mikami, Toshimi. 2017. *Shinkagura to deau hon. Uta, gakki, ohayashi*. ARTES.

Nelson, John K. 1996. A Year in the Life of a Shinto Shrine. University of Washington Press.

NHK *Furusato no Denshō*. Kinki. Ofisugai ni Ikiru Yakushin Shinkō. Ōsaka Doshōmachi.

Nihon Fûzokushi Jiten. 1979. Nihon Fûzokushi Gakkai, Kōbundō.

Nihonshoki ①. 2006. Shogakkan.

Nishimura, Akira. 2021. Kindai Nihon ni okeru korera no ryûkō to shûkyō. *Shûkyō kenykû* 95-2.

Okada, Shōji (ed.). 2019. *Kodai no Saishi to Nenchû Gyōji*. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
Ōsaka no kyōkasho. 2018. Sōgensha.
Plutschow, Herbert. 1996. *Matsuri: The Festivals of Japan*. Japan Library.
Takahashi, Satoshi. 2005. *Bakumatsu Orugii. Korera ga yattekita!* Asahi Shinbunsha.
Tămaş Săpunaru, Carmen. 2019. *Ritual Practices and Daily Rituals. Glimpses into the World of Matsuri*. Pro Universitaria.
Tō, Shien. 1995. Tora ni kansuru zu to zokushû no bunka kentō. *Hikaku Minzoku Kenkyû* 12-19.
Tsuboi, Shunei. 1965. The Inception of Popular Belief in the Nenbutsu. Centered on the Hyakumanben-nenbutsu. *Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu* 13-2.
Yuasa, Takayuki, Yoshio Fujino, Hirofumi Tezuka, Kenichi Saitou, Yoshikazu Nishimura, Kazuhide Kobayashi, Yoshihisa Iibuchi, Seiji Ueki, Teruo Arai, Fukashi Momose, Akihiko Nishimaki, Masayuki Yashiro. 1992. Study of Comparison of Yushima Temple 「Shinnōsai」 to Sukunahikona Shrine 「Shinnōsan Matsuri」. *Nihon Shikashi Gakkai Kaishi* 18-4-69.

Community and Matsuri in Hansen's Disease Literature from Nagashima Aisei-en[1]

Kathryn M. TANAKA

In 1934, a person named Izumi Honoka (*Aisei* 1934, 81) wrote a couplet of haiku prefaced with the title:

故郷の祭を思ひ浮かべて

On remembering the festival in my hometown

手拭の色わけてあるみこしかき

We split the towels by color
To carry that *mikoshi*

差上げしにこしに向けしカメラ塔哉

As we lift it
A camera tower focuses on our backs[2]

These poems, in remembrance of festivals from the writer's hometown, are the only known writing the author published. They appeared in *Aisei*,

[1] The research for this project was supported by the Research Institute for the Dynamics of Civilizations at Okayama University for a project, "Creating a Foundation for the Continued Preservation of Historical Materials and Cultural Resources at Nagashima Aisei-en" (長島愛生園の歴史資料・文化資源の継承にむけた基盤構築) aimed to research Nagashima Aisei-en, led by Matsuoka Hiroyuki, and for that I express my deepest thanks.

[2] In this article I will include Japanese for the *tanka* and *haiku*, but unfortunately am unable to do so for the longer, free-verse poems and essays I cite.

a magazine published by Nagashima Aisei-en, the first National Sanatorium for the treatment of Hansen's disease, or leprosy. The institution officially opened in 1931, after several years of lobbying by Japan's most famous leprologist, Mitsuda Kensuke (1876-1964), who went on to become the first director of the facility. The institution opened as Hansen's disease in Japan was increasingly the target of media attention and public health campaigns. At the time, Hansen's disease was a highly stigmatized condition with no cure, and because care was therefore palliative, institutionalization often meant for life.

The history of Hansen's disease in Japan and how it has been treated legally, medically, and socially are long and complex. At the risk of oversimplification, here I provide a broad overview of some key moments in the history, but to trace the nuances in the history between the key moments I address is beyond the scope of this paper. In part, this is due to limited archival access during the novel coronavirus pandemic. At the same time, the pandemic raises some important issues that in part inspired this work. Thus, in this chapter, I seek to highlight some broad trends about illness, quarantine, and *matsuri*, or religious and carnivalesque community practice, through the lens of literature about matsuri in Nagashima Aisei-en. While all the public institutions have matsuri, the festival culture in each institution is unique, and again a comprehensive examination of sanatoria matsuri as a whole is beyond the scope of this paper. The matsuri in Aisei is distinct as Aisei-en was the first national sanatorium, as well as the only institution in Japan to have a high school. Thus, high school age residents from all over Japan would come and stay in Aisei-en to attend high school there, meaning many residents from sanatoria all over Japan had high school memories made together in Aisei-en. This meant that many residents were excited to return to Aisei-en for a visit to friends and the summer festival.

A final important note is that I do not mean to over-attribute changes occurring in medical, legal, and social treatment of Hansen's disease survivors to matsuri activity; I want to be clear that matsuri is one element in a complex history of Hansen's disease and human rights activism, involving multiple actors working in many different ways, at times together and at times in distinct ways. My focus here is on matsuri as a small part of the way in which survivors reintegrated into local communities, and I do not want to overstate or romanticize its role in the history of Hansen's disease

in Japan. At the same time, the matsuri deserves attention for the way it reflects broader changes in the treatment of Hansen's disease.

To begin with a condensed explanation of some of the legislation that targeted Hansen's disease, in 1907, the first Law Concerning the Prevention of Leprosy was enacted, under this law five regional sanatoria were established. This law was aimed at the institutionalization of itinerant sufferers who had no alternative means of care, and it was unevenly applied in different regions (Hirokawa, 2011). In 1931, the law was revised and renamed the Leprosy Prevention Law; also in 1931, a national sanatorium, Nagashima Aisei-en was opened on an island in the Inland Sea, just off the coast of a small inlet village Mushiage in Okayama Prefecture.

The 1931 legislation strengthened quarantine policies on paper, but again, the application of the law depended on a number of different circumstances, such as the wealth and region of the person diagnosed, among other things (Burns, 2019; Hirokawa, 2011 and Hirokawa, 2016). At the same time, the new law also meant that more patients were admitted to the institutions, and many did not return to their hometowns. The institutions were designed to be self-sufficient communities, with residents raising animals, farming, and taking care of each other. As Marcia Gaudet (2004) argues in the case of the continental United States hospital in Carville, Louisiana, Hansen's disease sanatoria created a "culture of differentness" that was in many ways separate and distinct from the community surrounding it (144). The shared experience of Hansen's disease that brought them together as a community also made celebrating that shared identity very difficult (*ibid*.).

Festivals, or matsuri, are a key part of community life. Indeed, the fact that it is memories of a hometown festival that drove Izumi to contribute these poems to *Aisei,* and no other writing, underscores the importance of matsuri. While a discussion of matsuri is far beyond the scope of this paper, here I am interested in the way in which matsuri functions as a community practice. This paper therefore traces the establishment of celebrations that extended beyond the institution and the community connections they made before concluding with an examination of how the novel coronavirus pandemic of 2020-2022 impacted the festivals and how that has impacted community. Broadly, I demonstrate the social role of matsuri and their importance in creating a supportive community that connects residents of Nagashima to a larger, local community.

Elizabeth Moriarty has described matsuri as "a religious and cultural phenomenon which has for its motive the renewal of the life-power of both *kami* and man by the symbolic group-action of its members… A matsuri consists of two elements, that of solemn ritual which is performed with tranquility and order, and that of festivity which exhibits collective excitement, spontaneity, and confusion" (92-3). Michael K. Roemer extends this definition to note that matsuri is "an emotional, spiritual, and physical set of sacred and secular events that is tremendously influential in the lives of many Japanese" (186). Carmen Săpunaru Tămaş further clarifies that entertainment and offerings to the kami are essential to matsuri (19). *Matsuri* can be large-scale, with tourists coming from all over Japan to participate, or they can be quite small in scale. Săpunaru Tămaş quotes a popular rumor that there is a festival held somewhere in Japan every day (18). Thus, it is not stretch to argue that festivals are deeply rooted in local lore and practices. While most studies focus on the religious elements of matsuri, this paper instead focuses on the rituals of popular participation and community that underpin matsuri practices in Japan. As Moriarty argues, matsuri are fundamentally a community activity, a social event that strengthened community through preparing and participating in the event (134).

The festivals in the poems by Izumi given above, however, are devoid of local markers and any hint of the deities that might be honored through the celebration. The fact that the poems reference a camera set up to record the activities indicates that the festival Izumi recalls is probably not very small, but it is impossible to say. The festival here is reduced to symbols: towels and the *mikoshi*, a portable palanquin that houses and transports a deity, and a ubiquitous symbol of Japanese matsuri. In a similar way, we see the matsuri represented by the mikoshi and drumming in a 1922 short essay from the regional institution established outside of Tokyo at the time called Zensei Hospital. A writer under the name Mikazuke wrote (*Yamazakura*, 1922, n.p.): "Boom, boom, the taiko drums sound out, *Yaaa*! The jackets with the mikoshi crests and the tight indigo pants! With good energy, the crowd of young people, wearing their headbands, come carrying the mikoshi on their shoulders, calling out *yasho yasho*. That's a lively festival!" Like Izumi, it seems likely that Mikazuke was remembering hometown festivals with nostalgia. These two examples are some of the only descriptions of matsuri

I have found in early patient writing, and it is significant that they are both reflections on hometown celebrations.

This is not to say that in the early years the institutions did not have matsuri. But they were primarily the performance of "solemn rituals," with little to no emphasis on community festivities. And yet, as numerous matsuri scholars have noted, the community celebrations are an integral part of matsuri performance, as entertainment offered to the gods (Săpunaru Tămaş, 17-18). And celebration was not unheard of in other Hansen's disease sanatoria around the world; for example, Marcia Gaudet has written about the importance of festival revelry, in particular Mardi Gras, in the case of the continental United States institution in Carville, Louisiana outside of New Orleans. Gaudet (2004) demonstrates how the elaborate Mardi Gras festivities were affirmative experiences for the residents, and its important role in shaping a community within the institution:

> Carville was not a typical or an autonomous folk community. Residents came from diverse backgrounds (ethnicity, religion, education, language, class, region). They all brought with them to Carville their memories of cultural traditions, and they also adopted the local regional customs of the carnival. For the majority of residents, Mardi Gras was not a traditional celebration prior to their residence at Carville. But they shared certain beliefs, values, and survival strategies, particular when dealing with "one of the most meaning-laden diseases" (Songtag 1989, 92) and with the resultant loss of control in their lives… In Mardi Gras at Carville, the masquerade becomes an instrument of affirmation for the patient residents. Instead of "hiding," they were displayed - paraded for all to see, just like "normal" people (142-143).

In a sense, then, tracing how the residents celebrated, and how the community responded to their celebrations is a tracing of changing perceptions and treatment of Hansen's disease. Festivals, carnivals, or matsuri, as a space to display and celebrate shared identities change in performance and meaning over time in the case of Japan as well.

In her analysis, Gaudet draws on Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of the carnivalesque - a subversion of social norms in several ways important to Hansen's disease sufferers, While Gaudet argues that the performance of the carnivalesque, in particular the costumes associated with Mardi Gras, meant for "people already stigmatized as "abnormal" in society, the masks and the occasion allow an opportunity to engage in normative behavior, to act

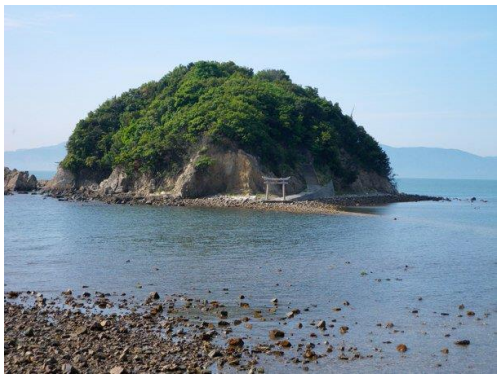
"normal"… It was a reversal of the typical festival inversion" (119). And while matsuri at Nagashima did not always involve costumes or masking, Bakhtin's notion of the carnival is particularly salient when we look over how matsuri changed.

For Bakhtin (1984), and in Gaudet's analysis of Carville, a key element of the carnivalesque is its subversion of social norms, its turning of social hierarchy on its head: "In fact, carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators… Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live it, and everyone participates because the its very idea embraces all the people" (7).

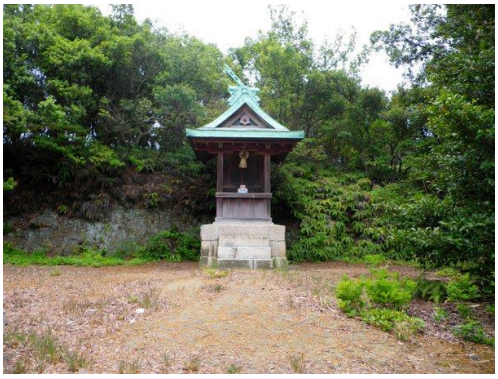
This inversion was rooted in an idea of the "grotesque body, a figure of unruly biological and social exchange, and the carnival, a ritual of social and political transformation" (Harpold, n.p.). And again, while Bakhtin's analysis of the European mode of carnivalesque might not manifest itself in the same way in Japanese matsuri, nevertheless, drawing on Bakhtin, I argue that in the case of Nagashima Aisei-en's summer matsuri, it is possible to trace the way stigmatized bodies are re-incorporated into society through the subversive space of the matsuri.

Ritual without Celebration

Festivals in the institutions in the 1920s and 1930s were primarily ritual, often focused on nature, such as *hana matsuri* (*hanami*, blossom viewing), or connected to the nation, such as ceremonies performed when the spirit of Empress Kōmyō (701-760) was enshrined in Nagashima Jinja, a *hokora* or small Shinto shrine residents built on a mountaintop of a small island, Tekage-jima, that is connected by a sandy path to Nagashima when the tide is out. Empress Kōmyō was particularly associated with Hansen's disease because of a legend that told how she bathed a sufferer of the condition who was then revealed to be a bodhisattva in disguise (Burns, 28-29). Thus, one of the earliest rituals performed in Aisei-en was this enshrinement in 1934 (*Sōritsu hachi-jū shū nen*, 197). The enshrinement ceremony was performed by a priest from Ani Shrine in Okayama.





Views of Nagashima Shrine. Photos by the author, 2010 and 2018.

The shrine is commemorated by representatives from the hospital administration and the Residents' Association annually on June seventh, and until about 1950 ritual sumo matches were also held (*Sōritsu hachi-jū shū nen*, 22). Furthermore, while the shrine may have been an invention of the institution, it is also today an important part of the institution's history. The stairs going up to the shrine and the building itself were built by residents, and the *komainu* (lion dogs) that guard the stairs in front of the shrine are made with local Bizen pottery techniques, a form ceramic art that is local to that area of Okayama. The shrine is thus at once unusual in being built for the institution, while still connected to local traditions through some of the techniques used to craft it.

Like the enshrinement ceremony, other early matsuri in Aisei were largely ritual based: for example, in 1943 a high school student named Ueda Tadaaki described hanamatsuri, or *hanami* at Nagashima as ritual in nature, with ceremonies performed by the hospital director and a Buddhist priest and no mention of festivities or community events apart from a solemn walk to admire the blossoms (*Aisei* 1943, 14). Thus, it appears that for residents of Japan's hospitals for the treatment of Hansen's disease, institutionalization meant leaving their communities and the carnivalesque of matsuri traditions behind, with the administrators of the institution emphasizing the ritual elements. Prior to the 1950s, patient writing that mentions festivals frame it as a memory, a connection to a hometown that is lost. But this changes, and festivals became an essential way to create connections to the community outside the sanatorium through an exploration of patient writing about festivals, primarily from Nagashima Aisei-en. In the records of the patients, we can see the way in which festivals functioned as a celebration of connection to a broader community outside the institution, as a source of community support rather than a religious celebration.

The cause of these changes was due to Promin, an effective cure for Hansen's disease discovered in the United States in 1941. It was synthesized in Japan in 1946 and by 1948, doctors began to administer the medicine. By 1950 the government had begun treatment on most patients (Burns 234-235). The end of the 1940s and the early 1950s, then, marks a dramatic shift in the medical treatment of the illness, and in the lives of survivors (Tanaka 2019). The fact that the disease was curable, however, did not result in an immediate change in how survivors were treated legally and socially. The

disconnection between life in the institution and other communities was still marked in part by a lack of ritual events like matsuri. Writing in 1952, Nagashima resident Matsue Nagisa highlighted this:

> Everyone thinks of festivals at shrines when they think of the tenth month of the lunar calendar. People from the city or the countryside, and especially for those in a different area than where they were raised, the recollections will be quite deep. This is probably because a festival is a time that strongly reflects the emotions of the local people, and it is a time when the customs unique to that locality are displayed, events that cannot be seen anywhere else. In Nagashima, where we live, there is a shrine dedicated to the Empress Kōmyō, and there are ceremonies held there annually. However, there is no so-called matsuri here as an expression of our feelings of gratitude. This is because this land is a place to bury our bones, but not a place where we were born, raised, and worked. The matsuri is an expression of gratitude to the *kami*, but it is also an event meant to reward the celebrants themselves, to reward them for a year's hard work. If a person with a sick body, not born here, not working here, were to drink alcohol and perform the same festivities as the rest of the world, before it was joyous, it would be farcical, and instead would cause those who saw it to feel pity (Matsue, 42).

In the early postwar, then, for many people Aisei-en remained an institution rather than a home, a community apart with little connection to the land on which it sat and still distinct from the broader Mushiage community in which the institution was situated. The stigma associated with Hansen's disease and quarantine practices superseded any possible community tie. In addition, as Matsue makes clear, Nagashima residents lacked a natal connection to the island, and while it might be where their bones would be buried, it was not a place they had a deep, emotional connection to as they did with the hometowns they had left behind. While the Empress Kōmyō might be a spirit connecting them to another world, they lacked other local *kami*.

In addition, Matsue highlights the fact that their physical condition meant that any act of celebration of life and *kami* performed by the residents of the sanatorium would not be cause for rejoicing, but would rather be pitiful. For while the illness could be cured at the time Matsue wrote, the sequelae caused by the illness could not, leaving many survivors with physical disabilities. In addition, in the immediate post-Promin era, institutions were focused on curing the residents rather than spending their

limited budgets on celebrations. Thus, in the immediate post-Promin era, there are few references to matsuri in institutional publications like *Aisei*.

Musubi Matsuri: A Festival of (Re) Connection

Access to Promin dramatically changed life in the institutions. In 1951, a national organization, the National Conference of Sanatorium Patients (*Zenkoku Hansen-byō kanja kyōgikai*) was formed to raise awareness about Hansen's disease, combat stigma, and work to change the legal treatment of Hansen's disease sufferers. Despite their efforts, a revised version of the 1931 law was passed in 1953, and a largely symbolic quarantine measure remained in place until 1996 when the law was finally repealed.

With the disease now treatable, the relationship between the sanatorium and the communities around it slowly began to change. In addition, more residents had the option of "returning to society" (*shakai fukki*) after their cure, and for many who stayed, a better standard of living inside the institution meant that residents turned some attention to leisure activities, some of which involved travel outside the institution (Burns, 247). And while Hansen's disease had long been a target of charity and relief work in Japan, in the 1960s, some of this relief work took a new form: university students, and often Christian circles from within the university such as the YMCA or YWCA, began visiting sanatoria around Japan and doing volunteer work around the institution.

In the case of Nagashima, in October of 1963, the Kansai Branch of the Friends International Work Camp (FIWC), a volunteer group consisting of mainly university students, began visiting and conducting work camps there. FIWC Kansai was established in 1961 with the objective of providing aid to survivors of Hansen's disease, natural disaster victims, and group homes for people with disabilities and orphans (FIWC Kansai website). FIWC Kansai visited a number of institutions around Japan, doing work such as cleaning beaches, repairing buildings, or doing other jobs residents needed done. FIWC Kansai's home base was located in Nara in *Musubi no ie* or *Kōryū no ie* (Home of Connection, Home of Exchange), and from the first FIWC was active in educating the public about Hansen's disease to combat the continuing popular stigma.

In summer of 1969, FIWC Kansai proposed that a *Musubi matsuri* be held at Nagashima. Shimada Hitoshi wrote in *Aisei* in October of that year, recalling the matsuri and how it came about. He begins his essay with an evocation of the traces of the festival, wind chimes (*fūrin*) and paper lanterns (*chōchin*), still hanging from the eaves, and goes on to quote reactions from residents to the festival:

> When I asked, "How was the Musubi Matsuri?" I hear everything from "It was fun. That four days passed in no time at all;" "I thought, I should go, but it was over before I knew it;" "I went, but it seemed kind of childish;" to "The university students were just enjoying their own fun." The replies I got were a cycle of sympathy and revulsion (Shimada, 22).

He then goes on to take the reader back to the planning cycle: first, a letter circulated within Aisei-en, then a planning meeting was held in the Residents' Association office. Shimada notes only about twenty people showed up, all of whom had visited FIWC's home in Nara. In the end, 10 people formed Nagashima's side of the planning committee.

On August 20 in the afternoon, the matsuri started with a parade. There were games, dancing, and fireworks. Night stalls were set up to sell the foods associated with matsuri in Japan for three nights for the four-day festival - although one night was cut short by a typhoon (Shimada, 22). The participants of this first Musubi matsuri were residents, university students, and a smattering of others, including some staff. And while the crowd was small, Shimada notes, "it was more than we imagined" (23). The festival closed on August 24 in the afternoon, with a conversation between the university students, the residents, and the staff, where between thirty and forty people spoke. Shimada records the main questions and dialogues the group discussed: ""Why does this need to be a "matsuri?" The first Musubi Matsuri newsletter says this: Because we [the university students] are the same as the people in the sanatorium. People are separated without it being necessary to separate them" (23). The Musubi Matsuri, as Shimada describes it, was conceived of a way to combat the distinction made between people living in Nagashima and those who did not. The piece concludes that this act of solidarity and unity must take the form of a "matsuri" specifically:

> There is nothing separating us, the residents and the campers (not residents). There is no room for trivial matters or vacillation, or butting in.
>
> In the face of leprosy, we can stand together in this kind of place.
>
> We are standing.
>
> …
>
> While our actions together are taking shape, what we share, the unescapable (or the advantageous), should be fostered, unafraid of the barren form it may take. We must prepare a day to celebrate with a "matsuri" the fertility of our humanity (24).

For Shimada, a festival was a place to demonstrate the bonds between people who lived in Aisei-en, and those from outside it. He sees the performance of what Mikhail Bakhtin has described as the "carnivalesque" elements of matsuri - festival foods, dances, games - as a way to foster the growth of a shared humanity. The space of the matsuri, then, became an early place to invert the social conventions of quarantine for Hansen's disease survivors, a place where people from outside the sanatorium and the residents of the facility came together to celebrate.

Residents also responded to the Matsubi Matsuri in literature. In the January 1970 issue of *Aisei*, for example, Kimura Sanzaburo included a series of haiku about the event under the title "Two Poems on the Musubi Matsuri (The group of students from the exchange house):"

島挙げてヤングパワーの夜店の灯

The lanterns of the night food stalls
Give the power of youth to the island

ジャンボリー島の老齢化吹き飛ばし

Aging is blown in the winds
On the Jamboree Island

無菌証貰うてもなお四面楚歌

Despite having a certificate that I am disease-free
I am still forsaken by the world

番外地学園という厚い壁

The thick wall of
A school without an address (*Aisei* 24 (1), 38)

The first two poems highlight the atmosphere of the matsuri: the lights on the food stalls that sell the food associated with the carnival of matsuri, and the connection to energy of youth and community. The juxtaposition of the energy of the first poems, however, is immediately lost in the second two haiku, which highlight barriers and ongoing social discrimination. After the advent of Promin, survivors would be issued certificates that testified to the fact that they were cured, and they would carry these cards with them when they traveled outside the institution. In the third poem, then, Kimura is highlighting the fact that despite his cure, his public treatment has not changed.

The fourth poem functions similarly: he writes of the high school in Aisei-en, where children with Hansen's disease were educated. After graduation, because the school was in the institution, it was difficult for graduates to get jobs or have their diplomas recognized. The walls are metaphorical, and the symbol of the walls as separating the institution from society loom large in writing by people affected by Hansen's disease, The third and fourth poem, then, speak to challenges survivors still faced when they tried to participate in the community outside Aisei. The contrast between the first couplet and the second is striking, encapsulating at once the spirit of the festival, when social hierarchies were for a moment upended, and the return to reality in the latter couplet.

The residents of the surrounding Mushiage community were not unaware of the matsuri that took place in Aisei-en, despite its small scale. A first-year middle schooler in the local community's Oku Mushiage Middle School, Nozaki Yayoi, pointed this out in a poem she wrote in response to the *Musubi Matsuri* in 1969:

Musubi Matsuri[3]

The matsuri of interaction is
The connection of the Musubi Matsuri
It connects the people with leprosy on Nagashima
To healthy people

The Musubi Matsuri went on for four days
Students from university in Osaka at the heart of it

[3] I thank Nakao Shinji for introducing me to this poem and Miyazaki Yukari for her help in including it here.

But
The local people in Mushiage in their hearts weren't interested

For the sick people
The friendship and love of everyone is necessary
Now
For those people who have become sick at heart
Despite that the people of Mushiage don't care

Why
Because it's weird
The deformities of their face and hands
For me too, at first it was weird
But
Please talk to the sick people
They aren't dirty

You won't get sick
The only thing sick is their hearts
Because of the sadness
And the sense of inferiority
From being hated by everyone

The university students did their best
For four days, they did their best
Despite that
Despite that
It was futile no matter how hard the university students tried

Between Mushiage and Nagashima
Only runs a small channel of the Inland Sea
You can yell across it and be heard
But
Between Mushiage and Nagashima
There is a much, much greater divide
There is more distance between
Nagashima and the university students from Osaka
Why don't they build a bridge to Nagashima?
Why aren't the sick people allowed to live in the village of Mushiage?
I wonder
People with illness in their hearts should live on the land of Mushiage
If you do that
Wouldn't we be able to have warm friendships and love?

The matsuri of interaction is
The connection of the Musubi Matsuri
It connects the people with leprosy on Nagashima
To the hearts of healthy people
But
If you are going to go so far as to have a matsuri of connection
Shouldn't everyone
Live together
On this land of Mushiage?
And then
We wouldn't need to go to the trouble of having
A musubi matsuri
I beg of everyone
To connect in our hearts like that.

Today, the Residents' Association president Nakao Shinji (1934-) sometimes gives visitors to Nagashima copies of this poem as part of his lectures to share his experience and raise awareness of Hansen's disease in Japan. And while some of the language used in this poem is dated, he does this in part to underscore how long the communities have been separated, and how small movements by individuals on both sides have gained momentum over the years, and slowly begun to close the gap. Again, today, the community has arrived at a point where Nagashima Aisei-en and the surrounding Mushiage and Mokake communities are both working together for recognition of their shared history and UNESCO World Heritage Site status.

In this poem, the young author poignantly highlights the prejudice and discrimination that separates the people in Mushiage from the people living in Nagashima. She acknowledges the sequelae of the disease while reassuring readers that worry is misplaced. She also stresses that the distance to be overcome now is in peoples' hearts. Geographically, the communities are close. The key words she repeats in the poem: *kokoro* (heart, spirit, mind) and *musubu* (connect, tie, bind) reappear again and again to emphasize her point, and ends her poem with a powerful plea for the community to connect their hearts (*kokoro no musubi*).

According to journalist Amemiya Toru (2018), when this poem appeared in a local newspaper it received voracious criticism. And indeed, it is easy to read the piece as a criticism of the Mokake and Mushiage communities that surrounded Aisei-en as disinterested as best. One reason

for this may have been the fact that included in the piece is also a ponderance - why is there no bridge to Nagashima? As can be seen in the image below, it is indeed a thin channel that separates the island from the mainland and the Mushiage community. Despite decades of survivor activism, the bridge connecting the two was not completed until 1988. And this poem has become a part of the bridge's history: in 2018, when the thirtieth anniversary of the opening of the bridge was celebrated, this poem was printed on panels and displayed as part of an exhibit to commemorate the anniversary.

Oku-Nagashima Ohashi, Photographed by the author.

The Continuation of a Ritual Summer Festival

While the exhibit discussed above centers the poem as an early articulation of the question of why there was no bridge, it is equally important to see this poem as a response to the Musubi Matsuri. The summer festival in Nagashima slowly became an annual event, referenced in *Aisei* over the years. For example, in 1982, six years before the completion of the bridge, Minezawa Yaeko (*Aisei*, 1982, 19) again underscored the contrast between the carnivalesque of the what was at that point an annual summer festival, the Nōryō Natsu Matsuri (summer evening festival) and the return to reality, framed as a walk into darkness in her *tanka*:

夏まつり終へて帰れる暗き道ゆくほどにしげし松虫の声

The summer festival over
The further I walk down the dark road home
The sounds of the crickets

But it is undeniable the bridge changed participation in the summer festival - as did a series of other events. In 1996, the 1953 Leprosy Prevention Act was repealed, and in 1998 a group of survivors sued the government for violating their human rights. The suit was decided in favor of the survivors in 2001. Many of these events were the result of years of survivor activism and work to raise awareness about the disease and its treatment in Japan. In the wake of the lawsuit, in particular, a public narrative began to emerge that cast Hansen's disease survivors as victims of draconian public health policies, and portrayed the communities surrounding them as perpetrators of discrimination or promoters of health policies that violated patients' human rights.

Part of the work being done in Nagashima and the surrounding Mushiage and Mokake community now is to complicate this oversimplistic narrative of the survivors as the target of discrimination and the community around them as perpetrators, and rethink their shared community connections. And, indeed, in the wake of the construction of the bridge and the lawsuit, the reflections about matsuri that appear in *Aisei* reflect a shift as well, one that highlights small steps each community takes to connect. Consider Mizuhara Hisao's poem from *Aisei* in 1993 (14):

The Summer Festival

The light the wind the ocean
A festival Came across the bridge
Turrets united on the island's open square
Street vendors Set up food stalls
The smells And the scents filled the entire open square
Energy for tomorrow and Lust stirred up
The circle of dancers spreads out in time with the festival's dance song
After a while, in the darkness A whirl of fireworks glitters
As they disappear silently into the ocean's surface
The festival
On the other side of our lives here Without a word
Also disappears

Like Nozaki, the bridge is central in Mizahara's poem as well: the festival coming over the bridge to Nagashima, and the whirlwind of excitement and desire roused by the scents of the food and the sight, sounds and movement from the dancers is clear. At the same time, there are sparks of illumination here. The poem opens with light (*hikari yo*) and the fireworks temporarily light up the night sky. For an instant, the communities are connected by the bridge, and revelry and light fill the island. But the fireworks falling into the sea mark the end of the revelry, and the matsuri vanishes back across the bridge, leaving the residents alone. There is still, in this poem, a sense of disconnect, that although the bridge does connect Nagashima to the community around it, movement across the bridge is still largely one-directional, and performed at the times of matsuri, when social norms are put aside to join in a carnivalesque performance.

By the mid-1990s, the summer matsuri at Nagashima had grown to include more participation from the communities surrounding the island. In 1997, Fukuoka Takeshi described the changes: "In the spring of 1988, Nagashima Ōhashi was built and suddenly many more visitors came and we regained a sense of liveliness. We had lotteries, and they set up food stalls with things like taiyaki and takoyaki. There were voices of children enjoying trying to catch goldfish, and the old folks absorbed in playing ring toss or mini-putt. [4] There were seats where they set up elegant tea serving.

[4] Taiyaki is a sweet-bean or custard filled cake in the shape of a fish, and takoyaki is a ball of dough with octopus pieces cooked into the center. Both are traditional matsuri street foods.

The island was filled with all kinds of things for the matsuri. It is all a nostalgic reminder of days long ago." (*Aisei* 1997, 4).

For Fukuoka, reconnection with the community began with the bridge, and the matsuri recalls to him other matsuri he has experienced, and it is clear that this is a powerful and visceral connection for him. Indeed, Fukuoka writes his piece in Aisei as a spectator to the annual festivities: he is in ill health and cannot join in this year's celebrations, but is watching them through the window of the room in the sick ward. When the staff brings in taiyaki for the residents confined by ill health, Fukuoka writes: "They gave each of us in the room a taiyaki they had brought. I was so happy I started to cry. I realized that I had become a spectator at the summer festival dance I had loved so much" (4). The taiyaki has become a symbol of the festival and inclusion, and the sense of the summer festival as a community event and the importance of participation in it for many community members is reflected here. While Fukuoka may be a spectator to the dances, the taiyaki still allows him to share in the matsuri from his hospital room.

Fukuoka also contributes a tanka about the summer festival he watches from the window of his sick room:

夜店が出る花火があがる子供らのこゑ溢れたりわが夏祭り

The night food stalls come out
The fireworks burst in the sky
Children's voices fill the air
Our summer festival

The emphasis here in on food stalls, fireworks, and the voices of children, all important symbols of the summer festival, but more importantly, symbols of reintegration and reconnection with the community surrounding Nagashima. When residents were institutionalized at Aisei-en, one of the rules of institutional life was that children were not allowed. As a precondition to marriage, residents had to undergo eugenic surgery to prevent pregnancy, a topic that has gotten a great deal of attention from scholars of Hansen's disease in Japan. For many residents, having healthy children in the institution was a deeply symbolic of reintegration into society and acceptance from the community around them.

This is highlighted in newspaper coverage of the summer festivals, as well; after the lawsuit in 2001 more news began to cover Aisei-en's summer

festival and the importance of a matsuri connecting Aisei and the local community become clear, as in this 2001 Akahata Shimbun article soon after the settlement of the lawsuit:" "Three thousand people, including plaintiffs, residents, supporters, local community residents, staff members and their families all enjoyed parasol dances, mikoshi, and Bon Odori, and cheered at the fireworks display." Despite the fact that the year before, 2000, had been the 25th anniversary of the festival, the 2001 Natsu Matsuri was larger. One participant is quoted in the article as stating: "The atmosphere is different from other years. Compared to previous years, there are more participants from the local community, and once a year being able to hear the voices of children is everything. This helps erase discrimination and prejudice."

In October of 2005, several poems about the summer festival were included in ***Aisei***. The first, by Hayashi Kōji, echoed a sentiment we have already seen in several poems already:

夏祭花火とともに終わりけり

The Natsu Matsuri and the fireworks
End at the same time (6)

The fireworks display marks the end of revelry, and a return to a world that remains segregated even if there is now more connection over the bridge.

In the same issue, Hayashi Sumire, a poet active in Nagashima's haiku coterie between 1949 and her death in 2016, contributed three poems:

久闊の肩叩き合う夏祭

After such a long time, tapping each others' shoulders
Dancing together at the summer festival

赤黄の団扇波打つ夏祭

Waves of red and yellow fans
Rippling through the summer festival

会ひ難き人にも会ひぬ夏祭

People we can't often meet
Meeting at the summer festival (7)

Hayashi added some explanation for these poems to highlight the ephemerality of the matsuri experience, and the great number of people it brought together. Residents of other sanatoria, members of the local

community, Hansen's disease activists, family, staff, and many other people would gather at Nagashima for the matsuri. The poem captures the joy at being reunited, while subtly hinting at the fact that the matsuri will end and a parting will come.

The commentary Hayashi gives on her poems highlights another important point. Hayashi was blind, but she writes about being able to imagine the dance by feeling the vibrations of the drum beats through her feet. In fact, because many of the survivors had sequelae such difficulties with mobility and blindness, the matsuri at Nagashima was accommodating to all members of the community. It would not be unusual to see a resident, wheeled by a nurse, joining the dances, or residents helping those with other disabilities to participate. In that sense, the Natsu Matsuri at Nagashima Aisei-en is a model for what other inclusive community festivals could look like in Japan, and the survivor writing, such as Hayashi's poems, stress how important inclusive participation at festivals are to the community members.

The conclusion of the lawsuit represented one watershed point for the matsuri and interest in it. The festival had grown to 3,000 people, several kinds of traditional dances, and the inclusion of a *mikoshi*. For several years, the crowd that gathered was around 3,000 people, the majority from outside the institution. At one point, more than 1,400 fireworks were used in the annual display (*Mainichi Shimbun*, 2013, 24 July). Coverage stressed activities for children, and residents were again quoted as noting the power the presence of children had in the sanatorium: "Resident Usami Osamu (1926-2018) was all smiles as he said, "For residents without children, this night makes us happier than anything"" (Mainichi Shimbun, 2013, 27 July). Children and the ability to share the community space of the matsuri with the younger generation, together with the performance of rituals, meant that for residents, they finally had the kind of matsuri that the writers of the poems who opened this piece memorialized.

Connection has remained a primary point of the Natsu Matsuri. In 2013, the Residents' Association released a statement that read: "We want to promote exchanges with the people in the institution. We want many people to cross the bridge and come visit us" (*Mainichi Shimbun* 2013, 24 July). Thus, it may not be too much to say that the summer matsuri at Nagashima was established as a festival emphasizing the connection between Nagashima and the communities surrounding it. At the same time,

as the festival came to be held a short time before Obon, the matsuri also honored those that had come before it, as Ishida Masao (1935-), the Resident Association president at the time, made clear in his comments opening the festival and quoted in the Mainichi Shimbun in 2001: "How long can the festival continue? We're all getting older, but we want it to continue for even a little longer. That's because it also serves as a memorial for our deceased residents." And at the conclusion of the festival, as he watched the fireworks fade, Ishida was again quoted: "May the light of this matsuri never go out."

In Lieu of a Conclusion

In the end, it was not the advanced age of the residents, but the appearance of another germ that paused the *matsuri* at Nagashima Aisei-en. Now it was not the people at Aisei-en who were perceived as a threat by those around them, but those who crossed the bridge and came into the island who bore potential pathogens that could be dangerous to an elderly population. The festival was cancelled to prevent the spread of the novel coronavirus pandemic in 2020 and 2021. But the ties established between Nagashima Aisei-en and the surrounding communities continued to be strengthened as part of the movement to have Aisei-en recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, aided by the efforts of the Hansen's Disease Sanatoria World Heritage Promotion Council. In addition, new activities, such as a café, Sazanami House, that features reading circles, musical performances, and other activities have created space for community members to mingle.

Residents' Association President Nakao Shinji has talked about similarities between Hansen's disease and COVID-19 saying, "The tendency for people infected with corona and their families to be excluded from society in some ways overlaps with the experience of people affected by leprosy" (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 2020 August 30). At Aisei-en, matsuri became a way to overcome exclusion from society that was in part strengthened by the medical and legal policies for people diagnosed with Hansen's disease. The topsy-turvy, Bakhtinian world of a matsuri that temporarily opened encouraged the flow of people and goods across the bridge to Aisei-en was also a matsuri that served to celebrate connection and community ties that so many actors had worked so hard to foster in the time after Promin's wide

availability. And despite the cancelation of the matsuri in 2020 and 2021, the community connections it helped to create continue to endure, take new forms, and strengthen the community ties.

References

Aisei. 1934. 10 (November).

Aisei. 1943. 13 (5) (May).

Aisei. 1970. 24 (1) (January).

Aisei. 1982. 36(1) (January).

Aisei. 2004. 58 (9) (October).

Amamiya, Toru. 2018. Kakyō made no michi nori, shashin nado de tadoru heitsū 30 nen Kinenten Nagashima Aisei-en [The Road to Building the Bridge, Traced in Pictures and Other Materials: An Exhibit to Mark the 30th Anniversary of its Opening, Nagashima Aisei-en]. *Asahi Shimbun*. December 12. Morning Edition. +26.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1984. *Rabelais and His World*. Trans. Hélène Iswosky. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Burns, Susan. 2019. *Kingdom of the Sick: A History of Leprosy and Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

FIWC Kansai. KIWC Kansai Iinkai ni tsuite. Website. Available online: https://www.fiwckansai.com/pages/1441519/profile (accessed 2 March 2022).

Gaudet, Marcia. 2004. *Carville: Remembering Leprosy in America*. Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi.

Hirokawa Waka. 2011. *Kindai Nihon no Hansen-byō mondai to chiiki shakai* [Modern Japan's Hansen's disease problem and local communities], Osaka: Osaka daigaku shuppankai.

----. 2016. A colony or a sanatorium? A comparative history of segregation politics of Hansen's disease in modern Japan. In: *Science, Technology, and Medicine in the Modern Japanese Empire*. 117-129. Ed. David G. Wittner and Philip C. Brown, Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Harpold, Terry. 1992. The Grotesque Corpus. *After the Book: Writing Literature/Writing Technology* 2(3). http://noel.pd.org/topos/perforations /perf3/grotesque_corpus.html, (accessed 2 March 2022).

"Kanja he no shakai fūchō" kangaeru - Hansen-byō to korona to-ku [Thinking on "Tendencies of Society Towards Patients," a Talk on Hansen's disease and Corona." 2020. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 30 August. +31.

"Kodomo no koe ga kikoeta" ["We can hear the voices of children"]. 2001. *Akahata Shimbun*. August 2. +8.

Matsue, Nagisa. 1952. Matsuri no gensō [The Fantasy of the Matsuri]. *Aisei* 6 (10), October. 42-44.

Moriarty, Elizabeth. 1972. The Communitarian Aspect of Shinto Matsuri. *Asian Folklore Studies*31 (2). 91-140.

Nagashima Aiseien ni egao to kansei [Smiling Faces and Cheers at Nagashima Aisei-en]. 2012. *Mainichi Shimbun*. 28 July. +27.

Nozaki, Yayoi. 1969. Musubi Matsuri. In: *Okayamakko: Okayama ken jidō seitō nyūsen sakuhinshū* [Children of Okayama: A selection of children's writing]. Okayama. Pages unconfirmed.

Roemer, Michael K. 2007. Ritual Participation and Social Support in a Major Japanese Festival. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 46 (2). 185-200.

Săpunaru Tămaș, Carmen. 2018. *Ritual Practices and Daily Rituals: An Introduction to the World of Matsuri*, Bucharest: Pro Universitaria.

Saitō, Teizaburo. 2013. Nōryō Natsu Matsuri: Hanabi 1400 patsu, daikansei - Setouchi Nagashima Aisei-en [Nōryō Natsu Matsuri: 1400 Fireworks, Huge Cheers]. *Mainichi Shimbun*. July 23. +24.

_____. 2013. Nōryō Natsu Matsuri: Hanabi 1400 patsu, daikansei - Setouchi Nagashima Aisei-en [Nōryō Natsu Matsuri: 1400 Fireworks, Huge Cheers]. *Mainichi Shimbun* July 27. +24.

_____. 2013. Natsu Matsuri de Hanabi Taikai [At the Summer Festival, a Huge Fireworks Display]. *Mainichi Shimbun*. July 24. +26.

Satō, Kōji. 2001. Nagashima Aisei-en no Natsu Matsuri [Nagashima Aisei-en's Summer Festival]. *Mainichi Shimbun*. August 3. +20.

Sōritsu hachi-jū shū nen kinenshi dai ni bu: Furikaereba 80 nen [Commerating the Eighty Year Anniversary: Looking Back on Eighty Years]. 2011. Okayama: Nagashima Aisei-en.

Tanaka, Kathryn M. 2020. Literature as Social Activism and Reconciliation: Survivors' Writing and the Meaning of Hansen's Disease in Japan. In: Ed. Irina Holca and Carmen Săpunaru Tămaș. *Forms of the Body in Contemporary Japanese Society, Literature, and Culture.* 175-196. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2020. *Yamazakura*. 1922 4(5). June.

Handwashing as Ritual Practices: Japanese Religious Modifications and Popular Cultural Promotions

Debra J. OCCHI

Introduction

This paper describes two related practices of handwashing: the everyday ritual whose importance was heightened with the emergence of COVID-19, and the religious practice embedded in rituals of shrine and visitation which underwent changes due to COVID-19. In order to do so, it draws on everyday experience and observation as well as media sources (autoethnography as well as netnography), both research methodologies whose importance has been inevitably heightened during these pandemic times when social distancing measures preclude more participatory methods. The Japanese government produced media for handwashing promotion, developing unique cute characters as well as tie-ups with established character franchises. A local action hero franchise had already been promoting proper handwashing techniques in 2019, before COVID-19 was an issue; this concern continued during an interval in which a public festival was held in 2020 and to the present. Miyazaki in southern Kyushu is the physical locus for the study, as well as the internet, in the global context that handwashing took on greater significance in daily life during the period of study (Spring 2020 to 2022).

Handwashing in shrines

It is a normative practice to wash one's hands and mouth when entering shines and temples in Japan. It has not been unusual to see

signboards with text and images describing how it should properly be done near the font just inside the entrance. The practice is described in the official website for Shinto's organization *Jinja Honcho*, whose rationale is that "purity is very important in Shinto" (n.d.). We are introduced to purification font hand- (and mouth-) washing practices by drawn images and the following procedural text, as if we were actually in a shrine:

> First, hold the ladle in your right hand, and rinse your left hand. Then, hold it in your left hand, and rinse your right hand.
>
> Next, pour a little water into the palm of your left hand, and use that to rinse your mouth. Do not touch the ladle to your mouth, and spit the water out at the base of the font, not into it. Finally, rinse your left hand once more. When you have finished, put the ladle back where you found it (Jinja Honcho n.d.).

Toya Manabu, a Shinto priest and author, elaborates on these directions with the rationale that this *temizu* [hand (and mouth) washing] is an abbreviated version of traditional *misogi* [full body purification], stating that the latter practice continues at Ise shrine, specifically at the Isuzu River. He provides images of *temizu* from three shrines (which I will do in this chapter as well) and embeds a video from one, Nogi Shrine, in his web article (Manabu 2016). Seimei Shrine (2009) also has an instructional video; each of these sources describes a similar repertoire and sequence of events as described by Jinja Honcho quoted above.

In attempting to trace the roots of connection between washing and Japanese religious belief, we find that at least, water and its movement have played a role since very early times. Archaeological evidence dating to the Yayoi period of early rice agriculture (400 BCE – 300 CE) indicates locations of ritual sites that are considered to be linked to Shinto's later development near "springs, waterfalls, and riverbanks or hills and mountains, suggesting a focus on water and its importance to agriculture" (Hardacre 2009: 18-19). Written history dating to the *Kōnin* era (810–824CE) provides *norito* [prayers] including one called *ōharai* [the great purification], whose narrative description of how defilements shall be purged involves the flowing of water from high mountaintops out to sea (Hardacre 2009: 117-8). The *misogi* [full body purification] mentioned above as a predecessor to *temizu* is attributed to the actions of the god *Izanagi no Mikoto* who bathed

following a journey to the land of the dead, as described in the *Kojiki*. This behavior is reenacted in ritual at various places of Japan, including Aoshima Shrine in Miyazaki where this study is located, and is known as *hadaka mairi* [naked shrine visit] typically conducted in January. Participants are not actually naked but rather clothed in white cotton garments, minimal *fundoshi* [loincloths] for men and *jinbei* [short jacket and trousers] for women, with *hachimaki* [headbands].

How shrine handwashing practices changed with COVID-19: three examples

In the previous section we saw how various religious washing practices have been connected to historical precedent and contemporary rituals. With the concern for public hygiene heightened all the more by the influx of COVID-19, inevitable changes have occurred in the physical structures associated with purification fonts and associated practices. It was not possible to conduct a wide survey given the restrictions on travel; however, three examples of convenience will be discussed here with images to show various adaptations that allow for handwashing while minimizing contact with others or spreading one's own germs. Two practices previously considered normative, that is, the use of a dipper and the rinsing of one's mouth, have been discouraged in these reconfigurations of handwashing fonts. This would of course be the two behaviors most likely to render a worshipper vulnerable to viral contact or to spread it if they were contagious. There is no posted proscription, however; worshippers are apparently left to their own commonsense understanding of norms promulgated elsewhere.

The first example comes from the previously mentioned Aoshima shrine in southern Miyazaki city, on the island which is famous as a location for the legend of the ocean brother and mountain brother, Umisachihiko and Yamasachihiko, since the latter had married the Dragon Princess in her undersea kingdom just off the coast of this island. With COVID-19 creating excessive risk, the previously mentioned festival has been on hiatus, and when I visited January 4, 2021, I found a new purification font made from bamboo adjacent to the previously existing dragon font made from stone. In front of the stone font was a table with pump bottles of disinfectant spray

for parishioners to use before they enter the inner part of the shrine. A sign on the font's pillar instructs parishioners to use the bamboo font because the usual one is out of commission due to COVID-19. The bamboo font is simply made of two thick waist-high stalks of cut bamboo embedded in the gravel and connected by a horizontal, thinner piece of bamboo which has holes drilled in it for water to trickle out below. There are no dippers provided. The water supply runs up one of the thick bamboo stalks and into the thinner bamboo, dripping down via gravity into two gravel filled plastic plant containers also embedded in the gravel. This setup provides water without the need of a dipper. The stone font is covered by a red painted roof structure, bearing signboards with traditional instructions for how to purify one's hands and mouth; however, the bamboo font contains no such instruction. Parishioners who wish to cleanse their mouth would have to remove their mask and use their hand to do so. These would be violations of public hygiene norms that I have not witnessed during several visitations.

Aoshima Shrine Font

Tsuno Shrine in Northern Miyazaki prefecture took a different approach, enclosing its stone font with a square frame made from bamboo which is also drilled with holes so that water can drip into the existing well around the stone font. Here as well, the dippers are absent. The bamboo frame also limits access so that parishioners would not be able to reach the previously used pool of water in the font. This also allowed use of the existing water supply.

Tsuno Shrine Font

Sugawara Shrine in Itohama, Kagoshima City, also used its existing font and removed the dippers but used metal guttering to extend the water flow from its previously existing faucets to drip onto the stones in front of its font, which was empty. Each of these examples shows the adaptability of practice and the ingenuity of shrine management in continuing to provide access to ritual practices of purification in adapted circumstances prompted by COVID-19 that will limit the possibility of germs spread. Further inquiry would no doubt shed even greater variation and ingenuity in the ways that shrines have adapted their physical environment and thus fostered changes in parishioner behavior.

Sugawara Shrine Font

Governmental and Popular Culture handwashing promotions

Within other realms of popular culture, public and private approaches to handwashing have increased; one public and one private media production are discussed here. In the public sphere, it should be noted that 10 years prior to the announced emergence of COVID-19, the Japanese governments ministry of health labor welfare had already begun to promulgate proper handwashing technique for existing influenza control with free media resources it has provided at least from 2011 (MHLW n.d.a). They did so in part through the ruse of animated characters which were beans, particularly a male-female green soybean duo named *Mamezou Kun* and *Komame Chan*. The wordplay of the word *mame* [bean] and the expression *mame ni* [diligently] was exploited to describe how people should be wearing masks and washing hands (*mame ni tearai, mame ni masuku*) to prevent catching or spreading influenza. A video aimed at children contrasted the careful behavior of the beans' village with the unfortunate neighboring village of mandarin oranges known as *mikan* who

had gotten sick. *Mikan* can also mean [incomplete], which may have referred to their lack of proper preventive care. The video includes a visual description of influenza virus that aligns to the aesthetic of other evil characters in Japanese media (Occhi 2019).

Other posters used the beans with exhortative messages. One showed the beans surrounding a map of Japan which was embellished with the local *yuru kyara* [wobbly (mascot) characters] for each prefecture and the exhortation that the entire country must prevent influenza. Another showed the particular order in which handwashing is to be done: first soaping the palms of the hands, and then the backs of her hands, the ends of fingers and nails, the webbed spaces between the fingers, twisting of the thumb in the opposite hand and finally washing the wrists. The promotional beans were shown in the upper corner of the poster well at the bottom the catchphrase was listed: *mame ni tearai, mame ni masuku de infuruenza yobō!* [by diligently washing hands, diligently (wearing) masks, prevent influenza!] (MHLW n.d.a). To prevent COVID-19, a separate webpage of free resources has been constructed with similar handwashing instructions, both devoid of cute characters and, in collaboration with the *Love Live* media mix girl idol characters. This information is presented alongside factual instructions, both devoid of characters and including Amabie (Tanaka 2021) and a collaboration with the *Hataraku Saibō* [working cells] anime (MHLW n.d.b.).

Other such character-based or otherwise popular culture-based approaches to handwashing education are many, one of which is included here. In the local milieu of Miyazaki, the teaching of this handwashing ritual was also already inculcated in the practices pre-COVID-19 undertaken by a Miyazaki performative group of action heroes I have been researching for the past several years, known as *Tenson Kōrin Himukaizer*. Their name, themes, and narratives are derived from Kojiki legends: *Tenson Kōrin* refers to [descent from heaven], and Himukaizer combines the historical name for this [land facing the sun], *Himuka*, with *-kaizer*, a German loanword [emperor], and commonly used in hero appellations in the genre of Japanese *tokusatsu* [special effects] action heroes generally. Each of the heroes has a characteristic pose, including specific hand gestures. In October 2019, the occasional free newsletter published by Himukaizer contained a graphic representation of proper handwashing procedure involving photographs of

the various heroes in the team demonstrating the order and manner of how various parts of the hands should be washed.

Himukaizer handwashing

This presentation of proper handwashing technique echoed the order of the MHLW's promotional materials described above. Himukaizer and his fellow heroes created this elaborate routine for teaching handwashing as part of a series of presentations they made at kindergartens, called *Egao ippai purojekuto* [Many Smiles Project]. The sequence of activity begins with soaping the hands as an *Ojī* villain strikes their characteristic pose and ends with the goal *awa wo mizu de shikkari nagasite ojī baikin ni sayonara* [properly rinse the soap away with water, say farewell to the villain bacteria] after which the hands should be dried on a clean towel.

Not surprisingly, the characteristic poses and other attributes of the heroes' hands were employed to humorous extent in creating a graphic describing the various aspects of proper handwashing in order to get rid of so-called evil bacteria. For example, one of the heroes has a clawlike hand;

this was featured in the frame discussing how to wash the fingertips and fingernails. The low-level villains in this franchise also played an important role in the poster, specifically having bacteria attributed to them. They are called *Ojī*, a dialectal expletive of frightened surprise, so following this the bacteria were called *ojī kin* [frightening/villain bacteria]. In this way, washing hands with him Himukaizer was framed as a way of fighting and beating the evil germs, just as Himukaizer and his heroes fight the villains as part of their ongoing action hero narratives.

Framing the bacteria as a villain in this narrative is resonant with the ubiquitous preschooler's media mix hero *AnPan Man* [bean-bread man], who fights against *Baikin Man* [bacteria man] It is common to see him and his sidekicks *Kabirunrun* [rampant mold] vanquished and physically diminished by soap and water in this anime. Therefore, the young consumers of this media will already be familiar with the cultural connotations of cleanliness as good and bacteria as evil in that story, and though they may feel themselves to be too old to watch An-Pan Man, the messages must truly resonate. And, it was indeed serendipitous when COVID-19 emerged that these local heroes had already began to promulgate their message about proper handwashing. Unfortunately, public events were canceled for some time during which the heroes were limited to print media such as the newsletter and video appearances on YouTube and other streaming software.

After a year and two months without public events, a reduction in the numbers of local cases allowed local festivals for a brief period. One of those I attended: the April 4, 2021 *Sadowara Sakura Matsuri* [Sadowara Cherry Blossom Festival], at which the hero team was slated to perform. Sadly enough, spring rain made the performing of action moves too dangerous on the slippery grass. The heroes shifted their plan to a quiz of the audience similar to that I have witnessed in other similar public events (Occhi 2021). Specifically, they undertook asking questions of the children in the audience based on the information in their poster to elicit the order of hand washing as a quiz for which correct answers yielded character goods as rewards. By doing so, Himukaizer not only reinforced what was by then a very common message in public media, but also reminded us that he had been propagating this message for quite some time already. Following this performance, Himukaizer retreated to a tent at the side of the stage where we could queue up (with social distance) and conduct the usual photo opportunity safe from the rain.

Himukaizer and the author

Conclusion

From this brief overview of handwashing in ritual contexts, both religious and public, we see that while attention has been given to its importance for quite some time, the demands of COVID-19 have increased the needs for its inculcation into Japanese public life, while creating changes particularly in the provision of handwashing facilities and the manner of purification commonly conducted in shrines. Shrines have created new ways of providing flowing water which subverts the overt instruction on how to wash hands and mouth previously provided. In some cases, shrines supplement water washing with alcohol disinfectant. Alcohol has traditionally been part of Shinto ritual; these changes show us the ingenious adaptations to current conditions that shrines have undertaken. The Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare has already for some time been promulgating its handwashing techniques, re-doubling its efforts and increasing its collaboration with existing popular culture franchises. And, as one example of local popular culture franchises, Himukaizer shows how its characters' particularities lend to the teaching of handwashing techniques while echoing both the Ministry's prescribed technique and the theme of

bacteria-as-villain found in other children's media. All of these examples remind us of the human potential for cultural adaptability to changes in the physical environment such as those that COVID-19 have wrought.

References

Jinja Honcho. n.d. Entering a Jinja. https://www.jinjahoncho.or.jp/en/shrines/index.html, (accessed 6 February 2022).

Hardacre, Helen. 2009. *Shinto: A History*. Oxford: Oxford Press.

Manabu, Toya. 2016. "Temizuya": The Cleansing Ritual 19 July, 2016. https://www.nippon.com/en/views/b05205/ (accessed 6 February 2022).

Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare. n.d.a. インフルエンザ対策 > 啓発ツール, https://www.mhlw.go.jp/bunya/kenkou/kekkaku-kansenshou01/keihatu.html (accessed 6 February 2022). n.d.b. 新型コロナウイルス感染症について > Q&A、自治体・医療機関・福祉施設向け情報, https://www.mhlw.go.jp/stf/covid-19/qa-jichitai-iryoukikan-fukushishisetsu.html (accessed 6 February 2022).

Occhi, Debra J. 2021 Idolization of Miyazaki Ken Local Mascots (*yuru kyara*) and Himukaizer Local Heroes: the Animate Spirits of Miyazaki, Japan in *Idology in Transcultural Perspective: Anthropological Investigations of Popular Idolatry*. Hiroshi Aoyagi, Patrick W. Galbraith, & Mateja Kovacic, eds. Palgrave Macmillan, 159-185.

2019*. Villainous faces of evil: aesthetic commonalities in the comic depiction of Japanese social ills*. Semiotic Review. https://www.semioticreview.com/ojs/index.php/sr/article/view/550 (accessed 6 February 2022).

晴明神社公式チャンネル / Seimeijinja official Channel. 2009. 【晴明神社】手水舎. [Seimei Shrine, handwashing font]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qq4UlOpy44o (accessed 6 February 2022).

Tanaka, Kathryn. 2021. Amabie as Play in Kansai. *Beliefs, Ritual Practices, and Celebrations in Kansai II*, ed. Carmen Sapunaru Tamas, Bucharest: Pro Universitaria, forthcoming 2021.

Pandemic as Recycled Metaphor? Topologies of Bourgeois Domesticity in Guy de Maupassant and Mori Ōgai

Christophe THOUNY

> "Queer failure, I argue, is more nearly about escape and a certain virtuosity." (Muñoz, 2009: 173).
> "At the basis of a world from which the only escape is failure?" (Bataille, 2004: 221).

Our present planetary situation and the disturbances, as well as opportunities, it allows for, is characterized by an intensification of modern spatial and temporal dynamics, what David Harvey has famously called the compression of space and time (Harvey, 1989: 260), as well as the resulting partial homogenization of both dimensions to allow for the efficient management of movement from the globe to the household. Today, this planetary movement of 'compression' in a congested planet, to quote Bataille (2004), has become an intensification *of the local*. Our planetary situation is first experienced at home, in particular today in front of our screens, unmoving yet moved by an invisible enemy against which we are called to wage war, a life form that is both alive and dead, an undead, a virus. The pandemic thus returns us to basic questions of collective dwelling, starting with hygiene, questions that were already central to the experience of urban modernity at the turn of the 19th century in both European centers and peripheral areas like East Asia. In this article, I revisit two figures from this early time of modernity, the French writer Guy de Maupassant (1850-1893) and the Japanese writer, doctor and hygienist Mori Ōgai (1862-1922), and discuss how both explore the aporia of the urban bourgeois through the

metaphor of the virus. I focus in particular on Maupassant's 1887 fantastic story *The Horla* to show how it resonates with Ōgai's own stranded domesticity "from which the only escape is failure." For both, writing, and the failure of writing, become a viral practice that reopens onto a planetary situation.

Maupassant and Ōgai wrote from vastly different parts of the world, Maupassant from a European imperialist center and Ōgai from an emergent imperial power in the Asian periphery. At the same time, both were also urban and male bourgeois subjects who shared a similar anxiety in the face of a global and planetary movement taking the form of what the German media theorist Friedrich Kittler called a communicational model (Kittler, 1990). In this model, linear causality and a subject-centered mode of expression is replaced by a decentered, anonymous and automatic mode of expression driven by modern technologies of inscription. This explains why, for both of them, virus-like monstrosities, a new life form coming from Brazil on a white ship, and in Ōgai's case fiction writing itself, became metaphors for the aporia of urban bourgeois domesticity and its psychotic subjects, stuck in place. Maupassant's short stories and novels are marked by failure, the failure of psychic life, while Ōgai's characters remain trapped, as was Ōgai himself who gave up on fiction as Japan entered the Taishō era (1912-1923). Drawing on recent work in queer studies (Halberstam, 2011; Muñoz, 2009), I argue that failure is what allowed both writers, albeit with different conclusions, to find a way through writing to reopen the bourgeois subject to other planetary becomings, to symbiotic becomings. For failure is maybe, as Bataille suggested in 1958, the only possible escape from the aporia of urban modernity, the inherent stupidity that separates the global human world from its planetary environment.

Between the Global and the Planetary

The virus is symptomatic of the anxieties generated by the always incomplete capture of the planetary, revealing the failure of bourgeois domesticity at safely containing a planetary movement of deformation. For this reason, the figure of the virus is both the mark of stupidity characteristic of our global societies since the turn of the last century as well as a possibility of escape from this very failed social project. As Levy Briant (2007a, 2007b) explains, stupidity is not so much a deficit in intelligence as

an impossibility to make proper distinctions due to an incapacity and/or refusal to engage with one's planetary (my qualification) environment.[1] The recent colloquium "Après la déconstruction : reconstruire les science et la culture" (After deconstruction: to reconstruct sciences and culture) organized January 7th and 8th, 2022 at La Sorbonne University is symptomatic of this dual meaning of the virus.[2] The colloquium opened with another denunciation of Derridean deconstruction and French Theory in general by the Minister of Education, Youth and Sports Jean-Michel Blanquer, who accused the Derridean legacy to have contaminated the world and endangered national culture. For Blanquer, deconstruction is a virus for which a vaccine is now needed. And the virus of deconstruction is indeed dangerous: it makes visible the stupidity of our global societies unable to engage with their planetary becomings on a mode other than the parasitic. Indeed, deconstruction is a virus, queer, monstrous, and always escaping: it feeds on failure.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the term 'virus' comes from the Latin 'virus' meaning poison, venom, and evolved in the 18th century from this initial use in the European Middle-Ages to the meaning of "a morbid principle or poisonous substance produced in the body as the result of some disease, esp. one capable of being introduced into other humans or animals by inoculation or otherwise and of developing the same disease in them." This meaning of virus as a pathology defined as a form of possession was accompanied then by a figurative meaning, "a moral or intellectual poison, or poisonous influence," or "in weakened use, an infectious fear, anxiety" (Simpson & Weiner, 1987: 680-681). It is only in the 19th century that we find today's meaning of a submicroscopic infectious organism, in the wake of the discoveries of Louis Pasteur. However, all meanings of the term remain in the present idea of an invisible infectious agent that is both parasitic and symbiotic, poison and remedy, alive and dead. The virus does not abide to a linear causative logic, because it becomes part of a communicational model

[1] Stupidity is an "illusion of thought" engendered by instrumental reason and manifesting for Deleuze "an inability to conceive or pose problems, or draw distinctions. Stupidity is a way of tarrying with identity (Levy, 2007b). In other words, stupidity is a mode of individuation that, as Levy Briant explains, "must be thought as that relationship to individuation where solutions (individuated entities) are detached from their problematic fields [problems as defined by Deleuze] and thought in isolation." Levy (2007a).
[2] Potte-Bonneville (2022).

after the turn of the last century. As Derrida argues (Derrida, Brunette & Wills, 1994:12), "The virus is in part a parasite that destroys, that introduces disorder into communication. Even from a biological viewpoint this is what happens with a virus; it derails a mechanism of the communicational type, its coding and decoding. On the other hand, it is something that is neither living nor nonliving; the virus is not a microbe."

The virus is an undead, mutating life form carried by the air and circulating across urban surfaces, ignoring boundaries of all sorts, in particular national barriers that have today long ceased to perform a function of exclusion of the other - think of the image of the wall-barrier (Brown, 2011)[3] - to become immaterial sites, or rather the non-sites (Augé, 1995) of distribution of flows of people, goods and things. Is the virus itself a metaphor, though? The word might be carrying old images, emotions, memories and narratives but it does not substitute a signifier for another as in a typical metaphorical process as explained by Jacobson and Lacan. 'Virus' is more literal and closer for this reason to psychosis. Viruses are a question of life form (characterized by a movement of dissemination & reproduction), of relation (as deformation & transformation), and of the social (as parasitism & symbiosis). In this respect, the figure of the virus is a dialectical figure but one without resolution (synthesis): it gathers together all the tensions found in modernity in the relation between the planetary and the global as a question of dwelling, that is of being-with.

The figure of the virus is thus directly associated with environmental power as defined by Michel Foucault (2008, 261), that is a modern mode of governance that relies on the generation of technological atmospheres in which individual bodies can be captured for value-extraction. This centrality of technology as technological environment encompasses Kittler's more limited definition of "writing-down-systems" and its problematic technological determinism. What is captured in these technological environments emerging as communicational models is the planetary movement of deformation of bodies (open, irregular and continuous),

[3] In her work on walls and national borders, Wendy Brown convincingly argues that the wall has become a screen onto which are projected desires for a pure and eternal nation, precisely at a time when the nation-state has ceased to be, but it never was, a self-contained ensemble where nation, territory, culture and the state are strictly aligned with each other. Brown (2010).

captured into regular series of transformation. As Kittler explains, this shift between two discourses that happened around the time when Maupassant was writing was first one from a causal (what made this happen?) and expressive (who did that?) model to a communicational one (what circulates and how?). In this latter communicational model, bodies are continuously circulated and traversed by a movement of deformation, what is called noise, that pushes them beyond their constitutional limits, in turn generating a desire for stability in an ordered series of transformational forms.

I make in this article a distinction between global and planetary, a distinction that the post-colonial turned eco-critique scholar Dipesh Chakrabarty explains as an exclusive opposition between the human global world and planetary Earth systems. The human itself is relocated at the intersection of the global and the planetary, and human life is once again defined as a question of habitability where dwelling is reduced to questions of survival and sustainability (Chakrabarty, 2021). The distinction is efficient if simplistic and ultimately self-defeating. The problem is that the planetary is defined here as 1. exclusively non-human because of its geological temporality and 2. a question of scale, where the Earth and the planet are reduced to the same closed space of value extraction on which modern capitalism prospers. In other words, Chakrabarty conflates the planet with the Earth as globe, and reduces the question of dwelling, that is of being-with, to one of survival, what he calls habitability. In the end, the planetary remains for Chakrabarty a question of survival, of calculation of risk, at the expense of its queer becomings, of its excesses, pleasures and failures, ultimately reproducing the modernist opposition between need and pleasure that led us where we are today. What is lacking in Chakrabarty's analysis is the historical relation that articulates the global with the planetary in a communicational model, a relation that, if parasitic, also has a symbiotic-becoming. The virus is, I argue, the historical figure of this dual becoming of the planetary into the global and the global into the planetary.

By reducing dwelling to a question of habitability, Chakrabarty is not able to answer positively Stenglers' call for "the invention of ways of living, not just surviving" (Stengers, 2017: 398). Even history loses its potential for change in this analytical framework. For it is not defined anymore by the irruption of contingency but by a deterministic parasitic relation: the global feeds on the planetary. This might be the case, but this does not allow us to

understand the various entanglements of both surfaces at different times in modernity, even less figure out other possibilities of coming together and being-with, beyond mere survival. Here as well, it is necessary to return to an earlier moment just before the opposition of the global and the planetary became reified in academic discourses as it is today. In other words, we need to return to a theoretical moment (not necessarily past) where the planetary remains a question and a practice before being reduced to a determinate problem to be solved by humans as in the anthropocene paradigm.[4]

For this reason, I argue for an understanding of the planetary as a question of surface, speed and continuity, taking the form of an ongoing movement of deformation across places, and first in place. If we understand the temporal movement of modernity as one of acceleration (which might have been understood and experienced as progress and futurism at times, or decadence and fall at others), the planetary is then a movement of intensification of this modern temporality, and one first happening in place. In short, the planetary is a surfacial movement that enacts an intensification of place. The planetary is thus not a scale, even less a realized form such as a globe, but an orientation or rather a vector, from the Earth to the cosmos and back again, from other astronomical bodies to microbial life, from comets to viruses, and vice-versa. The planetary sets bodies in resonance with each other along a line of ongoing change, a line of deformation, what Deleuze and Guattari (1987) call "a continuous variation" following a singular vector of differentiation. In this respect the planetary is not opposed to the global but both its end and its origin, the common that needs to be reproduced as both standing-reserve and accessible outside. And the question of dwelling is inevitably about the relation between the global and the planetary, between a movement of capture into an interconnected world and a movement of deformation in place and in resonance across planetary dwelling places. And it is about whether this relation is parasitic, as seems to be the norm, or what is its becoming-symbiotic.

[4] I refer here to the present planetary boom with a range of scholars appropriating the term and closing down its possibilities by recycling well known Heideggerian tropes, reifying binary oppositions, and in the end keep saying the same thing. See for example Hui (2020).

Psychotic Surfaces

The global pandemic that officially started in January 2020 in China and became global by March of the same year has completely undermined our parameters of everyday lives, parameters that we assumed stable and took for granted, starting with the very possibility to experience a planetary situation both at home and abroad, here and there, now and then. As if we always had had a stable and safe ground of experience for a healthy being-with. As if we did not live in a world already plagued by inequality in which the experience of a planetary situation is marked by a radical unevenness between social groups, societies and temporalities of experience. This dual possibility relied on the freedom of movement, the possibility always there to come and go, to cross paths, to stay home, or simply to be in transit. Of the four freedoms of movement, "stay home" is once again privileged as the desired option, a defensive one that resonates uncannily with the imperative "go home." "Stay home" became the imperative option when movement was captured, suspended and reduced to the scanning of screen surfaces for information, contact, and love, stranded love (Thouny, 2020).

The corona pandemic however does not so much unground as reveal our sense of ground to be nothing else but a fantasy, the fantasy of a good domestic life unevenly disseminated across the global North and the global South, as it has been since the heyday of modernity, supported by the global expansion and intensification of capitalist processes of value extraction of planetary commons. Today, this domestic and always already urban fantasy has lost its social function: it does not allow for imagining a better life on the basis of an urban everyday centered on bourgeois domesticity, nor does it allow for sustaining this very domesticity. This domesticity is today obsolete yet still haunts our imaginations of being-with, precisely because asking the same questions we face anew today in even more pressing terms. It is for this reason particularly valuable to return to literary texts of early modernity and examine how they explored possible answers to the challenges posed by urban modernity, practical and hybrid answers not yet stabilized into the binarisms of high modernism.

This implies then a return to the multi-layered surfaces of urban bourgeois domesticity, surfaces that communicated across national and regional spaces before being captured into the East / West set of binaries and their respective "nexus of metonymic meanings" (Cheng, 2011: 25) that

still too often impose themselves at the expanse of a proper analysis of literary practices and styles. I thus propose here to read Maupassant and Ōgai as contemporary urban bourgeois writers who, each in their own socio-historical context, attempted to navigate the thick surfaces of a chaotic urban everyday emerging from a planetary movement only partially captured by the idea and apparatuses of the national. In both cases, the monstrous virus, the viral, becomes a metaphor or rather an allegory that figures the male urban bourgeois subject as stranded, caught between surfaces, between parasitism and symbiosis.

Both writers do come from different places. France and Japan were already then both nation-states, sharing a similar form and not quite the same temporality. The forms are synchronous, but it is a synchronous non-synchronicity, the past and the present intersecting differently in place with the result of a global world defined by different times of the present, as if we did not live on the same planet (Bloch, 1977; Harootunian, 2015). Both writers however were members of the national elite, bourgeois subjects. Maupassant and Ōgai lived between two capitals, global and regional, respectively Rouen in Normandy and Paris; and Berlin and Tokyo, in particular the bourgeois area of Yamanote. France was then at the forefront of modernization, ripping its profits along with other European countries and the US at the expanse of the global South for who modernization appeared as the only solution to survive and avoid colonization.

Modern Japan emerged from this tension between the global North and the global South. This necessarily uneven process of modernization was thus also an experience of synchronicity across the globe and the planet, North and South, an experience of synchronicity and unevenness that was later hidden by the reductive if operative cultural opposition of East and West, and the conflation of the East with Asia. As such, I do not here read a writer from the West against a writer from the East. Nor do I argue for an influence of Maupassant on Ōgai's work. Instead, and following the definition of the planetary as a local movement of intensification of modern spatio-temporal dynamics and of increasing resonances across places and beyond the national, I am interested in how these two writers attempted to answer the same question posed by modernity, how to dwell together, by mobilizing the figure of the monstrous as virus-like relation oscillating between parasitism and symbiosis.

Anne Anlin Cheng's work on ornamentation in modernism allows us to read together writers such as Maupassant and Ōgai besides national narratives, and find a continuity of variation in their ongoing questioning and exploration of the surfaces of urban modernity. This in turn reveals the bourgeois urban subject to be more complex than usually assumed, and never entirely captured by the national home and its desire for a clean surface protected from the exterior and the danger of mixture and change. In her work on modernist aesthetics and Josephine Baker, Anne Anlin Cheng re-examines the modernist desire for 'the clean surface' and shows that the opposition between interior and exterior in Adolf Loos' theoretical statements on architecture hid a complex sense of the surface as multi-layered thick surface. This implies a more nuanced understanding of the question of urban dwelling and the aporia of bourgeois domesticity in urban modernity. In the 1898 essay entitled "The Principle of Cladding," Loos "attributes the origin of architecture not to structure or solid material, as might be expected, but to *mobile surfaces: fabric, even skin* [my emphasis]" (Cheng, 2011: 24). Cladding here is in tension with ornament that he associates in his famous 1908 essay "Ornament and Crime" with "erotic material excess" and, in his own words, "negroes, Arabs, rural peasants […] women and children" (Loos, 1985: 101).[5] However the kind of oppositions expressed in this essay and others around the same time did not crystallize in the simple binary opposition between shallow surface and authentic interior space, or not right away.

As Cheng argues, "I want to suggest that, for a brief period in the early twentieth century, before cultural values collapsed back once again into a (shallow) surface and (authentic) interior divide, there was this tensile and delicate moment when these flirtations with the surface led to profound engagements with and reimaginings of the relationship between interiority and exteriority, between essence and covering" (Cheng, 2011: 11). Cheng's project is to recover an early moment of modernity when things were still in movement, when "flirtations with the surface" were the default situation before the reification of modern binaries, not only the opposition between the private and the public, but also the opposition between the global and the planetary that grounds the world of nation-states. This implies, then, a more

[5] Quoted in Cheng (2011), 24.

subtle understanding of cultural influences and exchanges in the age of imperialism where Modernist primitivism is read as "acts of appropriation [that] also open up sites of contamination that point to others kinds of relationality" (Cheng, 2011: 19). In this perspective, we should understand the East/West binary as a form of code switching rather than the process of violent transformation between distinct and heterogenous cultural practices found usually in accounts of Japanese modernization (Silverberg, 1992).[6]

Maupassant and Ōgai shared this moment as the defensive separation of public and private spaces was played out and negotiated in fiction writing as a surface effect. And both writers explored these surfaces and their aporia, while reaching the same conclusion as Bataille in the postwar (2004, 221): might this be "a world from which the only escape is failure?" The question mark however points not at the aporetic situation without solution, but at a hoped-for reopening to the planetary allowed precisely by the failure of writing.

My approach also draws on the work of Christopher Hill (2009) who brings together Japan, France and the US to show how the three countries followed similar rhetorical and narrative strategies to build a national history in answer to radical changes brought by modernity. In *Figures of the World: The Naturalist Novel and Transnational Form*, Hill (2021) traces the circulation and transformation of naturalism across the planet, displacing the narrative of a centrifugal and imperialist expansion of a European literary form onto a viral movement of dissemination, resonance and deformation depending on the place considered. The book's target is explicitly world literature and its over-reliance on an unquestioned and ahistorical category of the national and the unacknowledged assumption of Europe as the centre of theory. Hill's work is important because it shows literary forms, and in particular naturalism, central to the writings of both Maupassant (taken as representative of the genre) and Ōgai (critical of the Japanese version of naturalism in the I-novel), to be constantly engaged in a

[6] "The writings, drawings, and photographs of the Japanese ethnographers open up to us a new vision of how Japanese women and men of different classes integrated the relationship between East and West in different ways, not through borrowing or a double life enabling them to switch back and forth from white-collar suit to kimono, but via the construction of a complex identity informed by a type of cultural code-switching whereby elements of Western material and mass culture were integrated into everyday practice." Silverberg (1992), 36.

process of deformation across countries, places and writers, and only at times captured in regular series of transformation that can be defined as a stable and national genre.

In this respect, the opposition of East and West loses its priority, forcing us to focus instead on a complex process of distribution and deformation of rhetorical and narrative strategies in the context of a world of nation-states emerging from the partial capture of a planetary movement. However, the planetary is not a category of analysis in Hill's work. His approach is centered on human societies, and thus cannot go beyond the global in its analysis of the circulation of literary forms in modernity. For this reason I propose to relocate the global within the planetary un(ground) from which it emerges unevenly depending on the place and time. This is not a claim for a homogenization of planetary experiences as some have, rightfully, criticized Chakrabarty. On the contrary, this is an argument for a more radical and direct engagement with the planetary movement of deformation that generates uneven movements of modernization across the globe, starting from the 19th century.

Both Maupassant and Ōgai understood and figured the aporetic situation of the urban bourgeois subject as an effect of a planetary situation, a planetary movement of things, people and images partially captured by a global market and gathered together by bourgeois domesticity and its psychotic subject. The fantasy of a closed interior space of domesticity protected from the public space of global flows was, and still is in part today, a defensive reaction to the intrusion of the planetary, what Bruno Latour calls today with Isabelle Stengers "the intrusion of Gaia" (Latour, 2017, 107; Stengers, 2015). Locked in place in front of our screen, we today experience the same aporia faced by Maupassant and Ōgai in their time, to be stranded without other options but to burn down the house or break the wall-screen. This is why Chakrabarty is right when he says that the question of dwelling is prior to any other today. For dwelling has always been the question of modernity, dwelling together, and for this reason the urban has always been the purest expression of modernity, of its promises and failures.

Urbanity in this sense is not defined by the opposition of the city and the country, nor by the concentration of built forms in urban centers. It is rather a movement of urbanization, the apparatus of dwelling of the human that constantly negotiates the movement between the planetary and the

global, and always reopens other possibilities of gathering, feeling, and living. Urbanity, maybe more than the human (unless we define the human by its mode of urban dwelling), is at the intersection of the planetary and the global, effectuating in modernity the capture of planetary movements of deformation of whatever sort into regulated series of transformation (what is usually called modernization) that allow for value extraction of any body, anywhere, anytime. Urban dwelling and in particular urban bourgeois domesticity was to mediate this movement of capture through an operation of purification that kept nomads, hybrids, monsters and queers of all sorts at bay, close enough to allow for further extraction, but not too close, here and there, *hors-là*.

The development of hygiene policies in Meiji Japan (1868-1912) exemplifies this operation of purification realized by the establishment of a series of binaries, in particular the policy of separation of rich and poor (*hinkon sumiwake*) adopted by the municipality of Tokyo in early Meiji and translated as one between clean and unclean (*seiketsu*/*fuketsu*), barbarian and civilization (*yaban*/*bunmei*), animal and human (*dōbutsu*/*ningen*) (Katō, 1998). Mori Ōgai, who was both an acclaimed writer and medical officer in the army, was directly engaged with the development of these policies in the context of an emergent practice of hygiene and urban planning. As Ishida Yorifusa explains however, if Ōgai did play a pivotal role in introducing German theories of hygiene and urban planning as well as opposing the infamous policy of separation of rich and poor, he remained an elite bourgeois of warrior lineage whose view of Tokyo remained limited to the hilly Yamanote of the privileged few (Ishida, 1999). In this respect, his world was not so far apart from the ennobled bourgeois Guy de Maupassant and his psychotic domesticity. Both were living in an illusional and closed world.

Hors-là

As mentioned above, the German media theorist Friedrich Kittler defined the radical changes in everyday life occasioned at the turn of the last century by global processes of modernization in terms of a communicational model. Communication refers here to a form of relationality that is defined by noise – what I call deformation - rather than the reductive communication model defined by the sender-message-receiver model. Typical examples are the theory of shocks proposed by Georg Simmel in his now classic 1903 essay

'The Metropolis and Mental Life' (Simmel, 1973), as well as Daniel Paul Schreber's theory of nerves in his *Memoirs of My Mental Illness* published the same year (Schreber, 2000). In Schreber's case, as Kittler argues, the shift toward a communicational model is manifested by the choice to write down delirium rather than produce 'verbal hallucinations through the synthetic power of words' as used to be the case in the 1800s (Kittler, 1997: 20, 1990).

This shift however is not a matter of epistemic rupture. Kittler's humanism and technological determinism tend to absolutize historical change into a teleological narrative of failure. The hegemonic communicational model does not replace but rearticulate previous discourses in terms of a tension between the planetary and the global that takes the form of a parasitic relation. Borrowing Schreber's neologism *Aufschreibesystem*, literally "writing-down-system," Kittler claims that the materiality of the medium took over the genius of the author in post-1800 discourse networks, arguing that "an automatic and impersonal notation system," uneven and without center, articulated then and still today a variety of discourses together (Johnston, 9). The two versions of *Le Horla* articulate this shift as one between embedded narrative (the narrative form borrowed by Nagai Kafū in his early short stories taking place in the US and France) and the diary form. The final version of *The Horla* is a series of entries over four months, from May 8th to September 10th that writes down the delirium of a French bourgeois believing he is being possessed by a supernatural being coming from Brazil.

In his classical study *Maupassant, juste avant Freud*, Pierre Bayard (1994) argued for the role of literature as a pre-theory that explores the topology of the psyche without systematizing it. "His purpose is to identify what he feels Freudian analysis misses, an obsession for searching in Maupassant, a difficulty of naming what obsesses him, so that the real psychical problem is undecidability" (Flint, 2017: 96). In this respect, it is interesting to see how the bourgeois subject in Maupassant differs from the Freudian one: he is psychotic rather than neurotic, defined by a dialectic of identity and otherness (being) rather than sexuality and property (having), and as a result emerging as the effect of a play of surfaces that do not rely on the mechanism of repression. In other words, Maupassant was doing deconstruction before Derrida and his subsequent denunciation by the French state. Maupassant's work and in particular *Le Horla* explores the

aporia of bourgeois domesticity, caught between an outside (*hors*) and a there (*lá*), and never able to be entirely here (*ici*).

As Bayard explains, Maupassant attempted to "metaphorize what is a psychic place"[7] through the narrative device of possession: "If we had to abstract a unique principle of storytelling from the whole universe of Maupassant, we would choose this one: a being becomes - suddenly or slowly - conscious of a strange idea. And this idea gradually invades and destroys him" (Bayard, 92).

> "August 8
>
> I had a horrible night. He is no longer making his presence known but I can feel him near me, spying on me, watching me, entering my body, taking over; and he is too even more formidable when he hides himself this way than when he makes his constant, invisible presence known through supernatural phenomena.
>
> And yes, I managed to sleep. […]" (Maupassant, 2016).

Possession is the very narrative structure of *Le Horla.* As he fears the invasion of this foreign viral life-form, or rather the idea, the thought, of a foreign and viral life-form, the narrator becomes increasingly anxious and paranoid and ends up burning down his house and his two domestics with it, to only realize that the monster he thought was trapped in his room and burned was still alive, and that the only exit left was suicide.

> September 10
>
> Rouen, Continental Hotel. It's done… It's done… But is he dead? My mind is in a spin over what I saw. […] By now, the house was nothing more than a magnificent but horrible pyre, an enormous pyre that was lighting up the earth and burning men to death, the place where He was burning, He as well, my prisoner, the New Being, the new master, Le Horla!
>
> Suddenly, the entire roof collapsed between the walls and a volcano of flames spurted up toward the sky. I could see the fireball through all the open windows of the house and I thought that He was in there, inside that furnace, dead…
>
> Dead? Perhaps? … But what about His body? His body that light passed through… was it not impossible to destroy it in ways that kill our bodies?

[7] My translation.

> What if He weren't dead?… Perhaps only time had an effect on this Terrifying, Invisible Being. Why would He have a transparent body, un unknowable body, a body made of pure Essence if He had to fear pain, wounds, illnesses, untimely death just as we did?
> Untimely death? All human horrors, at any moment, at exactly the right day, hour, minute, because He has reached the end of His existence! No… no… there is no doubt, no shadow of a doubt… He is not dead… And so… so…. it is up to me; I will have to kill myself!…"[8] (Maupassant, 2016).

The ending could be aligned with the life of Maupassant who contracted syphilis in his youth, whose brother died the year he published the first version of *The Horla* while he himself was increasingly subjected to psychotic episodes leading in the end to his institutionalization and death at 43 years old. I want to argue however that the psychological is not the key to the text in the communicational model that stages the writing of the story. Psychological life is not the cause nor the physiological. Both are surface effects, epiphenomena of a new planetary situation that manifests in a global and colonial setting. An invisible vampiric monster that invades the narrator's domestic space and psychic life at night comes from Brazil, from peripheral and hybrid spaces to European modernity still in touch with ancestral beings and cosmic forces. As Andreas Huyssen (2008) and others have argued however, these spaces are not peripheral and secondary but rather come first in right and in fact, in the 19th century as much as today. This explains the association of these spaces with the primitive, not so much as a mark of racial discrimination, itself also a secondary effect - a recoding, but because these spaces exhibit precisely the uneven dynamics of modernity hidden behind the façades of European bourgeois domesticity - façades that in *The Horla* are literally blown away in a cloud of smoke.

So we need to think of this parallelism of psychic, physiological and fictional life in terms of a new planetary situation where communication replaces a causal and expressive discourse: in other words, when synchronicity (of non-synchronicity) replaces linear progression, implying that deformation always exceeds its capture into regular series of transformation. This shift is clear when we read both versions of *The Horla*. The first one, published in the literary journal *Gil Blas* in October 1886, was

[8] Reference to Smith translation. No page number.

noticeably shorter than the most famous one published the following year as part of a collection of short stories. The first version used the embedded narrative device to present the story of an alienist who discovered a new powerful life form and wanted to stop it from taking over the human world. The story is told to a group of colleagues, as in other collections of short stories such as *Les contes de la bécasse.* In the second version however, the story is told in the first person (instead of the third person narration of the first), in the form of a diary, reminding us of another landmark novel of fantastic and horror literature, Bram Stoker's 1897 *Dracula*. In the second version, the narrator is not an educated scientist/detective. It is presented rather as an alter-ego of Maupassant, living a leisurely life between Paris and Rouen where he owns a comfortable mansion and lives with two domestics. The second version keeps the same figure of the invisible vampiric suprahuman life form and re-embeds it within a time of global capitalism, imperialism and planetary circulation. The opening of the story is placed under the element of the earth, grounded, rooted, old and warm:

> "May 8
> What a wonderful day! I spent the entire morning stretched out on the grass in front of my house, under an enormous plane tree that completely covers it, shades it from view. I like this region, and I like here because this is where my roots are, the fine, deep roots that tie a man where his ancestors were born and died, roots that tie him to how he thinks he likes to eat, to tradition as well as food, to the local dialect, the unique intonation of the farmers when they speak, the smell of the earth the villages and even the air itself.
> […]
> After two English schooners, whose red flags fluttered against the sky, came a superb Brazilian three-master, all white, wonderfully clean and shiny. This ship filled me with such pleasure, that I saluted it, I don't really know why."
>
> (Maupassant, 2016).

The narrator is at home. And it is this grounded sense of space, time and identity that is ungrounded by the arrival of the Brazilian boat, placed under the element of the wind and water, the wind that crosses all barriers, invisible and powerful, as water that communicates across bodies and always leaks away. As in the case of the sealed bottle of water or the glass of milk that the narrator finds empty when he wakes up, repeatedly. As the vampiric monster that drinks his life force at night. This short-story thus

recycled and reworked the old metaphor of the virus in the context of a communicational model that was then spreading over the entire planet to figure the urban bourgeois as a psychotic subject trying to make sense of its situation.

Urban bourgeois domesticity was a temporary solution to this change, and one inevitably marked by psychosis. In his reading of *Le Horla*, Michel Serres (1994) argued that the ghostly supernatural creature, the Horla brought back from Brazil on a white ship and haunting the white male bourgeois narrator living in a white mansion - here white surfaces communicate - was symptomatic of the decentering and delocalization of the bourgeois subject brought about by a planetary urban situation. And although Serres did not explicitly refer to the concept of planetary, his global space is actually defined by its relation to a planetary space that can only be grasped in topological terms (rather than the mappings of the global). Serres presented this as an alienating experience, a fear of intrusion from an external object that challenged the identity of the subject, its being, and its relation with dwelling places. And it is precisely this alienating experience that opened onto another form of writing, a topological writing, *hors-là*. As viruses, the Horla is both alive and dead, here and there, literally in French, 'hors' (outside) 'là' (there). Serres shows how Maupassant masters in this short story the art of topological writing and in doing so brilliantly captures a shift in the sense of space, time and identity. In Andrew Gibson's words, this topological writing shows 'how the remote and the immediate are brought in constant contact' (2005: 120). Madness, an intensification of stupidity, is brought by the enclosure of the bourgeois subject within a single space of interiority, the bourgeois dwelling that in *Le Horla* is revealed, unsurprisingly, to be unable to contain the monster. The only option becomes then to burn all and return the alienated bourgeois domesticity to the sky, the wind and water. And for the bourgeois subject to disappear.

The Horla obsessively explores the failure of the bourgeois subject and the options this failure opens for a life that is not solely defined by survival. In other words, this short story is also an exploration of possible answers to this new situation in which, as Gibson explains, paraphrasing Serres (1994), "identity emerges as an ensemble of relations between different places" and "madness and alienation consist in enclosing all space in a single place that is deemed to be interior. Madness and alienation merely corresponds to a

system in which identity is construed as inwardness and depth, the other as exterior or outward. And Maupassant destroys that system: *Le Horla* rather establishes identity as a complex set of relations between a series of "intimate" or inward spaces and a series of external ones" (Gibson, 2005: 93). In this reading it becomes clear that *Le Horla* stages the contradictions of the global bourgeois answer to its planetary situation. And while exploring a series of possible answers to the 'why?' - why this anxiety? why can't I sleep? –and psychological troubles that become physical questions, why did the water disappear from the bottle? who drank the milk?, it figures a different cartography centered on a virus-like life form that in urban bourgeois domesticity can only exist in a vampiric form. The only possible answer then is to stop playing the rules of the game and change them, burn down the house and its racial and class-based hierarchy of functions, including the master.

Allegories of the Planetary

In the end, the virus is not so much a metaphor, although it does carry and move a lot of things, as an allegory in Jameson's understanding of the term, that is a system that generates possible solutions to a contradictory planetary situation already experienced by Maupassant. This implies taking distance from Susan Sontag's condemnation of illness as metaphor which only brings back a deceptive separation between the real illness and the illness as metaphor. "My point is that illness is *not* a metaphor, and that the most truthful way of regarding illness - and the healthiest way of being ill - is one most purified of, most resistant to, metaphoric thinking." (Sontag, 1978: 3). Instead, I argue that it is more productive to consider illness, as Karatani Kōjin and Fredric Jameson do (Jameson, 2007), as always ideological, and the virus then really as an allegory of our times. *The Horla* performs both the shift from a national causal model to a planetary communicational one by setting the story in ideological terms - bourgeois colonial modernity and its alienated subject falling into madness.

Too often interpretation in humanities stays there, telling us that the social is constructed, that race and gender are fictions if effective ones, forgetting the important part, the narrative movement that does not interpret but explores logical solutions to the contradictions of the ideological setting of the story. I refer here to Fredric Jameson's discussion

of Kafka and his distinction between imagination - the setting associated with law and lending itself to socio-psychoanalytical readings, and fancy - the execution of the text that always escapes the psychological because the narratable is essentially perverse and always leaks across and away. In conclusion, and turning at last to Mori Ōgai, I want to suggest that this narrative mode, that is entirely part of the planetary communicational model discussed until now, is executed in *The Horla* and generally in fantastic literature and what is today called speculative fiction on the writing mode of *as if* characteristic of mimetic poiesis. I will end then, in lieu of a conclusion, with a return to Ōgai's 1912 short-story, *As If*.

In *The Horla*, the narrator distrusts his senses, unable to see and engage with invisible forces as 'natural' as the wind. He also distrusts the people, either mechanically following instructions of the state who judges when to have fun or not, or gets caught in fancies of the mind trying to find implausible reasons to what should just be accepted as unknown and maybe unknowable, as a spectacle that we have to learn to see. The narrator in fact is at pains to accept being reduced to the passive condition of a spectator acted on by invisible forces, he refuses to become a *voyant*. In this sense, we can read Lacan's claim that the psychotic cannot invent new metaphors as an effect of this impossibility of the bourgeois subject to engage its time and space. Now psychosis is also a question of literalness, of being too literal, of taking words for things, descriptions for reality, fantasy for life, which, precisely is what characterizes a planetary situation, and its paradigmatic subject, the *voyant*. Rimbaud understood this better than anyone else in his *Lettre du voyant* where cynesthesia, the 'synthetic power of words' of the expressive model, opens this time the young poet to a geopolitical destiny, virus-like, potentially deadly, and infinitely creative, by embracing change as ongoing deformation.[9] In short, the bourgeois subject refuses to move from imagination to fancy and explore possible answers to his planetary situation by making the proper distinctions. He remains trapped in the problem-solution aporia of global urban modernity, psychotic, and it is too the literalness of psychosis that allows him to re-engage with a planetary movement across urban surfaces, to write delirium instead of explaining it. That is, to write as-if.

[9] I draw here on the work of Kostelas Axelos (2019) and Christine Ross (1988).

Ōgai's young male characters share the same distrust for explanatory models, preferring as Maupassant's psychotic bourgeois to write down delirium, and leave it undecidable. They do not fall into complete madness, yet they are stranded, caught between duty to the Japanese state and romantic love in *Dancing Girl* (1890), between fidelity to a friend and an impure love in *The Wild Geese* (1914). Or they are simply stuck in place, unable to start writing a novel "like a god" as in the 1911 novel *Youth* (Ōgai, 1994: 421). The short story *As If* published in 1912 articulates all the tensions at work in Ōgai's work since he became famous writing fiction after returning from a study trip to Germany in 1884. In this case, it is the Ōgai bourgeois subject who brings back a virus, the monstrous virus of fiction writing, a technique he explores in the works mentioned above, and ends up rejecting. Fiction writing for Ōgai ends up being an empty technique without meaning, or rather without life, because it functions as a binarism that purifies urban surfaces from its planetary hybrids and queers so that narrative is restricted to the movement between binary positions (Lamarre, 1998). As if already answering Sontag's disciplinary call, science and literature are clearly distinguished, avoiding any impure mixing that could trouble the pure surface of bourgeois domesticity.

As I explain in an earlier publication (Thouny, 2019), this binocular writing does not work and Ōgai ends up returning to a mode of writing closer to his early travel narratives, and ultimately more appropriate to an emerging communicational model. For Ōgai shared with Maupassant a concern for topology, albeit in his case, it is not the identity of the subject but its very location that was at stake. As the Japanese literary critique Kamei Hideo famously argued, there is a sort of continuity across Ōgai's work that finds its source in his travel diaries. For Ōgai is always concerned with localizing the subject within the landscape. In Kamei's own words, he "use[s] the spectacle before the eye as a means for objectifying that which constrains the self, the limits of the self" (Kamei, 264). This means that, before being a question of representation, writing is an issue of imaging, of figuring a thought process when encountering a global urban condition that does not allow for the definition of a stable ground of experience.

As If tells the story of a young aristocrat in the service of the Japanese state who, back from Germany, is struck with an anxiety without a cause, the disease of thinking. In his discussions or letters the protagonist Hidemaro

usually "never attempted to make his correspondents understand fully what he meant or to persuade them. Rather, he felt a sort of satisfaction in making his own thoughts stand out clearly before him while he talked or wrote about them. Thus his thoughts received a new stimulus and went further afield" (Ōgai, 1994: 240). Hidemaro is not interested in convincing others, only to present them an image of thought that takes a life of its own. No monster appears in this story, or others. For it is fiction that is the virus, the virus of writing as if, that is to move from imagination to fancy, from ideology to performance, from the ideological setting to its execution, the narratable. The philosophy of *As If* Hidemaro encountered in Germany taught him that social rituals have no value but themselves. They are empty practices that allow for the reproduction of the state: they are empty binarisms, if effective ones. This is why Hidemaro ends up in a dead-end, unable to become a proper historian able to separate myth from history. "It's easy enough to do my work without distinguishing clearly or by disassembling, but if I want to do it honestly, earnestly, I see I am hemmed on all sides. It was my misfortune to choose this profession" (Ōgai, 1994: 254). Hidemaro can only be a stupid historian and he is stranded, unable to engage with this viral movement of thought that is the life of the planetary. After *As If*, Ōgai abandons fiction writing and the lure of bourgeois subjectivity for historical writing. This failure however does not end in madness as in Maupassant but opens onto a planetary space where historical surfaces co-mingle without fusing nor falling into a parasitic relation. Where historical writing becomes writing as if, in the company of things.[10]

References

Alberstam, Judith. 2011. *The Queer Art of Failure*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Augé, Marc. 1995 [1992]. John Howe (trans.). *Non-places: an Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. London & New York: Verso.

Axelos, Kostela. 2019 [1964]. *Rimbaud et la poésie du monde planétaire* [Rimbaud and the Poetry of the Planetary World]. In *Vers la pensée planétaire: le devenir-pensée du monde et le devenir-monde de la pensée* [Towards Planetary Thinking: The Thinking-Becoming of the World, and the Becoming-World of Thinking]. ??-??. Paris: Les Belles-Lettres.

[10] See Kōjin (1989).

Bataille, Georges. 2004. The Congested Planet [1958]. Michelle Kendall and Stuart Kendall (trans.). *The Unfinished System of Knowledge*. 221-223. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Bayard, Pierre. 1994. *Maupassant, juste avant Freud* (Maupassant, Just Before Freud). Paris: Minuit.

Bloch, Ernst. 1977 [1932]. Mark Ritter (trans.). Nonsynchronism and the Obligation to its Dialectic. *New German Critique* (11). 22-38.

Briant, Levy. 2007a. The Pedagogy of Problems and the Figure of Stupidity. In *Larval Subjects*. https://larvalsubjects.wordpress.com/2007/02/25/the-pedagogy-of-problems-and-the-figure-of-stupidity/,accessed 2022/01/28.

Briant, Levy. 2007b. Immediacy, Mediation and Stupidity. In *Larval Subjects*. https://larvalsubjects.wordpress.com/2007/03/09/immediacy-mediation-and-stupidity/ (accessed 2022/01/28).

Brown, Wendy. 2010. *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chakarabarty, Dipesh. 2021. *The Climate of History in a Planetary Age*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Cheng, Anne Anlin. *Second Skin: Josephine Baker and the Modern* Surface. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Deleuze, Gilles. 1994 [1968]. Paul Patton (trans.). *Difference and Repetition*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Deleuze, Gilles & Guattari Félix. 1987 [1980]. Brian Massumi (trans.). November 20th 1923: Postulates of Linguistics. In *A Thousand Plateau: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. 75-110. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Derrida, Jacques & Brunette Peter & Wills David. 1994. "The Spatial Arts: An Interview with Jacques Derrida." In Peter Brunette & David Wills eds. *Deconstruction and the Visual Arts: Arts, Media, Architecture*. 9-32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Finn, Michael R. 2017. *Figures of the Pre-Freudian Unconscious from Flaubert to Proust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foucault, Michel. 2008. Graham Burchell (trans.). *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978–79*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gibson, Andrew. 2005. Serres at the Crossroads. In Niran Abbas ed. *Mapping Michel Serres*. 84-98. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Harootunian, Harry. 2015. *Marx After Marx: History and Time in the Expansion of Capitalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Harvey, David. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Hill, Christopher. 2009. *National History and The World Of Nations: Capital, State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France, and the United* States. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Hill, Christopher. 2021. *Figures of the World: The Naturalist Novel and Transnational Form*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Hui, Yuk. 2020. For a Planetary Thinking. In *e-flux journal* (114). https://www.e-flux.com/journal/114/366703/for-a-planetary-thinking/ (accessed 2022/01/25).

Huyssen, Andreas ed. 2008. *Other Cities Other Spaces: Urban Imaginaries in a Globalizing Age*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Ishida, Yorifusa. 1999. *Mori Ōgai no toshiron to sono jidai* [The urban theory of Mori Ōgai and its time]. Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha.

Jameson, Fredric. 2007. Kafka's Dialectic. In *The Modernist Papers*. 96-112. London & New York: Verso.

Jameson, Fredric. 2007. In the Mirror of Alternative Modernities: On Kojin Karatani's *The Origins of Japanese Literature*. In *The Modernist Papers*. 294-310. London & New York: Verso.

Johnston, John. 1996. Introduction: Friedritch Kittler: Media Theory After Poststructuralism. In John Johnston (ed.) *Essays: Literature, Media, Information* Systems. 1-26. Amsterdam: G+B Art International.

Kamei, Hideo. 2002. Michael Bourdaghs (trans.). *Transformations of Sensibility: The Phenomenology of Meiji Literature*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Centre for Japanese Studies.

Karatani, Kōjin. 1989. Rekishi to shizen – Ōgai no rekishi-shōsetsu [History and Nature: Ōgai's Historical Novels]. In *Imi to iu yamai* [This Disease Called Meaning]. Tokyo: Kodansha.

Katō, Shigeo. 1998. Kindai toshi kūkan to kōshū eisei joron [An Introduction to Modern Urban Space and Public Health in Modern Japan: Toward the Critical Points of Gotō Shinpei's "Hygienical Thought"]. *10+1 Special Edition Tokyo Studies* (12). 156-167.

Kittler, Friedrich A. 1997. John Johnston (ed.) *Essays: Literature, Media, Information* Systems. Amsterdam: G+B Art International.

Kittler, Friedrich A. 1990 [1985]. Michael Meteer and Chris Cullens trans. *Discourse Networks 1800/1900*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Kono, Shion. 2006. The Rhetoric of Annotation in Mori Ōgai's Historical Fiction and "Shiden" Biographies. *The Journal of Japanese Studies* (32)2. 311-340.

Lamarre, Thomas. 1998. Bacterial Culture and Linguistic Colonies: Mori Rintarō's Experiments with History, Science and Language. *positions* (6)3. 597-635.

Latour, Bruno. 2017. Catherine Porter (trans.). *Facing Gaia: Eight Lectures on the New Climatic Regime*. Cambridge & Medford: Polity.

Loos, Adolf. 1985. Ornament and Crime [1908]. In *The Architecture of Adolf Loos: An Arts Council Exhibition*. 98-103. London: Arts council.

Maupassant, Guy de. 2016. Sandra Smith (trans.). The Horla. In Robert Lethbridge (ed.). *Guy de Maupassant's Selected Works (Norton Critical Editions)*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Mori Ōgai. 1994. Shoichi Ono and Sanford Goldstein (trans.). Youth [1911]. In J. Thomas Rimer (ed.). *Youth and Other Stories.* 373-517. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Mori, Ōgai. 1994. Gregg M. Sinclair and Kazo Suita (trans.). Kanoyō ni – 'As If' [1912]. In J. Thomas Rimer (ed.). *Youth and Other Stories.* 233-254. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Mori, Ōgai. 1971–75. Kanoyauni [As If]. In Kinoshita Mokutarō (ed.). *Ōgai zenshū* [The Collected Works of Mori Ōgai] 3rd ed. vol.10. 43–78. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Muñoz, José Esteban. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. New York & London: New York University Press.

Potte-Bonneville, Mathieu. 2022. Qui a peur de la déconstruction? [Who is afraid of deconstruction]. *AOC*. https://aoc.media/analyse/2022/01/26/qui-a-peur-de-la-deconstruction/ (accessed 2022/01/08).

Ross, Kristin. *The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press.

Schreber, Daniel Paul. 2000 [1903]. *Memoirs of my Nervous Illness*. Trans. Ida Macalpine & Richard A. Hunter. New York: New York Review Book.

Serres, Michel. 1994. *Atlas*. Paris: Flammarion.

Silverberg, Myriam. 1992. "Constructing the Japanese Ethnography of Modernity." In *The Journal of Japanese Studies* (51)1. 30-54.

Simmel, Georg. 1971 [1903]. The Metropolis and Mental Life. In Donald N. Levine (ed.) *Georg Simmel: On Individuality and Social* Forms. 324-339. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Simpson, J. A. & Weiner E. S. C. (eds). 1987. *Oxford English Dictionary Vol. XIX - Unemancipated-Wau-wau*. London: Oxford University Press.

Sontag, Susan. 1978. *Illness as Metaphor*. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux.

Stengers, Isabelle. 2015. *In Catastrophic Times: Resisting the Coming Barbarism*. Trans. Andrew Goffey. London: Open Humanities Press in collaboration with Meson Press. http://openhumanitiespress.org/books/download/Stengers_2015_In-Catastrophic -Times.pdf (accessed 2022/01/25).

Stengers, Isabelle. 2017. Autonomy and the Intrusion of Gaia. *The Southern-Atlantic Quarterly* (116)2. 381-400.

Thouny, Christophe. 2014. Encounters with the Planetary: Mori Ōgai's Cartographic Writing. *Discourse* (26)3. 283-308.

Thouny, Christophe. 2019. Monstrous Narratives: Storytelling in Mori Ōgai's *As If*. *Journal of Japanese Studies*. 7-25.

Thouny, Christophe. 2020. When Carps Can't Breathe in Water: On Tawada Yōko's Planetary Musings in Corona Times. In *Critical Asia Archives Covid 19 Issue Society Must Go On! Thinking at the Threshold of Biological Modernity, Stupidity, and (Post-) Pandemic Temporality*, 2020. https://caarchives.org/when-carps-cant-breathe-in-water/ (accessed 2022/01/25).