

Discovering Japan

Alan Macfarlane
with Sarah Harrison

(2020)

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Preface

This book is part of a series of autobiographical accounts of my life since my birth in 1941 to the present.¹ It describes the encounter which Sarah Harrison, my wife, and I experienced in relation to Japan from 1990 onwards. Out of this came four books and numerous articles.² It is an account of the ways in which Sarah and I tried to document and understand what we discovered over a period of thirty years, including eight visits to Japan.

This is a joint account. The writing and observations upon which it is based were made together by Sarah and myself, with Sarah keeping most of the diaries, and I taking the films, making notes, and doing the final writing.

Furthermore, it was an intensely collaborative project with our hosts in Japan, Professors Kenichi and Toshiko Nakamura. The nature of our collaboration will become obvious, but I want to make clear at the start that, without them, this adventure would never have happened or resulted in the vastly interesting journey of discovery we were able to undertake.

The following account is based on several sources. There are contemporary diary entries about what was happening. These are in italics. Most of them were made by Sarah. There are emails and letters which we exchanged, mainly with Kenichi and Toshiko, but occasionally with others. There are summaries of many long conversations with informants throughout the period, and brief notes on what we saw or heard. These, were often quite fragmentary but important to catch and then expand later. There are ideas which, from time to time, I would make in a 'Thoughts Book' to take stock of what I had done and plans for the future. There are plans and extracts from some of the writing I was doing throughout the period in order to try to understand and then turn that understanding into text.

There are scans of some of the original documents and a selection from the many photographs, mainly taken by Sarah. We began to take video film from 1997 onwards, and links to them can be found in the Appendix.

There is a temptation when editing the produce of many years of work, commenced thirty years ago, to correct errors or resolve over-simplifications. I have not done so because the authenticity and contemporaneous nature of the account would be diluted. It is a narrative of a voyage of discovery as it happened, with all the miss-steps, missed opportunities, and mistakes one is bound to make when encountering a new civilization.

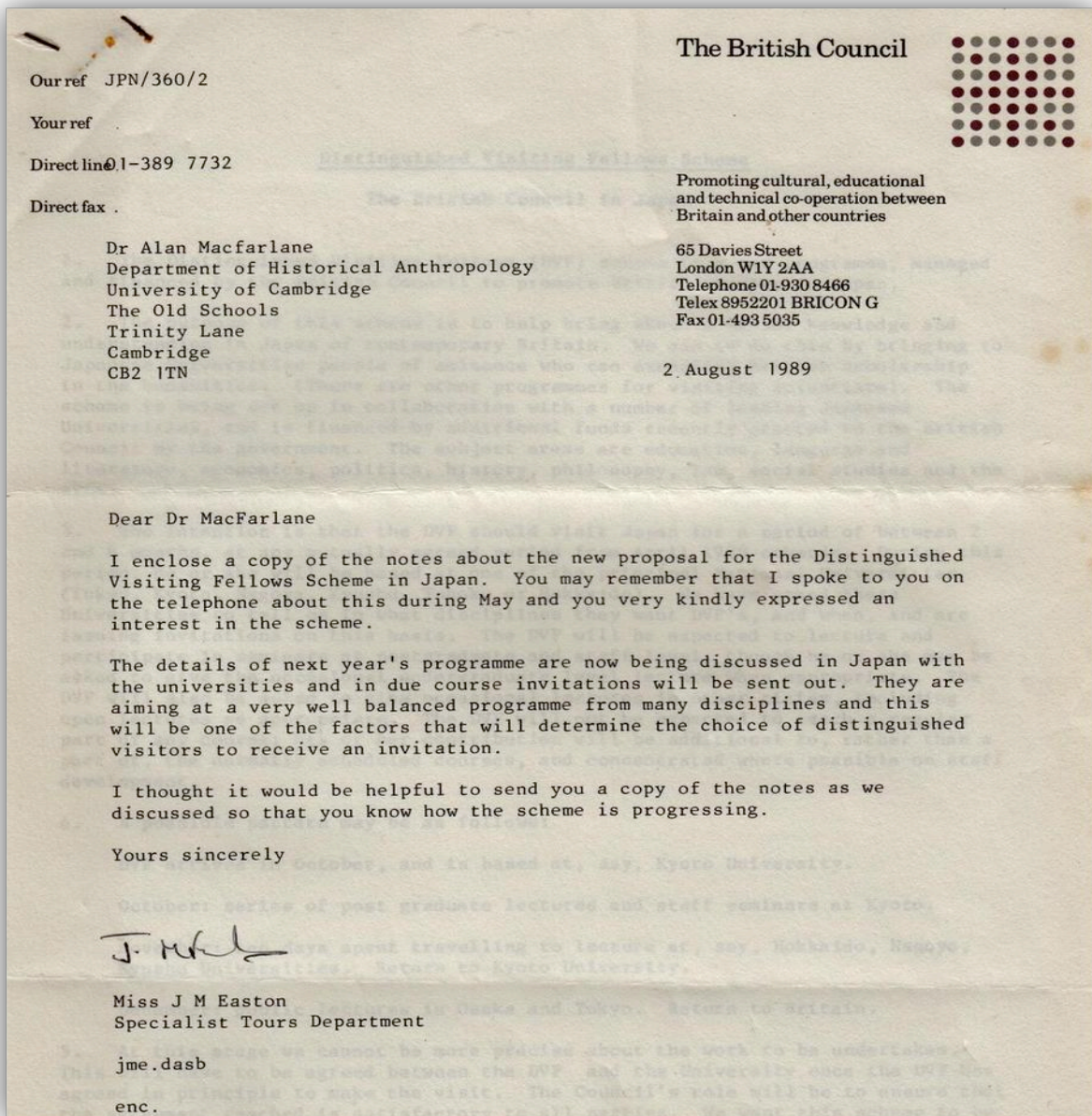
¹ Other volumes, as they are published, can be found at my website, www.alanmacfarlane.com, under 'Life', from where they can be downloaded as free pdf files. They are also on Amazon.

² Alan Macfarlane, *The Savage Wars of Peace; England, Japan and the Malthusian Trap* (1997); Alan Macfarlane, *Japan through the Looking Glass* (2007); Alan Macfarlane, *Encounters with Japan and the Japanese* (2013) Alan Macfarlane, *Yukichi Fukuzawa and the Making of the Modern World* (2018).

First contacts

In February 1989, as if somehow in anticipation, I wrote in the diary *Feel as if times are changing – with Japan in ascendancy and more global awareness*. This was before the collapse of the Soviet Union later that year. At a personal level, we were clearly also aware that we needed to find new intellectual adventures for I then wrote 'Am thinking of life beyond the Nagas,³ now Sarah is rapidly drawing to the end of indexing.'

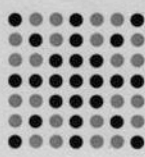
As if by magic, in May, I received a telephone call about a new British Council scheme to send scholars to Japan. I confirmed that I would be interested to learn more and in August received the following letter.



³ For the previous six years, we had been engaged in a multi-media, archival, project on the Nagas of Assam. This was just coming to an end. The project can be seen at: <http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/FILES/nagas.html>

I accepted the invitation and later in the year and received this letter from the British Council.

Our ref . JPN/361/1040
Your ref .
Direct line . 01-398 7732
Direct fax .

The British Council 

Promoting cultural, educational
and technical co-operation between
Britain and other countries

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London W1Y 2AA
Telephone 01-930 8466
Telex 8952201 BRICONG
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Dr A Macfarlane
Department of Social Anthropology
University of Cambridge
CB2 1TN

28 November 1989

Dear Dr Macfarlane

Thank you very much indeed for agreeing to visit Japan for one month in July 1990.

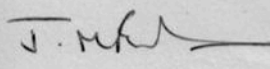
I enclose a copy of our SPT 1, a note giving the background to the DVF scheme, DOH pamphlets on health care abroad, a note for visitors to Japan, and a note about the British Council. I also enclose a copy of our "CV" form, and should be most grateful if you would complete this and return it to me at your convenience.

As you know, the British Council will provide a Club Class return fare to Japan, a settling-in grant to cover personal insurances and expenses on arrival, excess baggage vouchers for 40 kgs, a clothing grant if required, and a fee of £500 a month, which will be paid on return. Your subsistence and travelling expenses in Japan will be paid by our Representative there.

When we spoke on the telephone, you mentioned that you might be taking your wife with you. If this is so, I expect you would prefer to make your own travelling arrangements. The Club Class fare will be £2577, and excess bags are charged at the sum of £23.53 per kilo. Our Representative is anxious that the fare, excess baggage and settling-in grant should be paid this financial year, so I should be grateful if you would let me know what action you would like me to take.

Please would you let me have the dates of your proposed visit.

Yours sincerely



Miss J M Easton
Specialist Tours Department

Early in 1990 I learnt who had invited me.

Faculty of Law, Hokkaido University

KITA 9, NISHI 7, KITA-KU
060 SAPPORO, JAPAN

January 25, 1990

Dr. Alan MacFarlane
25 Lode Road
Lode, near Cambridge
CB5 9ER
England

Dear Dr. MacFarlane:

We are very much delighted to learn from British Council that you and Mrs. Sarah Harrison will visit my University and stay with us for 4 weeks. My colleagues and I will be happy to welcome you and Mrs Harrison. You will find many readers of your books, The Culture of Capitalism, Marriage and Love in England, The Origin of English Individualism etc. etc in this Oriental collectivistic country.

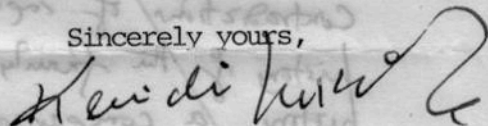
According to Mr. J H G Foley of British Council, he suggested that you should start your program at Sapporo on 2 July. I agree with Mr Foley that July is best month to stay Sapporo.

He also suggested me that it would be useful and helpful for us to visit you in advance and discuss about your plan in Sapporo. I will be off my University duty from 27 February to March 14. I will be happy to visit you someday during the period at Cambridge or elsewhere.

I would appreciate it very much if you would let me know when and where it is convenient for you to see me. I will make my plan accordingly.

I am looking forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours,



Kenichi NAKAMURA

Professor of International
Relations/ Chairperson of
International Cooperation
Committee Faculty of Law
Hokkaido University

We were away in Nepal and so did not see the letter for a while, but when we returned I wrote back.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
FREE SCHOOL LANE CAMBRIDGE CB2 3RF

~~(TELEPHONE 0223 333847)~~
Telephone (0223) 337733
Direct Line (0223) 334599

5 April 1990

Prof. Kenichi Nakamura
Faculty of Law
Hokkaido University
Kita 9,
Nishi 7, Kita-Ku
060 Sapporo
Japan

Dear Prof. Nakamura,

Thank you very much for your letter of January 25th. I am very sorry indeed not to have replied earlier, and hence make it impossible for you to visit me in Cambridge. The fact is that my wife and I were in Nepal for three months, from January to the end of March, and have only just returned. I had hoped that the British Council would have told you this.

We very much look forward to our visit in July, though it seems that you already know most of my work! It will be most interesting to be able to compare the English and Japanese historical experience of the development of industrialization and capitalism.

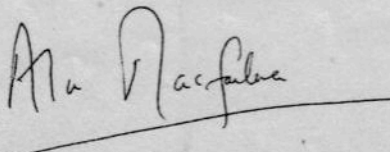
In order to plan my visit, it would be very helpful if you could let me know:

- (a) how many lectures/talks/seminars you would like me to give - and to what level of audience (undergraduate, post-graduate, etc.)
- (b) what themes you would be interested in, methodological/theoretical. Among those that interest me are history and anthropology, the contradictions of capitalism, feudalism and capitalism, the history of the family, the methods and potentials of local history, a comparison between English historical communities and a village in Nepal where we are now working, the legal framework of English village life, the potentials of computer for social and local history, the potentials of optical disc for social history (the BBC Domesday project etc.), visual media and film. You may have other ideas.

I would be grateful if you could let me know what audio-visual and computer-display aids would be available; slides, over-head projectors, videodisc players etc.

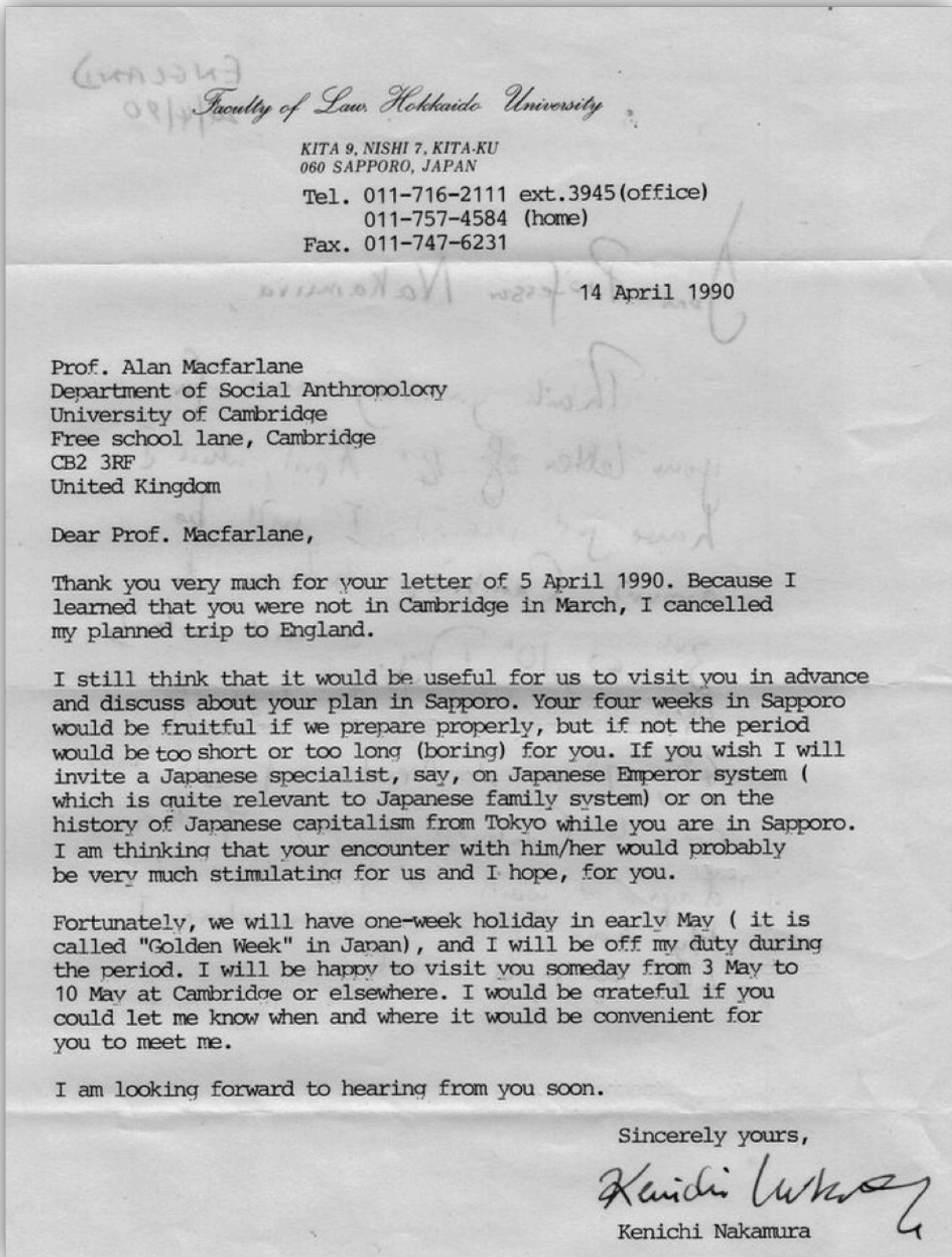
I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,



Alan Macfarlane.

I heard again from Professor Nakamura, suggesting another time for a visit to England.



Our diary for 8th May records: *Another fine day. Worked here until 11am then both in as we were to meet our host in Japan, Prof. Nakamura. Turned out to be nice and youngish - early 40s. Made us both feel excited by the thought of our trip.*

Professor Nakamura obviously found the trip as exciting as we did and started to lay out plans for our visit with his characteristic energy.

Faculty of Law, Hokkaido University

KITA 9, NISHI 7, KITA-KU
060 SAPPORO, JAPAN

31 May 1990

Dr Alan Macfarlane
Department of Social Anthropology
University of Cambridge
Free School Lane
Cambridge CB2 3RF
England

Dear Dr Macfarlane

Thank you very much for your kindness when I visited
Cambridge on 8 May as well as your letter and two offprints.
I enjoyed very much meeting you and your wife and was deeply
impressed by the continuity in the scientific tradition
of Cambridge.

When I came back Sapporo, I found the Japanese translation
of your Origin of English Individualism at University's
bookstore. As I am advertising the translation, only one
copy remains on the shelf today. (There were seven copies
last Wednesday.)

In this two weeks, I could settle three things. Firstly,
the office of University's international guesthouse gave
a definite notice to me that you will be able to stay at
one of the flats there from 29 June to 26 July. I am not
sure whether you can stay on 28 June and am asking the officer
to make it possible. University's guesthouse is on the
wide University Farm and it is 15 minutes walk from there to
your office. And as I mentioned at Cambridge, I keep one
office, Room 303, for you which is in the same building I work.

Secondly, I telephoned Professor Yoh Nakanishi of Department
of Economics at Tokyo University and invited to join a
seminar on experiences of capitalist developments. He agreed
to come to Sapporo from 20 July to 22 July. He teaches labour
economics at Tokyo University, and knows both Japanese economy
and English experiences. I have sent copies of your books
and he said he started to read them yesterday.

Thirdly, I met my friends in Faculty of Letters and Faculty of
Economics and told them that you would come. All of them showed
their interests, some on your methodology, and some on your
works. According to Prof. Katsuo Inoue, a friend of mine and

Faculty of Law, Hokkaido University

KITA 9, NISHI 7, KITA-KU
060 SAPPORO, JAPAN

31 May 1970
a historian on modern Japan, one of the most eminent
historian on Japanese village will come to Sapporo from
16 May to 20 May and will give lectures at Department of
History. Prof Inoue agreed that he would arrange meeting
of you and Prof Kunihiko Mizumoto who wrote an excellent
book on the community structure and autonomy in Japanese
village in the late Edo period. If possible, we would arrange
a small meeting including you, Prof Mizumoto and Prof Nakanishi.
Prof Inoue recommended Tokyo Historical Museum to visit.
According to him, Tokyo Museum is located in Chiba Prefecture,
and it takes one day to see around the systematically
displayed materials.

The other friend of mine, Prof Fumikazu Yoshida, a specialist
on the history of technology, was very much interested in
discussing on "capitarism and technology" with you. He wrote
a book on pollutions originated from high-technology.

You asked for a list of relevant books on Japan. I searched
for them and reached conclusion that it is the best way to
send Kodansha's Encyclopedia of Japan. I picked up 31 items
from "Ainu" to "Woman in Japan", and copied them. I included
some items to answer your and your wife's questions such
as "bookbinding" and "washi (Japanese paper)" which I could
not reply adquetely at Cambridge. I hope the copy will be
useful.

I look forward to meeting you and your wife at Sapporo.
please send my best wishes to your wife.

yours

Kenichi

Kenichi Nakamura

With Kenichi's pile of articles from the Kodansha and other books, I started to read about Japan in a preliminary way, noting on 23rd June in our Diary.

Continued reading speedily about Japan in the morning. Sounds an intriguing mixture as follows:

*West.....Japan.....East
mind collective/individualistic
egalitarian/caste
no pollution/pollution
science/magic etc. etc.*

Will be fascinating to see - a test case of Weberian kind for the theories of the necessary and sufficient causes of individualism etc.

Three days later we flew to Japan.

*

It is tempting just to dive straight into our first, amazing, visit. Yet it is likely that a reader may find it helpful to know something about the people involved and their background on the eve of the adventure. After all, we do not encounter a new civilization in the way an early camera takes a picture. We may be more like a modern camera with lenses, zoom, filtering, cutting off particular areas and other devices to modify the picture. Yet we are even more filtering in our acceptance of sense impressions than any camera could be.

So, before even starting on the journey to understand Japan, I will explain something about the two forty-eight-year-old adventurers who set out for Japan in 1990, namely Alan Macfarlane, Reader in Historical Anthropology at Cambridge University and his wife and research partner, Sarah Harrison, bookseller, historical investigator and magistrate.

I had several advantages as I started out on this adventure, most of which I was unaware of at the time. The greatest was that Sarah and I had done intensive fieldwork in Nepal, in 1986, 1988 and 1990, even before we went to Japan. There we had developed methods of joint working, also coming from working closely together from 1971 on English topics both by hand and with a computer. These techniques could easily be adapted for Japan. So we had the inestimable advantage of two sets of eyes and ears, male and female, two different minds, to apply to inquiring about Japan. Two different people working closely together are not just twice as powerful as one, but many times more efficient and effective.

A second advantage was my academic training and interests. The title I chose for my Personal Readership, 'Historical Anthropology', alludes to this. I had been trained in history at school, then through an M.A. and D.Phil. in history at Oxford. I had already published seven books on English history before we went to Japan. We had done very deep research on original archives. My interest was in long-term, comparative, history. In particular I was interested in the great arch of English history from the Anglo-Saxons to the present, as I had learnt it as school and at Oxford.

I was to find that this long-term approach to a continuous, ever changing, yet deeply connected, history of a small island separated from a large continent, was the perfect background for understanding Japan. I could use many of the tools from my historical training in order to understand a place which we cannot begin to understand without immersion in its deep history.

After training as a historian, I then took two more degrees, in social anthropology, a two-year Master's conversion course at the L.S.E. and a Ph.D. at the School of Oriental and African Studies. Here again I was enormously fortunate in several ways.

One was that the period I was learning to be an anthropologist was at the end of the classic period of British social anthropology. It was dominated by an approach known as functionalism or structural-functionalism. This was beginning to be refreshed by the influence of French structuralism and Marxism.

There were several virtues of this approach. One was that the aim was to get inside another society or civilization, through a method of participating and observing. You were seeing the new world through the eyes of the people with whom you were living. It was their point of view, their categories and logic, their emotional structure and psychologies, their power structures, social forms and economic institutions, which were of interest. The researcher was to suspend judgement.

In other words, you should, for a while, 'go native', while retaining your own critical faculties enough to be able to translate what you were finding, back into your own culture. All of this proved to be absolutely essential in entering an often amazing and strange other world.

A second feature of structural-functionalism was that it assumed that you would be interested in the whole of a society. The societies in which this form of anthropology developed, the Trobriands, the Nagas, the Nuer, the Tallensi, were not divided up into separate institutions. You could not separate off kinship, economy, polity and ideology. They were a living tree, where leaves, branches, trunk and roots have to be considered together.

This again turned out to be invaluable when we came to explore Japan. The method encouraged us to collect material on all aspects of life – food, gardens, drama, kinship, work organizations, gifts, crime, humour, language. Unlike America, Australia or Britain, we were to discover that everything is multi-stranded, multi-connected. This was a feature of Amazonia, New Guinea or the Himalayas, but a surprise for someone from a 'modern' separated society.

The third element of social anthropology that was invaluable was the presumption of logic, rationality and usefulness. One of the contributions of the classic anthropologists who taught me had been to show that things which were at first sight bizarre, seemingly irrational and perhaps reprehensible, could be understood. By placing them in a wider context, by examining what they did for people, their function, by examining the assumptions on which they were based and the chain of logic which led to them, we could bring them within our own comprehension.

One of the most influential examples of this approach was the anthropological study of magic and witchcraft. So it was especially fortunate that I did my D.Phil. at Oxford on English witchcraft. It was an added piece of good fortune that one of the chief inspirations for my work, and one of my final Examiners, was the distinguished student of the topic, Edward Evans-Pritchard, then Professor of Social Anthropology at Oxford.

When we went to Japan, we soon began to encounter rather extraordinary things. It became, to quote Alice, 'curiouser and curiouser'. My task as an anthropologist was to turn the extraordinary into the comprehensible, to expand my own limited horizons so that I could begin to understand a very 'Other' world and not just regard it as weird and ultimately nothing to do with me.

The final benefit of the general anthropological approach for our work was its comparative method. We can only understand a phenomenon when we set it against some back-drop. Through comparison, this brings out similarities and differences. It provides the mind with possible analogies which we can try out on native informants. It throws the unfamiliar into a familiar and intriguing light, while making our own familiar world subject to scrutiny.

My education, and then teaching, in anthropology, was based on looking at a wide range of very different societies, from the Amazon to Australia, from the simplest Hunters and Gatherers to great civilizations like India or China. So I would instinctively approach Japan through systematic comparison.

In such a comparison, the fact, as earlier mentioned, that I came from the background of England and English history, happened to be a great bonus. In geographical size and location, as an island off a sophisticated and developed continent, in the long-term continuity of its evolving culture protected by the seas, England turned out to be the perfect comparison for Japan.

It also turned out, as I discovered, perfect because half of Japanese life turned out to be eerily like the England I already knew. The family system, the type of feudal system the early commercialization, the class system, even elements of the puritanical ideology, were familiar. They made it seem as if Japan and England were cousins. There was enough in common to make proper comparison possible, rather than just an unhelpful contrast.

This gave the firm ground from which to launch out into the other half of Japan, the culture, and start to make sense of it. This half, such things as language, art, ideas, sentiments,

was totally different from anything in my own culture and would have been incomprehensible without some common ground in the social world.

In relation to culture, I was fortunate for my experience had given me an invaluable comparison of something which overlapped somewhat with Japan. In my fieldwork with the Gurungs of Nepal, I had encountered a polytheistic, Buddhist-influenced, deeply shamanic world which turned out to have a great similarity with Japan.

When we gradually began to enter into the hidden, magical, Japan which a few had glimpsed (for example Carmen Blacker in *The Catalpa Bow*, 1976), but none described more generally and explained in a wider context; it was by analogy with the Gurungs that I could understand it.

*

One of the most important lessons I learnt from our Gurung fieldwork was the central role of informants. In the many books I have read on anthropology, there are acknowledgements and occasional short recognition of the role of key informants. Real friendship and intellectual partnerships are alluded to. Yet it was not until I tried to understand a Gurung village that I came to fully appreciate that most of what we can learn about another civilization comes from informed insiders.

However hard you try to understand something about another society with which you have had no previous acquaintance, there is no chance of doing so without help from one or more members of that society. The reason for this is obvious.

When you come to learn about your own culture you do so over many years and from many sources. You speak the language, you pick up the culture through trial and error over many experiences, you are buffeted by the social and political structure, you participate in the various worlds and become a skilled, or not-so-skilled, player in your own culture's games.

Although you will probably not explicitly understand what is happening or be able to explain to yourself, or others, how it all works, you learn enough of the deep 'habitus', the customs and generative social grammar, to be able to survive and perhaps to thrive. You are a native with all the deep knowledge, sensory and intellectual, which you absorb.

It may be possible, as I did with the Gurungs, to pay an informant to teach you the language, or to answer specific questions and explain a certain amount. It is possible to use a structured questionnaire with a number of people. It is possible to sit with groups of people and hold informal 'seminars' on themes of interest. All this is useful, perhaps necessary. Yet it is not sufficient. For if we really want to get below the surface we have to build up a real emotional relationship based on liking, respect, trust and reciprocity. Each has to give and take and to value the relationship, not just as a means to an end, but an end in itself.

*

When I was invited to visit Japan as a visiting scholar by the British Council in 1990, I began to learn why they had decided to invite me. It turned out that the British Council had advertised a visiting scholar's scheme, working with their Japanese office. They had sent details to a number of Japanese universities, asking them to suggest names and offers to host the visiting scholar. One of those approached was Hokkaido University, in the city of Sapporo in the northern island of Japan. It was rather off the beaten track, not as famous as Tokyo, Keio, Waseda or Kyoto universities, but reasonably prestigious.

Perhaps they sent the letter to Professor Kenichi Nakamura directly because he already had strong links with Britain. He had been, with his wife Toshiko, an academic visitor to the Nissan Institute in Oxford on several occasions. Indeed, one of their children had been born

in the U.K. They were friends with leading British Japanologists such as Richard Storry and Arthur Stockwin, the Head of the Nissan Institute. So they were interested in Britain, spoke good English, and were internationally minded.

Indeed Kenichi, as I shall now call him, was Professor of International Relations at Hokkaido and Toshiko was widely read in Japan-Western relations because the subject of her Ph.D. was the great introducer of 'Western things' to Japan, namely the philosopher and reformer, Fukuzawa Yukichi. Kenichi was a well-known political scientist and journalist and well connected to the generation of political thinkers and sociologists who had been taught and influenced by Maruyama Masao.

Both Kenichi and Toshiko were graduates of the top school in the arts, humanities and social sciences in Japan, the Tokyo Law School. They could have followed prestigious paths in the footsteps of their distinguished teachers in Tokyo. Yet there was something independent, slightly rebellious, original and creative about both of them. This was also expressed in their very close personal relationship, which made them decide to leave Tokyo and to move to the peripheral, less constrained, freer, air of Hokkaido.

Perhaps influenced by their experiences of Oxford, they wanted to bring up their children and pursue their careers in a less conformist, less pressurized, way. They were outward-looking, curious, open, in a way which is unusual in Japan. Indeed, having got to know many leading Japanese scholars, I have only found in one or two others a similar character.

Kenichi discussed the British Council offer with Toshiko. By great good fortune for me, she had just read, and been intrigued by, a book I had published in English in 1986, called *Marriage and Love in England, 1300-1840*. In this book I had described how the English system of love marriage, so different to the arranged marriage patterns of most societies in the world past and present, worked. I linked the pattern to individualism, the family system, the capitalist market and political freedom.

Toshiko was one of the newly liberated women of the post-War generation as the status of women in Japan rapidly improved. She had seen the English system at work in the marriage of her English friends, the Storrays and Stockwins. She had admired the attempt of Fukuzawa to educate and raise the level of women after the Meiji Restoration. Toshiko, like many other Japanese women, was looking for a more companionate, love-based, relationship upon which to centre her life.

Yet it was a struggle. Many young Japanese men were infatuated with their mothers (known as the *amae* complex). Many in Japan, including older women, still used a hierarchical language which placed women as unequal. Many still seemed unable to feel or comprehend what romantic and passionate love was. So my book was a fresh breeze from another culture, which helped Toshiko to understand a little better both the predicament of many Japanese women and the English.

We were later to learn that another motive Kenichi had for an energetic involvement, was that he was worried about the future of Anglo-Japanese academic collaboration. Both in America and Britain, the great generation of western academics who had learnt Japanese, spent a considerable time in Japan, supervised Japanese students and written about Japan with sympathy - Ronald Dore, Richard Storry, Edwin O. Reischauer and others, were reaching the end of their academic lives. They would soon retire and who would replace them?

If Kenichi could interest me enough, even though it was clear that I would be unlikely to become a real expert, focusing entirely on Japan, learning the language etc, that would be something. At least I could represent the Japanese interest at Cambridge. This, in fact, happened when I became, at the end of the 1990s, the only member of the department of anthropology who supervised Ph.D. students from Japan.

Another motivation, which was at the heart of our long and deep friendship, was a balanced curiosity in each other's world. I really wanted to understand how Japan worked at its core, the generative structure, the spirit, the pattern of Japan. I needed the Nakamuras for this. The Nakamuras were the great bridge-builders from East to West, but also wanted to understand our world, particularly the Anglosphere, much of which still puzzled them.

So, when we set out for Japan in the summer of 1990, we did not know, though we soon realized, that at the other end of the bridge of cross-cultural communication were people who were already travelling towards us. Toshiko was wanting to know more about love and the English family system in particular, but also about all aspects of the West that had shaped Fukuzawa's thought in the past and was again changing Japan after the Second World War. Kenichi wanted to understand how western politics and society worked, as a specialist in international relations, but also had a much wider interest in the unfathomable, to him, aesthetics, religion and categories of a civilization based on those Jewish-Greek-Christian-Arabic roots which were totally at odds with his whole East Asian philosophical tradition.

It was like the magnetic attraction of different poles and we could not have been more fortunate. The story is one of the fusing of visions, stretching from that summer of 1990 through visits by the Nakamuras to England in 1991 and 1992, our revisits in 1993, 1997, 1999 and 2003, and the culmination, in a shared summer in 2005 of writing, and a visit to check the book with Kenichi's network in 2006.

We became, as far as one can be, Japanese, and they British – still puzzled, but really communicating deeply and discovering in the process not only them, but ourselves. We were all changed by the extraordinary pleasure and excitement.

*

I had been attracted by the idea of going to Japan when I received the letter from the British Council for two main reasons. The first was that I had recently read Isabella Bird's book *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, based on her visit of 1878. I was particularly intrigued by her account of living for a few weeks with the remnants of the Ainu people, who I had discovered were a strange pocket of Caucasian people living in the remotest corner of Mongolian Asia. They were also an intriguing insight into a Siberian-type culture, with the tiny remnant still lived on Hokkaido island. An invitation to Hokkaido University would be an ideal place to visit them from.

The second reason was to do with Japanese history. When I had written about English feudalism for my book *The Origins of English Individualism* (1978), I had been particularly influenced by the works of F.W. Maitland and Marc Bloch on medieval western feudalism. Maitland had described a form of centralized feudalism that was very different from continental European feudalism. I had begun to wonder whether this was the form found on the island of Japan, and indeed whether islandhood partly explained this unique form of political organization at the two ends of the world.

Bloch, on the other hand, had written an intriguing appendix to his two-volume work *Feudal Society* (1939), which assessed whether feudalism was to be found anywhere outside Europe. He looked at India, China and elsewhere and showed that nowhere was there the system of contractual political relations from top to bottom of society, allegiance and fealty in exchange for lands and protection, of the European kind – except in Japan.

I found this curious and intriguing. A chance to investigate Japan would place my theories on the origins of English uniqueness in a wider context. It was prohibitively expensive at that time to go to Japan, and it was essential to have local support. The invitation from the British Council, and then way in which Kenichi and Toshiko arranged and funded our later visits in Japan, made this possible.

While I had the interest, I was also deeply ignorant and indeed, what is worse, ignorant of how ignorant I was. Since much of the subsequent account will be concerned with the process, sometimes pleasant, sometimes painful, of peeling away this ignorance, it is perhaps helpful to explain some of the blanket of prejudices and unexamined assumptions that covered the person who Kenichi and Toshiko took it upon themselves to welcome and to educate. One was a woeful, but shared with most of my colleagues and other westerners, ignorance about Japan. It is a common experience. We go to India, China, America, Australia or wherever for the first time with the jumble of preconceptions which watching films, reading papers, watching the television news, have deposited inside us. It was the same with Japan. I could have written all I knew about Japan, apart from what I learnt from Isabella Bird, on one sheet of A4 paper.

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The second area was the fact that I was necessarily the product of a certain civilization. Who we are now is moulded by a long current, often dating back thousands of years. The British academic crossing the bridge to Japan, educated in an English/Scottish family, a product of the end of the British Empire and an Oxbridge world, speaking a Germanic language, and inhabiting a certain political, social, economic and religious system, was filled with assumptions, despite his immersion in anthropology and fieldwork in Nepal.

Basically, I was the product of a mix of Greek, Roman, Arabic influences, mixed with Christianity, the Renaissance, the Scientific Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. I was also trained in a certain type of academic tradition from my reading and teaching in the social sciences and history which had given me a framework to interpret other cultures.

This is what I have written about elsewhere – trying to fit Japan into my 'stages' model – Hunter-Gatherer, Tribal, Civilizational, Modern, which was my framework, with little bits of Marxism or other schemata. This would give me the tools, the grid, to make sense of the Japanese experiences.

This framework, as I shall explain, was particularly misleading for Japan, as it is for China, for it muddled up modernity with recentness, and confused certain outward effects of the industrial and communications revolutions, with 'modernity'. So, the fact that Japan, when we arrived, was outwardly so very 'modern', urban, efficient, prosperous, like other industrial civilizations, initially re-enforced my 'stages' theory. The 'Other' had evaporated and we are all the same, give or take a Shinto shrine or local cuisine.

This blinkering is bound to happen. We are what our cultures have produced and we would fall to pieces if we questioned everything all the time. My only salvation was that a combination of learning and teaching anthropology and Nepalese fieldwork, along with a questioning of my inherited Christian faith, had left me searching for otherness. I was still driven on by the large question, what is a human being, who am 'I' as an individual, what is common and what different across the globe.

As I shall explain, I was also searching for some kind of re-integration of my life. I had spent much of my youth trying to avoid Weber's 'iron cage' of disenchantment. I had found some escape in poetry, love, sport, music. I had also found an alternative with the Gurungs. Yet I had not expected to find an even more dramatic and powerful alternative or resolution in Japan. Yet that is what happened and this is a story of how and why it did so.

Visit to Japan in 1990



(The map is from 'Mapsland' on the web)

The first few weeks in an entirely new civilization is one of constant discovery. One learns more in that first shock of surprise and wonder than in any other subsequent period. The concept of 'culture shock' is over-used, and difficult to analyse, but it is what we felt when we arrived for a stay of a month, soon extended to six weeks, in Japan in July 1990.

Looking back now, some thirty years later, on those precious weeks I can see some of the reasons why it was so crammed with information and delight. Almost all of it had to do with Kenichi and Toshiko.

They arranged (against bureaucratic odds) a nice flat and all working facilities. They took us to diverse institutions, schools, a crammer, an old people's home, a law court, which we would not otherwise have entered. They provided, through constant informal 'seminars' over meals and walks, a deep form of discussion revolving around our mutual desire to understand each other's culture. They introduced us to other like-minded thinkers and laid on some academic seminars. They arranged trips into the countryside and to the area of the remaining Ainu people. That Arthur and Audrey Stockwin were also visitors, Arthur very

knowledgeable on Japan and head of the Nissan Institute at Oxford, added to the richness of our learning.

Then the British Council and Kenichi helped to launch us into the magical first experience of the beauty of medieval Japan in Kyoto and Nara. Reading *The Genji*, as Sarah was doing there, in the cool temples of a hot July, and imbibing something of Zen Buddhism through the architecture and gardens, was extraordinary.

This was then topped off with visits to Osaka, with its magnificent anthropology museum, to the intriguing Toshiba laptop factory at Ome, and finally to Tokyo, with Roppongi and the Kabuki theatre.

Our first encounter with Japan was not too different to anthropological fieldwork. There was some participant-observation, but mainly it was a more direct route, talking to native informants who knew enough about our world, had a good command of English, and a curiosity and desire to educate us. As with fieldwork in Nepal, we would be constantly noting things in small notebooks, that could be held in the palms of the hand, to be expanded in diary entries (mainly written by Sarah) or larger notebooks. The first diary entry (all diary entries are in italics) was as follows:

SAPPORO

26th-29th June 1990

These days spent travelling to Japan and settling into our apartment at Hokkaido University.

Spent most of Thursday at Narita Airport waiting for the Sapporo flight. Not too tired. Ate our first meal in a Japanese restaurant. No great strangeness. Met at Sapporo by Professor Nakamura. He drove us to the city which is some distance from the airport. Again, nothing much to surprise one. The Japanese drive on the left as we do, and the roads, houses and street signs, etc. look similar to any large city in England. Put up at the Sapporo Station Hotel. The room unfortunately overlooked the railway, so noisy. We went with Professor Nakamura into central Sapporo and had a meal in a fish restaurant. Lots of small, tasty dishes. Nice. The underground railway very clean, and the station, huge.

After breakfast today met by both Professor Nakamura and his wife. Went to the campus with him. Shown Alan's room. Then to the hostels - to our apartment. Much formal signing first. A particular worry was putting out of rubbish - what, where and when. The flat is nice and Western. Nothing much here says we're in Japan. Went shopping for food, etc. with Mrs Nakamura. Again, nothing very startling, except for the range of food, especially fish. Stocked up for a few days at least. Home, where Alan cooked a vegetable soup for lunch which Mrs Nakamura shared with us.

Off again to the campus to see if we could find a computer. Surprised to find the Faculty of Law, which includes social science, only has three terminals cum PC's linked to their mainframe. This is a department with fifteen professors. Suggested we went to the Co-op attached to the University to see if we could hire a machine. No good, so may try putting our discs into the department machine and hoping they'll work.

Back via a nursery school that the Nakamuras' youngest daughter attends. Interesting to see babies from six months to children of six in the same building. Rooms set aside for each age-group. The babies, for instance, have a staff member for every four children. They were all out, lying or crawling on the floor. Toshiko's daughter's name means 'love' - the youngest of three - still at nursery school, though six. She refused to come at once as she and her friends were going to a nearby park, but after looking over the whole building we collected her and were driven home.

Managed to sleep for an hour. Poor Alan developed a sore throat through the day, so needed to rest. Collected at seven by Kenichi who brought us a TV loaned from a friend. Went for dinner at their house, rather flat. A very grim building from the outside, owned by the municipality and used by the University and civil service to house staff. Their flat very small. The main hall where we left our shoes entered directly into the dining room. To the left, a small kitchen, and on either side, two rooms with bamboo matting on the floor. In one, children

were playing, and the floor was covered in toys including a *Sindy* doll flat. The children later slept in the other room on mats laid on the floor. I suspect that *Toshiko* and *Kenichi* sleep where the children's toys were, and the only other room seemed to be a store room. None of the furniture or possessions were particularly tasteful or interesting. The dining room table and chairs were very ordinary. Perhaps the most valuable thing in the house was the children's piano. Odd to see that all the wealth of Japan has not given a particularly impressive standard of living.

Kenichi had cooked salmon, though his wife had said that he did little cooking earlier when watching *Alan* cook. We discussed many things including relations with parents, and old age in general. ... *Kenichi* sees himself as something of a new man, who wants to see something of his wife and children. *Toshiko* wants this too, but seems less certain that it is happening in her life. She is quite a forceful person... She doesn't really see that feminism had influenced the way women can behave in Japan. Too many are content to be the housewife looking after the purse. Men and women seem to have a contempt for each other. Women call men "rubbish", implying that they are good-for-nothing - hardly affectionate.

30th June 1990

Walked to the campus by about 11am. and met *Kenichi*. He took us round the library. I was impressed by the collection of English books of all periods, on all subjects - many, the sorts that I sell. Borrowing system easy, and the whole place more relaxed than in England. [Not the same problem with book theft?].

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We asked about the problem of equality in husband-wife relations and they admitted that it was very difficult. It was not too bad when they were alone, but when a third person was present *Kenichi* had to consciously make himself lower so that they would treat his wife equally - artificially compensate. The difficulty they related to absence of the subject in personal pronouns. Japanese "I" and "you" are unknown. One either says "Go out" for "I am going out" or one externalises, using "it" and making it a natural, external, event. For instance, no "We won the game" but "It won the game". This absence of first person singular must also make individualism of any kind very difficult. If there is no "I" how can a person stand against group pressure?

We discussed *Ruth Benedict's* idea that Japan had been a caste society and *Kenichi* agreed that this was rubbish. A good deal of hierarchy and difference of power, but no such thing as caste with its overtones of ritual purity. Indeed, in the pre-Tokugawa period, the ranks had been quite open, with quite a lot of movement between them.

We asked about romantic love. *Kenichi* said that "there is no such thing as love in Japan". What he meant, when he elaborated this was that while there was often fondness (towards dogs, cherry trees, etc.), there was no link between the emotion and any institution, e.g. the family. Hence there was no commitment, long-term involvement, in the other. He cited the fact that in the West a man who was in love should not look at another woman. Different in Japan. He thought thus that capitalism could function effectively without love. He admitted that many "pop" songs used love words, but they meant entirely different things in East and West. There is no Japanese word for "love". The nearest is 'ai', and indeed he has called one of his children by this word, but it has a range of meanings which only slightly overlapped with love. He thought that perhaps the total absence of love was related to the absence of Christianity.

We discussed absolutes and a number of times our host said that the Japanese do not really believe anything - they just use whatever beliefs are available, pragmatically. It is not difficult to see how *Chie Nakane* could write that the Japanese "have no principles". Everything is context-dependent, relative - there are no absolutes, no over-arching beliefs or principles except duty and loyalty. All is etiquette, correct relations, abiding by rules of duty.

1st July 1990

Slept fitfully. The roads are full of traffic until very late - so much for the idea that the Japanese go to bed early. Started reading Ruth Benedict's book this morning. (Am also reading a Japanese novel - Natsume's 'Kokora'). Alan cleared the desk for writing and even started to do so, but interrupted by a phone call from Kenichi who invited us to go with him to an independent church where he was speaking on how to deal with the problems of India and China. Met him at 12.30pm. The church established by other faculty members, but dedicated to the ever-present Clark⁴.

Had a brief look round, then it became clear that we were not staying to hear him but were following his suggestion that we go to the Shinto shrine to the West of Sapporo. Hot. Had a quick lunch and walked to the shrine which is at the bottom of wooded hills. Startled by its size and beauty. All built of wood with golden embellishments. To our surprise we noticed that there was a service on, and managed to step inside and sit down. The whole place is like a theatre stage which one can see standing outside. Don't know how they manage in winter, but very attractive now. The interior equally impressive. A priest was kneeling before an altar, chanting. The only other "performers" were three young ladies. One later played a drum and the others dance, accompanied by the priest, playing a flute and drum. Transpired that the "audience" were mainly parents who had brought their babies to be blessed. Like our christening. Some of the mothers and grandmothers wore kimonos. After the babies, other people went up to be blessed. One woman had bandages round her neck, so I suppose they were sick. Moving, as the setting so splendid, but the feeling overall was much like an English church. Around the courtyard, all sorts of activities, including photographing the participants and selling charms.

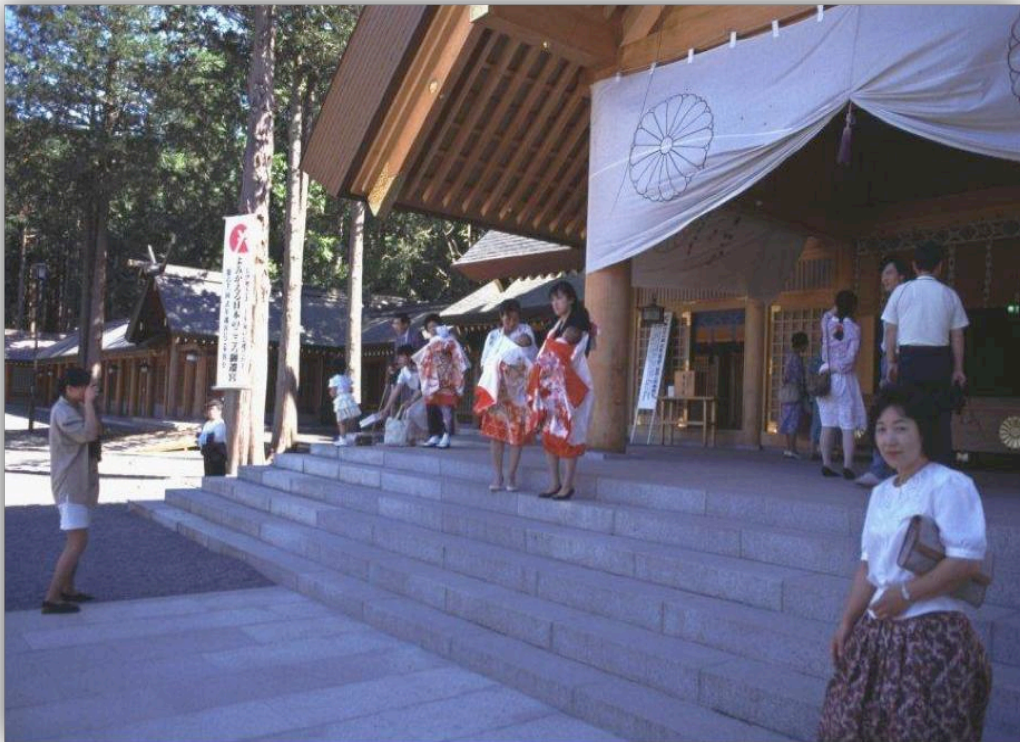
At one point we noticed modern offices behind the traditional facade. Many of the participants had brought bottles of sake for gifts, so it looks as though the Shinto priest do well. Tried to see another building we thought was behind the shrine, but instead found ourselves outside the baseball stadium, and the drums of the Shinto shrine gave way to cheer-leaders.

The shrine set at the end of the long, open, boulevard that runs right to the centre of Sapporo. We walked down this. Huge apartments on either side. Yesterday we'd seen a drawing of Sapporo in 1932 - a few houses in the campus area. Now, massive buildings. What will it be like in 50 years' time. Back here by 5.30pm. - feet weary.

⁴ William S. Clark was an American professor of chemistry and President of the Sapporo Agricultural College (now Hokkaido University) from 1876-7. He inspired it and gave it its motto 'Boys be ambitious'. His statue stands in a prominent place on the campus.



Our flat, top floor window



The Shinto shrine

NOTES

Japanese and English Capitalism

The comparative case is fascinating because here we have the two most sensational cases of (almost) autonomous and successful industrialization, so what is there in common and what is different?

Differences

1. England, while a very graded society, is based, like America, on the premise of equality and the possibility of equal relationships. Japan is based, like India, on the premise of inequality, and the impossibility of equal relationships (cf. language etc.) (cf. 'vertical society')
2. England is based on concerns of the individual as very important and as the basic unit of society and thought: molecular individualism. The Japanese, however, are absolutely anti-individualistic; they do not even have the word for 'I'. the basic unit is the group, the work/family group, holism in Dumont's sense – again like India.
3. England's central emotional core is the relationship between a man and a woman in companionate marriage – with its association of romantic love etc. Japan's central emotional core is the concept of duty, especially filial duty between the child and 'parent' (whether father/boss/Emperor) etc.
4. England's central religious tradition is one of Protestantism/Christianity – which leads to individual conscience and the sense of guilt and anxiety, fear of salvation etc. That of Japan is Confucian/Buddhist and group pressure which, using Benedict's distinction, leads to a shame culture, with external sanctions – or to Riesman's contrast between inner and other directed.

Similarities

Given that England can be seen as egalitarian and individualistic, Japan as hierarchic and holistic, how can one see any common causal factors behind industrial/capitalistic growth in each?

1. Religion – Bellah has argued that the Confucian/Buddhist/Shinto blend in Japan was rather similar to western Christianity-Protestantism – emphasising the calling, hard work, asceticism etc. Important though this is, probably more important is the attitude to religion and its structure. Most commentators agree that religion in Japan is very opportunistic/pragmatic – that people use it without really believing. Put in another way, it is, unlike say Catholic or Hindu cultures, surprisingly 'religion-free'. Religion does not heavily determine politics, kinship or economics. For instance, economic activities are not circumscribed by notions of purity, or attitudes to debt (usury) etc. This is in a peculiar way parallel to the Protestant attitude – which is anti-ritualistic, anti-authoritarian etc. In both cases, the separation between religion and other spheres has occurred – the disenchantment of the world in Weber's sense has occurred.
2. Politics – both countries have a curiously centralized and integrated political system. In the case of England it is based as a model of devolution downwards of power and responsibility, combined with a looking upwards to the apex, namely the King/State. In Japan the focus is somewhat more upwards, with emphasis on loyalty to the Emperor etc. But there is also devolution. The important thing is that in both the two extreme threats to traditional politics – the over-governed, distanced State at the centre with little love or respect or even power at the locality, is avoided. Neither is a dictatorship. On the other hand, the tendency of traditional feudal societies to collapse into anarchy through over-mighty warlords is contained – England has its Wars of the Roses in the C15, and Japan its feudal wars at about the same time. But in each case, this was sandwiched by long periods of stability and peace where a reasonable balance was held between the power of the centre and the periphery.

This similarity, of course, is linked to the fact that both England and Japan are taken as examples of feudalism – but in each case probably not the extreme feudalism of M. Bloch, but rather a centralized feudalism.

3. Unification – Perhaps because of their island status, perhaps because not conquered from outside, perhaps because of the uniformity of language and law (related to feudalism), both England and Japan early had a uniformity within themselves – the regionalism of France and Germany and even more so of India or China, was absent. One language, one law, one 'religion' and relatively easy communications.
4. Literacy – Am not certain, but understand that Japan from quite early (C16-C17) had a high literacy rate – suitable for economic activities.
5. Population – A curious similarity in that, as opposed to most 'traditional' societies, the population of both Japan and England grew very slowly in the several centuries (England 1500-1750) (Japan 1600-

1850) before the industrial spurt. During this period the gains of increased productivity through the agricultural revolution, peace etc. were not 'frittered away' on over-population. Again, in both cases the island-restriction may have given some sense of crowding and anti-naturalist attitude. The difference was that of the mechanism, of controlling population – in England it was the Malthusian marriage pattern (i.e. allowing the status system to keep up the late age at marriage). In Japan, since marriage was a group decision and less amenable, it was through Malthusian 'rice'(i.e. fiddling with mortality – infanticide/abortion) that population was controlled. But in each case there was a consciously planned rationality – a weighing of costs and benefits, which made it possible to decide when to start/stop having children.

6. General 'freeing' of the economy.

If one starts with the Smithian presumption that men will strive to maximise, and add Stewart, that long periods of peace will lead to accumulation, i.e. that the problem is not to explain why certain societies have industrialized etc, but what kept them from doing so, one might say that the natural barriers in England and Japan were less than in most cases:

- no predatory state (Gellner)
- absence of strong predatory landlord class
- no strong religious ethic/ritual/'irrationality' – encompassing economic activity
- absence of strong kinship determinants –weak kinship allows economic freedom
- a strong and firm politico-legal system that provides framework
- status competition which encourages endless accumulation and competition
- an island for defence, sense of national identity which leads to uniformity/long periods of peace, then the two cases seem rather similar.

7. Kinship system.

They share a bilateral, network, ego-centred kinship system, which cannot form the basis of groups. Descent is traced back only a little way. Kinship is 'constructed' to fit the actual pattern on the ground – rather than the other way round, so that, for instance, many non-relatives are incorporated into the Japanese system. This means that as in England, the kinship system itself did not underpin/create economic or political or other groups – but rather reflected (as in bilateral Sri Lanka) a way of talking about kinship. Although more powerful than English kinship, Japan could still not be called a familistic society.

8. Flexibility - the household system

The Japanese system is based on having a powerful group for production (and consumption) purposes – which was originally the household (*ie*). But composition of this group, as a number of authors show, is not limited real kin. All sorts of other people can be recruited into it. That group organization was in the C19 transformed into the business world. When the locus of economic activity was no longer the biological family, the trick of defining the family as all those who worked together was extended to the firm. The firm now became the family.

9. Simplicity/asceticism

Certainly in the nonconformist/Quaker tradition of English art and culture and religion, a dislike for icons, for heavy art forms, for rituals, for show, for display, for baroque ever-elaboration. Trinity Chapel in Cambridge and a Shinto shrine have much in common in their simplicity and the lifestyle of the Puritans and later Benjamin Franklin will have much appeal for the Japanese.

10. Crookedness of art.

Japanese dislike straight lines, balance, heavy styles, but prefer irregularity and a little bit of understatement – as does English art and architecture.

Toshiko Nakamura said that Japan was noted for its 'double standards', for instance in relation to war (where the constitution said one thing, *de jure*, and the *de facto* situation was very different). There is an 'inside' and an 'outside' truth, what one might call a 'surface' and 'deep' truth. This she also expressed as a clash between true desire (*honne*) and principle (*hatemai*). An example of this would be as follows.

Businessmen only deal in the principles of the matter when talking to the head of a company during the day. But in the evening in the bar they will tell him their real desire, what is in their heart, their feelings. This may be entirely different.

2nd July 1990

A law lecturer left a note on Alan's door this morning and came in to see us at 3pm. She is not a practising lawyer, and felt her grasp of the system of criminal law in Japan was rather sketchy. Suggested that most cases were dealt with out of court, and those that did go took many months as the evidence for and against was written, and the judge decided by the size of the pile when to set the trial date. She didn't know any equivalent to a magistrate's court, but there are juvenile courts which deal with children of 13 and over. These, like ours, are not open to the public. Don't know whether we'll get to see a court. She has never been in one. She expresses a dislike for the police, based, it seemed, on 1968.⁵ She vociferously denied that Japan had a low crime rate, but said nothing to convince us that it was higher than we'd imagined. Not a clear thinker. Toshiko is much better.

3rd July 1990

A little after I started work on the computer, the man who helped us set it up yesterday came to see how it was working, then stayed and talked until I had to leave. He was interested in the Naga project which I described to him, and the videodisc and a very rough idea of the computer language. Not only do they have no videodisc players here but they are not sold in Japanese shops, so any work on producing videodiscs is way behind us - certainly in academic institutions. He described how Japanese manufacturers scour the world for good ideas to develop, but are not pushed from within the country to invest in pure research of any kind. Business and academic are totally apart. Furthermore, there is very little cross-fertilisation between disciplines. Thus, the work we're doing with computer scientists may well be impossible to do here in a university. Must probe this further. Anyway, he had never heard of any work similar to ours (except, perhaps, in medicine) so it looks as though we're ahead of the game. He expressed frustration that there was no one with whom he could discuss his work as no one else in the faculty uses a computer for anything more than a word processor.

Went with Toshiko to her two elder daughters' school. Spent from 10.45am. until 2.30pm. there, watching lessons in her daughters' classes, and eating lunch with the children. Directly after lunch they had a school photograph taken, and then Alan asked questions, through Toshiko, of a similar nature to those he asked the Gurung children. These 10 year olds, self-confident, decisive, and not a bit ashamed to answer questions which ranged from general knowledge to intimate details of their future lives (or they might have thought them intimate) - whether they would marry for love, or have arranged marriages. In every sense they were brighter than the Gurung children, and surprisingly sophisticated, yet nice. We enjoyed our visit.

NOTES

Visit to a Middle School

We visited a school with Toshiko Nakamura which was extremely clean, organised, and the children both attentive but lively. I carried out a short question and answer session with them as follows:

Which is the highest mountain in the world? 30/32 knew.

Which is the longest river in the world? Two guessed an answer - the Nile.

Which country is Paris in? 4/32 knew.

What is the capital of the U.S.? 4/32 knew.

What is the capital of India? No one knew.

What is the capital of Russia? 3/32 knew.

Roughly how many people in Sapporo? 3/32 knew.

Which country would you most like to live in? America = 1, India = 1, China = 5, Australia = 17, London (England) = 2, France = 4, Brazil = 2

Are girls or boys better? Girls: girls feel better = 15, equal = 10.

Boys: status should be equal = 2, status should be higher = 17, feel better than girls = 16.

⁵ There were serious student riots about the Japano-U.S. relationship which, among other things, led to the barricading of Tokyo University.

How many religions are there in Japan? Only one person guessed 4, the rest mostly did not know what "religion" means.

Who founded any religion? Only 1 or 2 could answer - one answered Buddha but did not know which religion.

No one had heard of Shinto (not a "religion" according to Toshiko, but a "custom"). No one had heard of Confucius.

Would you like to get married when you grow up? 7 boys and 4 girls did not want to marry.

Is arranged marriage or love marriage better? All the girls said love marriage, while only 1 boy said arranged marriage.

How many children would you like?

Girls: one of each sex = 10, two girls = 1, two boys and one girl = 1.

Boys: one of each = 5, two boys and one girl = 9, two girls and one boy = 1, two boys = 2.

Japanese lectures

Attended a lecture by Kenichi which was much like an English lecture - chalk and talk. Students tended to come in late and one was reading a computer magazine, but otherwise they were quite attentive.

Role of education in Japanese modernisation

Talked to an Assoc. Prof. of Sociology of Education at Tokyo University, who was interested in the way in which education in Japan since the Meiji period has been used to encourage modernisation. He thought that schools now, with their punctuality, meritocracy, orderliness, etc. fitted well with the Protestant ethic.



School lunch in Subaru's class

4th July 1990

Had lunch with Toshiko and Masako, a law lecturer whom we met the day before yesterday. Learnt from her that the agricultural programme in Hokkaido was a total failure. They had tried dairy farming, but it was not economic to do so. Probably the long winters when cows would be unproductive and need shelter, but she also added that Hokkaido couldn't produce enough fodder. Thus, although a little milk is produced and sold here, much of it is imported from Australia. Incidentally, yesterday the children indicated by their votes that they

would rather go to Australia than America. In fact, Australia was the most popular place apart from home for them. Toshiko later told Alan that this was because, although Hawaii used to be the favourite place for honeymoons, now it was Australia, so the children think of it as a kind of paradise. We talked about child abuse. Masako thought it might be common. She told us that the figures for rape were higher in percentage to those for England. Toshiko always looks disbelieving, but doesn't counter these comments.

Earlier we'd managed to trace the villages that Isabella Bird visited, on the map with Toshiko's help, so will try to follow her tracks ourselves. Would be interesting to spend some time travelling in Japan now we have the chance, and the funds to do so.

NOTES

The relation between feudalism and kinship

After reading Peter Duus' book on Feudalism in Japan, it is clear that as far back as records go, the Japanese case illustrates well the M.Bloch theory that feudalism occurs when kinship is weak (bilateral). Again and again through Japanese history it would have been possible for the society to break down into clanship groupings. If there had been a principle of agnatic descent, or even non-unilineal kindreds as in Scotland, they would have formed into blocks. But there was not, so that, as in north-western Europe, feudalism was related to the weakness of kinship and bilaterality.

The Ainu and predatory feudalism

The Japanese expansion over Japan and destruction of aboriginal peoples (e.g. the Ainu), seems to parallel the Anglo-Saxon expansion over Britain and the destruction of the aboriginal peoples (Celts). Indeed the Celts and Ainu have certain common features (a rich mythical life, matrilineal tendency, high status of women), etc.

What was the Japanese 'miracle' and how did it occur?

The Meiji restoration was a 'miracle' because out of an apparently unpropitious background (a minority revolt, mainly conservative and anti-foreigner), there came an outburst of energy and pro-western, pro-democratic, radical movement. It is impossible to explain, unless one sees, as does Fukuzawa a little, the deeper separation of spheres and latent 'modernism' of Japan, which had only been patched over by the Tokugawa.

5th July 1990

Had a discussion about the Japanese Diet and how it was elected. The main party, the Liberal Democrats, have no party machinery at the ward level. Its members fund their own campaigns, are self-appointed, and set up their own support groups in the wards. Five persons are elected to each ward. The Liberal Democrats stand as independents, and if elected are invited to sit on the Liberal Democrat benches. The Socialist party does have an organisation and selects its candidates. They are generally put up one per ward while there are many independents. The latter usually get three of the five seats, the Socialists, their one, and one other. This means that it is almost impossible to dislodge the Liberal Democrats.

Had lunch with Toshiko and talked further of the Japanese kinship and family system. She found copies of the works of Fukuzawa, the subject of her research, which are most interesting. I started reading his thoughts about women's roles. They show a eugenics theme, but are a very useful reflection of the status of women in the late nineteenth century.

Think we might stay in Japan until 6th August so that we can take the opportunity to see as much as possible as we may never get another chance.

6th July 1990

Sunnier today so left our macs behind though we took our umbrellas, just in case. Alan went off, on bike, with Kenichi to visit a crammer. He described it as much more opulent than the University, with much more use of satellite TV, etc. All designed for students who want to get into university, to get them through the university entrance exam. They have tests each week and can gauge how well they are doing by a general computer

analysis of their marks set against a huge cohort of similar examinees. Back by lunch, which we had with a nice educational sociologist from Tokyo University.

Alan has worked out a revised plan with Kenichi which will mean that we stay until 6th August, and so see more of Osaka, Kyoto, Nara and Tokyo. We would leave here on 26th July and go first to Osaka. Kenichi thinks that the British Council will pay for the lot, including hotels - good if they did.

I went off to the library to continue reading "Japanese Women in Turmoil", a report for a business concern, but interesting, especially when read alongside Fukazawa's work. Before that, Alan and I went to the Co-op to post cards and buy the remaining food for tomorrow night's meal.

NOTES

Visit to a crammer Visited a "cramming college" with Kenichi, called Yoyogi Zamizar?, which prepares people for university entrance. A huge (6+ storey) building, very plush and comfortable and obviously well financed. It has been active for some ten years, in Sapporo, while the main branch started about 32 years ago. It prepares people for both National and Private Universities, but this one does so mainly for Hokkaido University. There is a sort of simple entrance exam for about 80 percent of the candidates. The main teaching methods are lectures, with lots of model papers to be done - about 50 in the year. There is indeed an obsession with exam techniques and second-guessing to questions. Most of the 4,000 or so students live in their own accommodation, but there are about 248 dormitory places. The proportion of men to women

_____ Crammer__Hokkaido_University
Men____80_percent____70_percent
Women__20_percent____30_percent

Fees are very high. Those for the course for National Universities are 580,000Y per annum, those for Private Universities are 560,000Y per annum. This compares to some 300,000Y per annum for Hokkaido University and up to 1,000,000Y per annum for Private Universities (at the time we were there 255Y = £1 sterling)

They cover all the subjects which are taught at University and some 50 percent of those who enter Universities come from these crammers.

The salaries of those who work at these places is high - up to five or ten times a University salary. But the work is hard as well - up to 25 hours a week of lecturing (>< 4 hours a week in the University). There are only two women lecturers out of 60.

Satellite teaching is obviously a prestigious attraction, occurring every day between 10 and 11. They use large flat screens (two) and a parallel text which the students have. The equipment is very expensive.

The average course failure rate (for getting into university) is: failure after 1 year - 70 percent; failure after 2 years - 20-30 percent. Some go on to a third year. The courses last one year, and are then repeated in the next year. Thus, a student who stays for two years does the course twice.

The University system

I was told that there was very little Government pressure on the National Universities, nor any of the tendencies of British Universities. The staff-student ratio is about 1:12 in Hokkaido University Faculty of Law (staff = 50, students = some 232 per annum for 2.5 years of a 4-year course (1.5 years in Liberal Arts), about 50 Doctor's and Master's students. This is one of the best University ratios. At Tokyo, the ratio is about 1:35 (though students are better) with about the same staff, but 670 students per annum.

Corruption is rife, particularly in the Private Universities, with people entering through money payments, use of personal contacts, etc. There is considerable pressure from crammers to try to find out/anticipate exam questions. Hence "spying" occurs, with crammers trying to find which books a lecturer has recently read, scrutinising rubbish bins, etc. Thus they have to be very careful

Selection of books at the crammer bookshop

A small paperback section in English. About one quarter were serious novels by Orwell ("1984"), Salinger, Shakespeare, et al. The other three-quarters seemed to be children's stories - particularly

girls - including "Pippi Longstocking", "Pippi goes Abroad", "Charlotte's Web", "Mary Poppins", "Anne of Green gables" series, "Pollyanna" series, "Black Beauty", "Lassie Come Home", "Huckleberry Finn", "Robinson Crusoe", "Emil and the Detectives". Very strange!

7th July 1990

Very dull, misty, morning. Read more of Fukazawa and Benedict, and finished the Ainu section of Isabella Bird. After lunch we took a walk over the field behind our flat, into a suburb. Houses very much individual design on a theme. Obviously they are all built in the same way from the same materials - wooden structure, covered with cement and metal - but there are very few 'copies', only in the blocks of what looks like municipal housing. Many have gardens, mainly trees and large climbing plants, but some have vegetable patches as well. They feel pretty luxurious, but, at the same time, temporary. We saw several houses and flats, perhaps 10-20 years old, boarded up and cracking. Sapporo is much given to pulling down and rebuilding. Not much recycling of anything, even houses.

Toshiko, Kenichi and children came for supper. Brought us a melon, tuna fish in the rice left over from making 'saki' - a delicacy, and biscuits made by Toshiko. Luckily we were able to respond with a bottle of whisky we got at Gatwick. After our melon, we ate at the table while the children ate beside the TV.

Learnt about Japanese holidays - hardly rituals - many of them no longer observed or understood. Kenichi did admit to being moved by visiting the shrine, even though he sees himself as a non-believer. They talked about weddings. Hotels arrange the whole thing, from choice of service - Shinto, Buddhist, Christian - to reception, to packaged honeymoon, depending on how much you can afford to pay. They were amused at the thought of Alan investigating through participating. Of course, the simplest way is to have a party at which you inform your friends, and just register for marriage at the town hall or registry.

Burials have a little more formality. They do sit beside the coffin on the first night - similar to a wake. But they have funeral parlours which function as ours do with grades of funeral and coffins. At the crematorium, they are directed to the right pyre (one of ten) where their relative is burnt, then they remove the ashes and bones which they keep to put in the family tomb. Toshiko's father died quite recently, and Kenichi made fun of her distress and tears, which she took in good part. He described how her brother-in-law's father arranged everything, and let slip that Toshiko's father was a poor man - a hardworking railwayman, I think. Toshiko tried to stop him revealing this fact. She is proud of her grandmother who is a Samurai, so the respectable relatives are remembered.

Toshiko's brother works for Toshiba. He has worked for it since university. He wakes at 6am, goes to work at 7am and doesn't return until 11pm. Apparently many crucial workers do this, the ordinary office staff working more normal hours. At particularly busy times some firms keep their key workers at the plant, sleeping them in the little cubicles we'd heard of, so they don't see their families, sometimes for months at a time.

Alan asked, therefore, why did they bother to marry at all? Kenichi said that home, particularly when cared for by a Japanese housewife, was much more comfortable and inviting. Toshiko said that many young women were not getting married now. Kenichi added that this was worrying for young men as they couldn't assume that they'd find wives. Also, in time it will worry the Government. Already the birth-rate is below replacement rate. Toshiko shows a certain ambivalence about marriage. She screwed up her nose when talking about their marriage, and having to take the name 'Nakamura'.

Kenichi talked about his old Tokyo University supervisor - the only man who frightens him a little. He described, laughingly, how he bows his head whenever he speaks with him on the phone, and can sense the particular ring of the phone when it is him calling. His wife, who gave up her own career to act as her husband's secretary, tries to persuade Toshiko to do the same, much to Toshiko's amusement. She does not feel the same awe, neither does her own supervisor have the same effect on her as Kenichi's.

Felt that they talked in a very relaxed and open way. One senses, as Kenichi and Toshiko often affirm, that they are "rebels" in some respects. Kenichi said he had done a lecture for the crammer he took Alan to see, after which they offered him a job, paying ten-times his present salary. He rejected their offer. Despite the power of money, he still has ideals. They left about 10.15pm.

8th July 1990

Read throughout the morning and after an early lunch went to the Botanical Garden to see the Ainu Museum there. Rather small and disappointing. Just one room with a few simple artefacts, but no use of photographs or maps, or any real sense of people at all. The garden nice - mainly trees, and just a few flowers, a rose garden in particular, but quite unkempt compared to an English garden.

Walked back to the Nakamuras where we had tea with three other guests. Table laid with strange-looking Japanese cakes, savoury biscuits, Toshiko's variant on rock buns, and cherries. Drank cold tea which we learn has an addition of wheat. Conversation relaxed, though the Nakamuras the only reasonable English speakers.

Much talk on love and its absence in Japan. Kenichi again affirmed that he'd never felt love. Another man said he'd known his wife since he was fifteen, before he'd really grown up. Seemed that Toshiko was aware that their marriage at the start lacked a necessary element and accused Kenichi of being weak. The description sounded just like our concept of love. Kenichi rather charmingly said that he'd got a better idea of what it might be after reading Alan's book on marriage.

Later, when walking home, we wondered if it was just that love has just not been put under the microscope here as in England. Ruth Benedict's book describes 'giri' as a generalised sense of duty to persons other than the individual's family. At first sight it looked odd, but on thinking about it, we have just the same feelings but haven't analysed them so acutely. So may be just a difference in perception of what love is rather than a total lack.

Had a quick supper, then went down to the Stockwins for coffee. In fact, wine, biscuits, cakes and tea again. Nice people. Went to Oxford in 1981, to run the Nissan Unit. Before that at ANU. Arthur Stockwin was at Oxford until 1959, then did his Ph.D. from an Australian university. His wife is an amateur potter, and that is her main interest in Japan. She doesn't come into the University. Back by 11.00pm., very tired.

NOTES

Ritual, ethics, etiquette, ceremonial and icons

We had dinner with the Nakamuras and asked them about rituals in modern Japan. They described about a dozen annual rituals, for ancestors, good luck and so on. They admitted, however, that they only did a few of them and that they were hazy about the origins and meaning of most of them. Furthermore, if they did not do them, it would not matter. In other words, they were like Easter or Christmas in England - mainly secular ceremonies. They claimed that the great change had occurred in the 1960's, when rituals had declined and faded away and there had been many other massive social changes.

Of the life-cycle rituals, marriage could be as formal/ritualistic or simple as one liked. One went to a hotel which provided a menu of choices, Buddhist, Shinto, Christian, informal, and arranged the food/priest/honeymoon etc. In the simplest form, one just filled in a government form with some witnesses and had a party.

In the burial, more elaborate things were done; relatives sat round for one night with the corpse, it was accompanied to the crematorium where, after burning, the bones were taken out with chopsticks, then a meal was eaten with the ashes/bones present, then the ashes were put in a family 'grave'.

Thus, in general, the situation in modern urban Japan is much like that in modern urban Britain; there is quite a bit of 'secular' religion, but little real ritual.

Kinship as a hegemonic institution

It is, of course, difficult for kinship to be hegemonic once one has passed to literate/class societies except at the 'peasant' level, but since that level includes nine tenths of the population of most countries, it is still quite important. The really significant feature is whether the descent system and terminology can form people into effective groups, in other words provide the political and economic, as well as the reproductive, infrastructure of the society. Without this potential, then kinship cannot be 'king' in any sense.

There are, in fact, three major forms of kinship system known to anthropologists: unilineal systems which form groups; non-unilineal ancestor focused systems, as the Scots, which can, slightly less efficiently, form groups; non-unilineal, ego-focused systems, which cannot form into groups.

It is interesting that the two major civilizations which are the last of these - namely Europe (especially England) and Japan, should have evolved into 'modern' capitalist society. This may well be strongly connected with the fact that they never became 'familistic' societies. Japan did try to move as far as possible in this direction with its emphasis on filial piety, loyalty, hierarchy etc. But there is only a certain way one can push this before it collapses. The 'glue', in the absence of a proper agnatic system, is not strong enough. China, with agnatic groups, or India, did not suffer from this problem.

Political institutions and hegemony

'Politics' or the political structure, of course, only comes into its own after the institutionalization of politics in the State, in other words about 8000 B.C. with the founding of 'State' societies. Thereafter the tendency is towards absolutism, that is towards making the State the infrastructure, encompassing everything. Manifestations of this are widespread in history, for instance the Inca/Aztec in South America; Rome in certain phases; the Ancien Regime states in Europe; China (Confucianism); India (oriental despotism); Communist/Fascist states in the twentieth century.

Off-hand, I can only think of four exceptions, in other words developed political systems where the State has refrained from absolutism, or been forced to refrain from it, by counter-veiling powers of certain kinds. These are Greece, Rome (in certain phases), feudal states, modern democracies.

One of the most interesting of these is feudalism, since it seems to be a way of ruling a country, binding together the parts, without falling into complete absolutism. Within feudalism, we have to separate sharply two kinds or types: the 'dissolution of the state' type which Bloch described, where power is lost to the periphery, or that curious 'centralized feudalism' of which England is the best example, where the State is fairly, but not too powerful. In this latter type, there is a mixture of centralism and diffusion of responsibility, a balance of powers. In this situation, the benefits of unity, peace and centralism are achieved without the stifling costs of absolutism.

Religion as a hegemonic institution

It is obvious that religion, per se, cannot act as the 'infrastructure', except where it enters into alliance with some other institution, for example with kinship (India), ending as caste, with kinship (China), ending up as Confucian solidarity, with politics (Ancien regime Europe or Inca/Aztecs or Islam or Thailand) where it ends up as the 'inquisitorial State'. In its modern form, as secularized ideology (Marxism), it can do so again as in Stalinist Russia, Pol Pot and Khmer Rouge, or modern China.

This seems to be an almost natural tendency: a state-religious 'concordat' is formed, when they ally to divide the spoils. Thus to rebel against the church is to rebel against the State and vice versa. This is pretty apparent in the Confucian ethic, in Communism, in Islam and in Roman Catholicism.

To my knowledge, there is only one religious tradition which has departed from this - and this is Christianity, and particularly the Protestant tradition within it. For whatever reason, from very early on it tried to divide politics and religion ("Render unto Caesar, that which is Caesar's..."), and its early years saw a stormy contest between religion and politics (with its founder and many followers being persecuted by the State). This followed an earlier history of tension, perhaps arising from the historical fact that the Jews were a religious and radical minority within a non-Jewish State?

This tension continued up through the history of Christianity within the Roman Empire, the Puritans etc. It gave a certain brand of Christianity an heretical and radical tendency within the State. (An interesting side-issue of this is the Manichean heresy, which carried this tendency to its extreme, separating entirely this material world and another, spiritual world, into a stark dichotomy. Indeed, Manichean thought, which re-remerges in Protestantism, is an important element in the final disenchantment of the world, driving a wedge between matter and spirit at the religious level in a way analogous to Cartesian logic at the philosophical level).

How can one explain this "peculiar modesty" (Gellner) which meant that religion (Protestant) did not enter into a conspiracy with the State, but acted instead as a countervailing force?

The closest analogy again seems to be in Japan. Although Buddhism, Shinto, Confucianism lent some support to the State, and Christianity, as a threat to the Tokugawa, was quickly stamped out as too subversive, their power was rather slight (having little hold over the Japanese mind) and hence when they set up their banner alongside the State they did not bring in much support. Furthermore, they were rather tolerant and passive and loving religions - not a very good basis for draconian measures unlike Catholicism or Islam, which are proselytizing and see the world in black and white terms.

The other element concerns the content of the religion. Christianity is an ethicized religion, with plenty of advice on living, but little emphasis (at least in its New Testament version) on ritual and miracles. It is

here unlike Hinduism, which is much more ritualistic, and much more like Buddhism of an abstract (e.g. New Religions, and Zen) flavour - though forms of Tantric Buddhism become quite ritualistic and can support powerful kingdoms (as Tambiah on Thailand).

Economy and Demography as hegemonic

Since this is taken to be the thing to be explained (the explicandum), it is not certain how much attention should be paid to this sphere. One might take two views. On the one hand, one might argue that the 'feebleness' of the technology (Gellner) means that it was not a prey to the predatory political powers of coercion, and that what was important was its low level (as opposed, for example, to the 'high level equilibrium trap' of China). Or one could argue that the growth of quite a strong, but independent economy ('free' cities as described by Pirenne, long-distance trade; widespread use of money etc), was important since it gave the economy resilience and power over and beyond itself. Both arguments are probably true in different ways.

One could easily list a number of tangential points which could be made about some of the correlates of the particular economies, which made the 'escape' possible. These include:

- a high emphasis on textiles (wool in England; silk in Japan)
- high level of cheap transport (water in each case)
- considerable variants of ecology in a short distance, thus encouraging trade in both cases
- a fairly mixed agriculture in both cases (though Japan was more of a rice monoculture)
- quite a lot of non-human power in England (water/wind) after the twelfth century or so
- a high level of 'proto-industry' in both cases (small scale)
- relatively light taxation (a political factor), certainly in England, and how far in Japan?
- absence of a strictly domestic mode of production, in other words the presence of a manorial organization on top of the family
- a feudalized ownership structure, with 'layers' of ownership
- primogeniture and single-heir succession, which encouraged the growth and continuity of estates
- the absence of total family property ('restraint lignager')
- freedom of credit, absence of worry about borrowing
- relatively free market in land
- widespread markets and shops
- an 'agricultural revolution' in both countries (in both starting in the sixteenth century) which increased productivity hugely
- relatively slow population growth and increasing wealth in both countries over the two or three centuries before industrialization, followed by a very rapid population growth during industrialization, as labour is needed.

Thus there are a considerable number of similarities of England and Japan, though many would rightly also apply many of these to much of northern France, northern Italy, Catalonia, parts of Germany and Spain.

The predilection for market domination, consumerism etc, is thus present in most of these instances and was probably about equally realized in fourteenth century England and fourteenth century Japan. Thereafter, their ways divided. England continued in peace and openness and expanded outwards through its Empire, and through scientific and technological advances. Japan closed itself and cut off these potentials. When the two did meet again (England through the proxy of America) in the later nineteenth century, there was a huge gap on the surface - e.g. in technological sophistication. But Japan was now centralized (a legacy of the Tokugawa), peaceful, and much wealthier in its agriculture and internal industry. When it reformed its polity and education and technology along western lines, after the Meiji restoration, it very rapidly made up for lost ground.

Society as determining

There would appear to be three main options here in terms of social ranking. One can have unequal and permanent differences, as in systems of 'caste' and permanent 'estates' based on blood. One can have unequal relations, but temporary differences, based on wealth, and hence what one might call class. And one could have equality, with very minor temporary differences (as supposedly in the U.S.A.).

The basic premise of most societies is the 'premise of inequality' that all relationships are unequal from birth. Thus one has inequality of men and women, rich and poor, powerful and weak etc. But this tends to take two major forms.

There are societies based on the premise of 'natural inequality', and those based on the premise of 'natural equality'. Within each there are two types. Within 'natural inequality', there is the natural inequality of groups, which are immovable - as in caste and estates. This accounts for most agrarian civilizations (e.g. India, China, eighteenth century France). Or there is the natural inequality of individuals in relation to other individuals, as is the peculiar Japanese case.

With the premise of 'natural equality', there is the case where there is very considerable de facto inequality, caused by wealth and education, as in England. Then there are the inequalities where these are minimized or attempts made to eradicate them entirely, as in America or Revolutionary France.

Looked at from this perspective, England and Japan both lie in the middle. Both tend towards dynamic volatility, since it is always possible to change your position in the system. Yet it is still conceived of as a ranked, if not a hierarchical (in Dumont's sense) society. What happened at the Meiji restoration was to reverse the tendency of the Tokugawa and to proclaim the de jure 'natural equality', on the English and American model. Modern Japan is the result.

Another major division concerns the relations between individual and group. Here one might distinguish between the two extremes of pure individualism (USA) and pure holism (India). Most societies lie between these two extremes, as did England and Japan. What is difficult, is to tease apart these two cases.

In the English case, the individual was a separate world of rights, considered complete in him/her self in religion, law, economics etc. Yet he or she was also a citizen, which meant that s/he was also a matrix of responsibilities to other peoples. Thus one had something that one could envisage as an immense network of nodes or balls, connected by lines to others, forming responsibilities and duties to them, with a developed sense of "public responsibility" etc. In Japan, the effect was not dissimilar, though the 'group' pull was a little larger. Here, rather than numerous vertical and lateral relationships as in England (fellows, friends, deference, noblesse d'oblige), only one direction was stressed, namely Chie Nakane's vertical society. This meant that there were unequal, and roughly homologous, relations of: husband/wife, parent/child, ruler/ruled, boss/worker. All these were vertical ties. Thus people were still not really absorbed into groups, except those created through loyalty to a single superior. Once that superior was gone, the group ended.

What holds a society together?

In the majority of societies, what holds the society together, i.e. provides integration, is either blood (kinship), or blood in association with something else (e.g. caste). What is very unusual is when a society cannot do this through kinship (being bilateral), and therefore has to use other mechanisms. In England, it seems to have been through the law, the State and, to a certain extent, through money and paper. In Japan, the legal system and the monetary system were not sufficiently advanced to do this, so instead they used three mechanisms: filial piety (ko) - to parents and Emperor, honour and duty (giri) and the loyalty to the 'House' (ie). Also very strong were ceremonial, etiquette and art. All these were very important in Japan in a world where money/law were underdeveloped. The 'glue' in Japanese society might be said to be etiquette and ceremony, and 'filial duty'. The 'glue' in England was law and money.

9th July 1990

Lunched with both Nakamuras. After lunch met Prof. Stockwin and another man and went to the Government building. Hokkaido forms one Prefecture, and this is the seat of Local Government. Very impressive building. As everywhere, huge and new, the old building standing beside this looking perfectly serviceable, but Sapporo, above all, seems to like the New. After an introductory talk by a politician, we were taken to the main council chamber and watched the Communist member, the only woman, present questions to the Governor. These are printed beforehand, and so are the Governor's answers, so all pretty repetitive, and one is tempted to say, unnecessary, but this is the way our own Prime Minister's questions are handled now.

After this, we went to various departments. Each had an area with a sofa and chairs where we could sit in peace, and the departmental representatives described their departments. Each department also supplied drink - but a variety - some tea (cold), but one milk, and another hot, green tea. They also gave us mountains of printout and brochures. Those for the development department most amazing. They even plan a space platform here as well as high-speed trains throughout the island.

In the agricultural department, we learnt something of the anguish felt by the Japanese over the American pressure on them to allow the importation of American rice. Despite Masako's contention that agriculture failed on Hokkaido, we got the impression that the opposite was the case. Rice grows there, so do semi-tropical foods as well as fruit and dairy farming. Seventy-five percent of Hokkaido's inhabitants are farmers, who rely on their farming, or others who also depend on agriculture for a major part of their income. Japanese rice is subsidised but is five times as expensive as American rice, so the Americans will completely undercut them. By attacking rice, the U.S. are really attacking the most important aspect of Japanese life - the heart of their culture - so it is a particularly aggressive act, not just a trade adjustment. In all, stayed at the Government building until after 6.00pm., then walked back with Prof. Stockwin.

10th July 1990

Took the computer man and wife to lunch, rather, we paid, but they took us to a 'tempura' restaurant above a department store. Food rather uninspiring and very expensive. The husband comes from a Shinto priestly family. His father is a headmaster, but when he dies the son will move to the family house and take over the role of priest at the shrine, and try to get a job in the same area. We discussed the meaning of Shintoism. It seems to be the worship of nature, plus the ancestors, who all become gods. The greatest god until after the war, was the Emperor. The Meiji period saw the elevation of Shintoism to the state religion, but its strong contention that the Emperor was a god led to its disestablishment after the war, and now it is just one religion among many.

Reading the reference in the encyclopaedia later, the stress was less on nature worship, but rather an historical account of Shintoism, its convergence with Buddhism, and its parting during the Meiji period. Learnt that shrines were built at significant natural spots though, such as the edge of a stream where it joined another, or below a mountain, so that it was, as in Sapporo, the highest point of a settlement, with houses and land below. This was because it was the bridge between life - land and man - and death - the forest where the ancestors lived. The Shinto ceremonies are done to call down the gods and spirits, to commune with them. It has ritual preparation of food as part of the ceremony which is later eaten by the community, as though they were feeding the gods.

The computer man later told Alan that people follow Shintoism as they fear it. If the gods are not placated, then things will not go well. Thus, workmen insist when putting up a building, that a priest is called to bring down the gods - to bless it? The big difference between it and Christianity is that the benefit is general rather than particular. Individuals do not attempt to pray for themselves, but rather the ritual has a general good effect for man. Reading Munro's book on the Ainu, one sees that they had a pretty similar form of nature worship, in some ways just as complex in its rituals, but whereas Shintoism was acceptable, Ainu beliefs were categorised as savage.

Alan trying to write lectures, but our time getting used up in prospective visits to this or that place. All very interesting, but not too good for work. He may have to write his two seminar papers over the weekend.

NOTES

Discussion on Shintoism with Kowato We asked whether Shinto is a religion? I discussed this with Kowato, a University academic and fully trained Shinto priest. When I said that many people did not think of Shinto as a religion, he agreed that it was not, for it has no dogma, nor does it have any particular ethics. Thus, when he went on a one-month course, which is all one needs to become a Shinto priest, the "ethics" part consisted of chunks of Immanuel Kant. In fact, Shinto consists solely of what he described as "the manners of the ceremonies", that is various ceremonies to call down numerous godlings, the ancestors etc. These are nature gods, spirits of famous dead person, who are worshipped at the numerous shrines. Before the Meiji restoration, many of them had no particular names. They were gods of the village etc. There is little difference between the graves and the shrines.

Old people, he said, of his father's generation, often kept a Buddhist shrine, but this is not so common now. Before the Meiji restoration, there was an amalgam of Buddhism and Shinto. Since then, they have been separated and Buddhism was down-graded

The aim of the ceremonies does not seem to be deeply ritualistic; nothing is sacrificed, and no particular good is aimed for. It is a general ceremony, to 'clear the mind', to make people feel better, to create well-being and order in a generalised way. For instance, if one's child is ill or animal sick or business venture is precarious, one would not go to a Shinto shrine for solace. It is merely a place to draw strength and power (like the metal 'cadmium', he said, it emanates power). Thus a Shinto ceremony is done before building a house or factory to create a generalised good fortune. If it were not done, the workers would be anxious that some form of disaster might befall.

It is thus a very "intellectual", non-manipulative and generalised form of ceremonial: it is a sort of "tea-ceremony with the spirits". Through orderly ceremonial, one maintains with the spirits the sort of orderly and respectful relations that a man tries to maintain with his family. It is a very Durkheimian relationship - though the 'effervescence' of religion is strictly kept in check.

I wrote a report and request to the British Council, requesting them to extend the visit and allow us to travel to the south.

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10.7.90

Dear Mr. Jenkins,

We arrived safely in Japan and have been busily engaged in meeting people, reading, and absorbing many new impressions. Our hosts have been extremely helpful and kind and we are having an extremely stimulating and productive time. Hokkaido is an excellent place to start to understand Japan, since much of it is fairly new and familiar, while other aspects are intriguingly different. We have been discussing with Professor Nakamura in what ways our experience should be supplemented by a period of travel to other parts of Japan, and I thought it would be helpful if I explained the plan which we have jointly come up with.

My main interests in coming to Japan could briefly be summarized as follows:

- i. to visit as many museums and displays as possible in order to study their techniques and technology and educational content. I have recently been involved in new museum techniques which have been used in a display in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge (opened last week by the Duke of Edinburgh). In particular I am interested to see the use of audio-visual aids, since we have developed the first (tribal) interactive videodisc for use in Museums in Europe (see Enclosure one).
- ii. to meet and talk to people who are interested in advanced information retrieval systems for micro-computers. We have been developing a new kind of database system, called the 'Cambridge Database System' (see Enclosure two), and want to see what is happening along these lines in Japan.
- iii. to find out as much as possible about the history and culture of Japan up to the Meiji restoration. In various books I have suggested a model of how England developed into a capitalist country and Japan provides a very important contrast, sharing many features, but with important differences.

iv. to find out, as a social anthropologist interested in contemporary Third World and First World countries (for instance with my work on Nepal), how Japanese society works today.

In terms of these four aims, Hokkaido is an excellent place to start with iv (Japan Today), and we are being shown round schools, "crammer" colleges, law courts, government offices, the local parliament etc., and hope to visit the farming regions. In terms of iii, the chance to look through a good library and meet and talk to scholars in the University, and give and attend seminars, is extremely helpful. We are also able to talk to some people about information retrieval systems, though have not found out much going on as yet.

In terms of museology, however, Hokkaido has little to offer and we are advised that the two major places to go are Osaka (the National Ethnographic ^{Logical} Museum) and Tokyo National Museum. There is also a good ethnographic museum at Nara (the Nara Prefectural Ethnographic Museum), and there are a number of good museums in Kyoto, particularly shrine museums.

In terms of computers, modern databases etc., we need to visit Tokyo. We have already arranged to spend time with Professor Nakamura's brother-in-law, who has worked for twenty years in research in Toshiba. If you have any other contacts in that world who could show me something of the 'state of the art' in this field I would be most delighted.

In terms of learning about the history and culture of Japan before the late nineteenth century, the best place for books, we are told, is in the second-hand book markets in Tokyo, which we hope to visit. In order to get a proper feel for the older Japan we need to visit cities that have retained some of the pre-Meiji architecture and artefacts; here Kyoto and Nara are the obvious choices.

Finally, in terms of contemporary Japan, some travel in other regions of Japan would give us a better feel for areas which are not just the product of very recent colonialization.

In terms of individual contacts, we have the names of someone (who is a friend of a colleague) at Osaka NME, Shigehu Tanabe, but have not contacted him. If you could do so, or know of any other contacts, that might be helpful. In Kyoto and Nara, again, we have no particular contacts, though it would be interesting to visit the University in Kyoto. In Tokyo we have several contacts, including former students from Cambridge, the translator of one of my books into Japanese. But you mentioned the possibility of meeting Prof. Chie Nakane, and that would indeed be interesting. We shall book a flight to Osaka, and then travel by train. If it is possible for you to make any bookings for the ~~other~~ nights, and in particular make arrangement (of a reasonable kind of course), that would be most helpful. Professor Nakamura tried the International Guest House, but it was full: Our planned dates are:

26th July: leave Sapporo, by air to Osaka, spend one night
27th July: travel in evening to Nara, spending nights of 27,28,29
30 July: go to Kyoto and spend nights of 30,31 and 1st Aug.
2nd August: go to Tokyo and spend nights of 2,3,4,5
6th August, fly to England.

Does this seem reasonable? Would the British Council be able to contribute towards this? Any help and advice you can give us would be most welcome.

Yours sincerely, *AM* *CP*, Alan Macfarlane (Dr)

*hotel
for Tokyo*

11th July 1990

Spent much of the day in court. First the High Court - Sapporo has one of the eight High Courts in Japan. Saw three cases in all. One of tax avoidance, one of threatening behaviour, and the third of burglary. All three defendants had links with organised crime, with gangsters. Lunched with the Judges in a large banqueting hall where weddings are also carried out, near the Court. Very plush and unlike us. Mrs Stockwin blanched when she saw it. However, it looks as though we were treated to lunch, otherwise it would have been very expensive. Later went to the Family Court and saw a juvenile case. Alan and Stockwin went back to write lectures, but Mrs Stockwin came with Masako and I. (Not much written here about what we saw as I took notes at the time.) Very interesting, and as usual, very hospitably treated.

From notebook: Law courts. (Sarah)

Woman Assistant Judge of the Criminal Court. 24,000 judges in Japan, ten per cent are women. 200 practising lawyers in Sapporo.

Income tax case. Three judges. All stand. No formal identification of the defendant, nor any preliminaries, i.e. rehearsal of the case. All this seems to be printed. Judges and clerks wear robes. Judge sitting in the middle was spokesman, but the others also interrogate. No symbols of Japan in court. The defendant was a real estate broker. Court has usher. Press only report interesting cases. Form - Prosecution - brief word. Defence - brief word. Defendant asked to sit before the judges. Spokesman questions defendant, then the other judges question him, watching his face. Nod. Guilty. Then long piece - Prosecutor asked for one and a half year's imprisonment and a large fine. The defence plea - health as a motive. Another party involved. Buyer notorious - 'jiage-ya' one who buys land by coercion. Why no other witnesses, e.g. buyer? No family in court? Evaded tax of 161,854,000Y. Only fine asked for 30,000,000Y - a quarter to a third. Similar to our tax evasion. Q. Is the prosecution evidence published beforehand? We have heard no evidence against the defendant.

This at least second day. Did the nod between judges signify that they found the defendant guilty, otherwise why did Prosecution ask for one and a half year's imprisonment and a fine? Defence refers to age. Born in the thirties - hunger, impoverishment, etc. Also defendant fears he has cancer and wants to leave money for his family. Defendant further asks for an accountant to check his reported income. Q. To decrease fine? Asks for leniency, so the judges must have indicated his guilt. Defence said that defendant was not an estate agent by profession but managed land for others and was persuaded to arrange the transaction. He is a philanthropist on the board of trustees of a private university and has done many social activities. The case was reported widely and he has already suffered. Defendant brought back to the witness box. Defence asked for probation. Judgment to be given 29th July.

Second court. Only one judge, a defender and prosecutor, and two policemen. First case - threatening behaviour. Owner of a parking lot who refused to let him park because he frightened customers. He is a 'yakuza' (gangster). Prosecution asks for one and a half years. Defence. This is a guilty plea - won't do it again - apologises. Says he was not exactly a gangster as he had retired! Had a proper job, but because of his arrest his wife and children had left and he had lost his job. Previous arrest records do not show him to be a gangster. No drug or violent offences. (In England, the fact of having a job is a mitigating factor due to high unemployment). Judgment to be given on 25th July. Appears to be on remand as the police take him away handcuffed, with a rope tied round his waist so that the guard can hold him by reins. Men on remand both had very short shaven hair. Theft. Had record of previous thefts for which he had served terms of imprisonment. The prosecutor rehearsed both his previous record and this case. Theft of cash and credit card, which he used. Also of plane tickets and a watch, and 200 beer tickets (i.e. tickets which are exchanged for beer). He had plans of the houses he entered. Left prison January 1990. Burglary, not theft. Another person involved. Prosecutor had a large file of papers relating to the case. He read extracts then handed to lot to the Judge, including photographs of the houses robbed, etc. Member of an organised gang. Cross-examination of defendant by the defence lawyer. Needed money to get a flat - rent - food. His friend left hospital without paying and he wanted to help this friend. The friend also engaged in burglary. Found job at Oshamanbe and had to go there. He went to Makai's house to retrieve money. Didn't intend to steal. Makai not there. Went in to get money he had lent Makai. Bought four plane tickets

by credit card (250,000Y) and exchanged them for cash (200,000Y) which he divided with friend. Got 100,000Y and bought furniture. Gave wristwatches to two friends. Didn't start job he said he had as didn't want to leave his friend who was unwell. Says he left the gangster organisation. Says he's very sorry. Says he'll try to work as a painter. Cross-examination by prosecutor. Denies entering the house with friend, but prosecutor said the friend had admitted doing so. Used credit card soon, before it could be reported. Bought tickets as easy to change them into cash. Took watches as his friends need some. Judge: "Do you know the minimum for a repeated offence is three years?". Pros: He had gloves on. The victims are asking for severe punishment of four years. Def: There is slight change of him leading a decent life, but he is aware that this may be his last chance. Of the 450,000Y, a certain amount was retrieved. Defendant to the witness box. Judge questions him. Will give judgment 25th July.

Family court Juvenile case

Family Court which deals with juvenile cases in a separate, less plush building. Court room much smaller - a quarter the size. Boy in young offenders institution for four weeks, on remand. Said to have stolen a car and the number plate. Considered very serious. Drove stolen car for about a month with friends' brother. Stopped - no documents, and sent to an institution. Had been driving every day since he stole the car. Aged 19. (Can apply for a car licence at 18, for a motorbike licence at 16). He failed the written examination for driving. His IQ 60-65. Hadn't been good at school. Has history of petty crime - shoplifting, using parents' money. Hasn't been in court before except for one case a year ago for injuring a person while driving. Then on probation. Probation ended in January. Motive - everyone else drove but he can't because of his IQ. All his life he's been interested in mechanical things - mending bikes and TVs.

His family circumstances: has an older sister who is married and not living with the family. His father is a carpenter - just likes to work. Old type. His mother does part-time work in a hospital, preparing meals. Has a younger sister 15-16 still at school. Thus he is the only person at home during the day - lonely - stole car to fill time. Average family. This is the first time he's been to an institution. Very sorry. Father wants to keep him as an apprentice carpenter with him, rather than sending him away to another institution. Dropped out of school at 16. Since then had temporary jobs in food stores. House painter, but disliked the smell of paint. Knows he wants a job. Willing to work. Registered with a gang though he's only been there once, but the 'organisation' doesn't want to let him go. This organisation like the mafia - into extortion, etc. Yokes. People sometimes pretend to be members to extort. In this case, gangsterism is not a real factor. As father is willing to take him as an apprentice, probation is likely until he comes of age at 20, but can be extended until he is 26. Juvenile courts deal with persons from 14-19. Adult courts take persons from 20.

Court Investigating Officer spoke with us. He marshals the facts for the Judge. The Judge was male. Four other persons, three men and a woman, came in just before (from the Institute for Judicial Research, training to be lawyers). All stand. Judge spoke to the defendant. Much more questioning and answering than in adult court. Boy admits that this is second time. "What about social responsibility? If you were an adult you'd go to prison". Earlier case also driving without a licence. "I have a very weak will". "Your parents suffered from the previous offence, they had to pay for the damage to the car you borrowed". "I didn't take it seriously. What is wrong and what not is not clear". This offence - no licence; shoplifting - not the first time. "Had time to think over what I've done while in the institution". "Wasn't it enough to be told by parents and police that it was wrong?" "At the institution I understood the seriousness of the offences". "Did anyone tell you what would happen if you repeat the offence?" "No". "Do you think you can continue to feel the way you did in the institution? Would it be better to send you to the penitentiary? Can you keep a promise?" "I promise not to miss a day in school". "Did you promise to be good, and were you able to keep the promise? You do not seem able to keep promises. Your job experience didn't last long". "The painting job lasted a year and five months because I promised my mother". "Were you interested in father's carpentry before?" "I thought I'd look for my own job". "Why didn't you take after your father and do his job?" He asked for one more chance as he will apprentice himself under his father. "What did you think of at the institution?" "The victim". "What about your parents?" "Yes, I'm sorry". "You need some deterrent feeling - sorry for the parents" (At this point mother started to cry). "You have to think and talk to yourself before doing things". (Defendant starts to cry). Judge addressed father. Notes that the defendant has made his parents cry. "He will be 20 next April. What do you think is the cause of

his juvenile behaviour?" "I don't understand. The family life is going well. He didn't really understand what is wrong and is not really living in the real world". "Did he seem very sorry at the institution?" "Yes. It was the first time he cried". Judge to mother. "It was the first time he wrote letters - in thinking period the boy thought he would not like to give trouble to his parents again". Judge read the police report. "The crime was planned, no feeling of repentance, involvement with gangsters, should be considered seriously and the boy should be sent to the penitentiary. He went to the gangsters' office once. He acts very lightly without thinking much. You have to observe what your father says, not just practising job, but about him, about your relationship". He made friends with the investigating officer instead of fearing him. The Investigating Officer reports: "Driving without a licence is a serious offence, but because of the attitude of repentance, and of parents' promise to look after him, will try to get driving licence as a social rule [presumably without written exam]. If you work properly you can buy a car". Judge reads out an essay written in penitentiary saying he was sorry, he did not think of family, will not make family unhappy. "I thought of sending you to penitentiary, but seeing you are sorry you will be put on probation".

12th July 1990

Went with Toshiko to see old peoples' homes. The first was for really infirm old people who need help dressing and feeding. It was on the edge of the wooded hills, but builders were extending it at both ends so it was rather a mess. Old people were put in little wards with six beds to each, with cupboards above to take some personal things but not a lot of room. The women's rooms tended to be brighter with paper flowers by their beds. While we talked, a largish group just sat around the TV. Rather depressing, but more because that is old age rather than this place in particular.

Later went over the road, into a much smarter place reminiscent of Abbeyfield⁶ even to the grey linoleum and the quirky angles. This was very pleasant, and one could see that people could live here happily. Only doubt was that there was not enough stimulation of a real sort to keep one's mind really active - (see notebook for a further account of both). Had lunch in the second - very pleasant.

Came back at 2.30pm. for Alan's first address to the faculty. Today he wore his suit. I went with Toshiko to arrange for Bracton Books name cards, then to see if we could get tickets for Osaka. We will have to get a refund at the JAL office in town. Felt a little tired, but were taken to see the archives - especially of the Ainu. Some marvellous drawings and paintings by Japanese artists depicting them.

NOTES

The institutions are of three types. 1. Nursing home - for old who cannot take care of themselves. 2. Homes for persons who need a little help. These are filled through official referral. For 1 & 2 elderly pay what they can. Cost made up from contribution from family, according to income reflected in tax. 3. For the elderly who can take care of themselves, sheltered accommodation. Old people refer themselves, and pay according to income based on tax. Only take those of limited means. Rich can't come here. All three types set up by law.

Type 1 home. 108 persons. 41 staff of whom 24 nursing, rest cooks, etc. 7-8 part-time staff. There was no state pension given before the war so children had to take care of parents. Now there is a state pension, so parents can live by themselves. This is a council home run by the City Government for persons who have no family to look after them. Referred here by social workers. All the money comes from the Government. People pay according to their income. There are 16 such homes in Sapporo housing 1550 persons only. (In the first home, there were five calendars in the office all set to July). There are few institutions for people who can't take care of themselves. Most are kept at home, some go to hospital and then to sanatoria, and if they get better, go home to their families. Here, the actual cost per month is 200,000Y. The residents pay between 20,000-180,000Y. Thirty per cent of the full cost is the average paid. There are 29 men and 83 women. Their average age is 80.5. Only people over 65 can enter, unless they are senile. If they get ill they are sent to hospital to die though if they really want to stay here, they can, but limited by nursing staff. Doctors come here twice a week and no

⁶ An English residential social care institution for old people.

nurses at night. Most have families. Some come, some don't. They try to encourage families but can cause tension as some people don't have any visitors. Good for mental health to see family. Some do come once a week. Can telephone families when they like and if they are well enough can go out with families or stay overnight. Families spend an hour or two. Some bring gifts for everyone in the room. Try to get families to take old people out at New Year or All Souls. Only about twenty per cent do go out. The number of homes is growing. The Government have a 10 year plan and are building one a year in Sapporo. The Government plan for old people is that they should be looked after at home with social workers helping. Toshiko opposed to this as women have to stay at home to care for them. This place has volunteer help from a Christian church. They do odd jobs and help with clubs.

Type 2 home. Interview with Director. Again this is a Christian association. Has 50 inhabitants with four sets of husband and wife. The Director is a member of YMCA. There is fee of 55,000Y per month. All meals served. There is a subsidy from the Government. The total cost is 90,000,000Y a year, 60,000,000Y coming from the Government subsidy. People come here from aged about 60. The main reason they come here is because of difficulty at home. Children grow up - need own room - space wanted - so older persons pushed out. Persons with incomes of less than 3,000,000Y can come, even if they own their own house. There are six homes of this type. (The third type is just for living and provides no food). There are 13 staff, the Director, 4 care workers, 1 nurse, cooks, nutritionist and janitor. This place is particularly for those who no longer want to cook for themselves, or can't. Old women make friends but old men can't. Serious problem for men. They can't communicate with each other, so sit and look at the wall. There are 15 men, 11 without wives, the rest are women. Some male residents fall in love with women and want to leave to set up home. But sometimes there are tensions caused by love triangles. There are many old women, widowed by the war after six months or so of marriage. They have lived repressed lives, then come here and relax, then fall in love. A second adolescence. But children often try to prevent marriages as it complicates things for them. If they do fall in love and it becomes difficult, they must leave, so guarantor must be told, i.e. family. They come here with a guarantor in the beginning. All residents are equal, but there is always someone who wants to be leader. Women and men both break into factions. When the home opened they elected their leader. Then broke up into five 'tables' with a 'headman' "mura". Ten per cent of the residents have children coming to see them once a week. Ten per cent have them coming once a month. Thirty per cent once in three months. Twenty per cent once in 6-12 months. Thirty per cent have no one, or their relatives live too far away. There are some who do have relative nearby, but relations have broken down. When they come they often feel rejected by their family, but they settle down in 2-3 months. Women particularly talk with other women about families, and see that they are all in the same situation. In most cases, the old people have decided to come here out of pride, but deep down they feel rejected.

Old persons questions to us about England. Do children live separately from parents? How about family finances? (In Japan parents intend to help children). Who run old people's homes? But we hear that your Government takes care of you from cradle to grave. Ordinary Japanese people don't think a lot about helping each other, will have to learn a lot from you. Must feel very happy that you don't have to pay until you die.

Why did they come here?. 1. Feels very happy here. Many friends of same age. Husband died. Seven children. Children live far away in the east of Hokkaido. 2. Lived with lots of trouble. Nice here. Husband very ill 18 years from when youngest child was two. When the same child was 19 he died on a mountain. Husband then died, and she came here aged 81. Came here last September. 3. Aged 81. Has four children, two of each. Two in Sapporo and two in Tokyo. All have their own families. Husband died two years ago. Catholic. Decided for herself to come here. Before that lived with a daughter but felt uneasy. Came to look at this place and liked it. 4. (Dyes her hair). Has one son. Husband died when son in high school. Worked. Interested in woman's movement after war, active in teaching group. Decided to come here herself as she only had one son. He married. Here she can write poetry and do anything she likes. Has friends and is very happy. 5. Came here to live with widowed sister - came to look after their mother (92). A Christian home. Share double room. Came on the anniversary of mother's death, so think that mother inspired them. She worked for the council. When she looked after her mother, she and sister did alternate days' work - not same job.

Communal bath. Hours limited Monday, Wednesday, Friday - men 4-5pm, women 5-6pm. Most have their own shrines. One has a little shrine, in front of which is her husband's tablet. Some said ancestor meant grandmother, grandfather, others said they were much further back.

13th July 1990

Lunched alone with Toshiko as Alan dashed out for a sandwich so he could continue writing. We talked about old-age and parents. Found our ideas and observations matched. Asking Toshiko what the differences really were, she described how women were Western in aspiration, while men weren't but still thought as their forefathers had. Thus women have developed the armour of individualism while men hadn't, but also they were breaking further and further away from really understanding each other. This led to greater and greater misunderstanding on all sorts of issues, and different expectations. Toshiko has managed to arrange our air ticket for Osaka, also to arrange a B&B in the Ainu country for next week.

This afternoon went to the Hokkaido museum with another young professor whose main work is on fascism in the 1930's. The museum was massive, impressive, well laid-out and interesting. The use of photos and drawings was especially helpful with regard to the Ainu. We saw their faces in many drawings and realised just how the Japanese had repressed them and used them as slaves from the seventeenth century.

We got back to the campus soon after 5.00pm and Arthur Stockwin called in to suggest we went off to eat together. Went with them to a real Japanese restaurant. There is no way we would have been able to order anything there as everything in Japanese. An odd meal with lots of plates of meat, then fish, then vegetables, etc. but in succession, not together, so not possible to eat as a real meal. They are nice people though, so pleasant.

Prof. Stockwin did mention that Kenichi's parents were rich. Yesterday I asked Toshiko about their flat. As it is a Government flat they will leave it and just leave their personal belongings in store. So when they move to Oxford it is like moving house completely. Apparently the rent for a Government house is only 8000y a month - less than £40 - and a professor's salary is a little more than for our professors, so they should have a lot of disposable income, but they have a tiny car and no trappings of wealth. Arthur Stockwin said that Kenichi had strong socialist leanings when younger so that may be the reason.

14th July 1990

Raining much of the day until evening. We took sandwiches with us but did take a walk in the middle of the afternoon, to the large store where we ate with Kawato and his wife last week. There were sales in some departments - that word is used. The dresses and clothes in general strike me as rather dowdy and dull. The furniture and other things look rather kitsch too, but this may be because this is a particular multiple store, although I've remembered thinking the same about clothes in the store where Kenichi took us that seemed more 'up-market' than this.

I spent the day reading on the Ainu - mainly Watanabe's work on Ainu ecology. Though I got a better picture of the hunter-gatherer-fisher life, not very satisfying. Read some articles on the current feelings of Ainu who believe themselves to be discriminated against by the Japanese. Certainly they have a lower standard of living by all accounts.

In the evening, we went to Kenichi's house and met the man who took us to the museum yesterday [Prof. Sakai], and the man who will take us to Nibutani on Thursday [Prof. Inoye]. Both speak good English, and the latter is a candidate for a U.N. organisation in S.E. Asia. Food is eaten as little titbits all through the evening, with beer. Lots of sea food - prawns, squid, mussels cooked in saki - and a few vegetables - tomatoes, sweet corn and sweet potatoes cooked in batter.

Later we were joined by a history professor and managed to fill in further our picture of Japan. Not many dates given so rather hard to get a truly chronological picture. There was dispute over the form of feudalism in Japan. At one time the peasants - who sound like serfs in the feudal sense - were not allowed to marry. Later, when the control of rivers - possibly like the Dutch polders - made the cultivation of the flood plains possible, they were permitted to marry and hold land. After that it seems the population rose sharply, and was checked, certainly in the East, by famine. There was an odd mention of the Western Daimyos refusing to send rice to the

stricken areas, effectively sealing them off to die. Sounds odd, so would have to investigate further before stating this as a fact. The Japanese allowed abortion, and apparently the Daimyos encouraged homosexuality among themselves to restrict the number of sons and prevent feuding between them. Mention also made of male dormitories, similar to the Naga morung, but not clear whether these existed before or after the serfs were allowed to marry. Sexual relations apparently very free among the peasants.

The Professor asked Alan what Britain's view of the Emperor was, and then described the rather bizarre way he is kept purified - e.g. drying top half of his body with one towel, bottom with another - and how he is supposed to communicate with the sun goddess, and eat with her. Seems that this is still the case. He disagrees with Kenichi that people have no feelings about the Emperor now, and we felt that he worried that the whole God-Emperor thing could be resurrected in the future.

NOTES

Notes on conversation at a dinner party with Kenichi, Tetsuya Sakai, who took us to the History Museum, and Professor Inoye a social historian.

A note on verticality in Japan Even Japanese writing is vertical on the page, as opposed to Western writing which is horizontal (and Chinese?). May not be unconnected to the fact that the Japanese think vertically.

Famine Prof. Inoye suggested that there were nation-wide famines up to the nineteenth century - the Western population grew while that in the East declined

Marriage age An early age at marriage for women (from 15 on).

Night-visiting The custom of night-visiting girls was common in the past. The room of the daughter of the house in a farmer's house was locked, but not the maids.

Tooth blackening It appears that married women of the aristocracy from C17 onwards blackened their teeth. This was copied from the Emperor who was surrounded by women in his youth. No knowledge of the reasons for this.

Gravestones Ordinary peasants started to have gravestones from the C16, but only upper families have house shrines.

Ancestors and their power in Japan There is no idea of avenging ancestors, I was told. There are "peaceful relations with ancestors", no punishment and no particular blessings. Only unfortunate deaths should be "worshipped". In other words, there is no idea of ancestor worship, ancestor ritual, per se. Those who had died an unfortunate death were an "unhappy hero" and it is necessary to silence their spirits which are vengeful and grudging to the government and people in general. (This sounds more like ghost beliefs than conventional ancestor worship). Such 'ancestors' can also help with an eye-illness. Ancestors are thought to give a general blessing, but no special gift, no sign of the continuity of the family.

Status In the C16 the lower peasantry established their own families and their 'ie' and gravestones; the upper families had these. They did this to add to their status and to give them a seat at the village meetings.

Agricultural revolution of the sixteenth century Before the sixteenth century, the low flat river bottoms were not cultivated as the light Chinese plough would not work. They changed over from hoe to heavy hoes which, though much harder work, enabled them to exploit this rich river land. Part of the agricultural revolution was the better control of irrigation and rivers. A lot of the Daimyo provided civil engineering works. At this time there was a change so that peasants were allowed to marry.

Concepts of descent I asked about descent. People have to decide their line - which line to trace up through, it could be through male or female. One can only go back two or three generations, to those one personally knew. Kenichi said that "my father did not talk about his father or grandfather". Even in the powerful upper peasant and farmer families, there was a very shallow knowledge of kin. Nowadays, there is very little knowledge of forefathers. The four people with whom we were having dinner did not even really know much about their grand-parents.

I asked where 'blood' came from and they answered, entirely from the mother. Perhaps some of the physiognomy ("skeleton") came from the father sometimes. "The mother's side is stronger". In the aristocracy, the mother controlled the children. The Emperor was brought up by the Empress's father.

Quite usual for ordinary women to go back to their families to give birth, and the mother's mother will take care of her.

I asked the guests which side of the family (mother or father) they knew more about. One said his father's side, another the mother's side.

There are special days for wives to return to their families. In mid-August [Bon] there is a family gathering. A return to husband's family (ancestors).

Kinship terminology There are classificatory terms for 'uncle', 'aunt', 'cousin' etc., as in England. But guests said that they could distinguish uncle from grand-father and also grand-father from great-grandfather etc. This suggests that Smith's description may be wrong.

Dowry or bridewealth No dowry or bridewealth (though we discovered that at the wedding (engagement?) a young man will give a couple of month's salary to the girl's parents part of which he will receive back

Village officials Farmers have hereditary administrative roles in the village - paid jobs (tax collecting, etc.) These are farmers. Those without such roles are peasants - or paid labourers.

Land sales In the early Edo period, the Shoguns ordered that there should be no selling or buying of land, but later a lot of informal buying and selling - leasehold/selling, etc. Before the Edo period, there was apparently a lot of buying and selling of land, but it was stopped by the Tokugawa, a 'kind of re-feudalization'.

Family property and alienation I asked about family property. The father decided what should happen to land. He could sell off land without children's permission. If he retired, those who succeeded could sell it. The eldest son succeeds. Retirement is at the will of the father. In Samurai society (as English gentry), only the eldest succeeded. In farmer society, it could be anyone. They thought it was rare to adopt in.

Rice cultivation Terraced rice was only grown under the land pressure of the Tokugawa period.

Population A huge increase in population in the early Edo period, then settled down.

Revolutions Two revolutions in Japanese history - the C16 one (of new lands) - which brought almost all the presently cultivated lands of Japan into cultivation, then in the 1960's, rapid economic growth.

Market activity in villages Around the Kyoto area there was some transport business in the villages. In many villages there were small markets once a month. But by the late Tokugawa there were a lot of miscellaneous businesses in the village - from the C19. Though some Blacksmiths to repair things, mainly went to towns to buy tools. From the C19 in the Kyoto area started buying fertilisers. Even in the C20 in the mountain villages, the villagers did not have money.

What held villages together? I asked what held villages, or people together; what integrated society.

Inoye said that it was; shared experience, labour exchange and co-operation (e.g. planting rice) and in all forms of activity (e.g. building a house), communal festivals, paper - as used in the administrative system with lots of roles and documents. There was forced labour to repair things. Buddhist temples kept documents about each person. A nation-wide, and united, system. The opposition of insider/outsider in villages preserved by etiquette, etc. They treated outsiders in a very different way - e.g. travelling traders.

Literacy rates Literacy was very high. Ordinary peasants can read and write. Education in the middle of the nineteenth was higher than in France (Dore), with 45-50% able to read and write. The diary of a farmer shows how he taught Japanese calculation (abacus) to ordinary villagers, who were ready to learn the square root etc. in c. 1830. From the seventeenth century the village tried to provide a village school, employing as teachers a Buddhist priest or jobless samurai. Rich farmers funded schools.

Business attitudes Farmers were keen to export silk as soon as the ports opened. In Japan even inland and in the mountainous area people were keen to consider business, whereas in China only in a small area around the ports did the business/trading mentality flourish. In Japan spinning and weaving were separate businesses, whereas in China they were the same. The Japanese were happy to buy foreign cloths. In the eighteenth century the Kinsai (around Kyoto) area became commercialised in textiles. Cotton was widespread. There was a large rice trade in the seventeenth century. Even in the eighteenth century the farmers bought and sold rice.

Emperor and purity The Emperor uses two towels when bathing - one for the sacred upper half, the other for the impure lower half. He engages in lots of purifying rituals. Shinto priestesses do the same.

The Emperor has to eat with his earlier ancestor (the Sun Goddess). The residence of the Sun Goddess is in a shrine - in a mirror (which has thrice been burnt and hence is only ash).

15th July 1990

Alan phoned Toshiko and, I think rather unwillingly, though she never showed it, she came in during the afternoon so that we could go to the Plaza Hotel and witness the wedding palace. Rather like the place where we lunched with the judges, this place was really built with a main role of supplying large banqueting halls and all the ancillary rooms for weddings. Only a few floors seem to have hotel rooms.

Today we saw that four separate weddings were in progress. Two floors each seemed to have two banqueting halls, also the upper one had hire shops for costumes - magnificent kimono but also white bridal gowns, Western style, and long evening dresses. A bride can change three times in the course of the ceremony. We assumed that kimono would be worn for Shinto ceremonies and Western dress for Christian. These were the two religions on offer. Don't know what Buddhism has to offer in respect of marriage. The relatives wore mainly kimonos, and the men, morning suits.

Beside the hire shop were changing rooms for bride and groom, and outside was a shop where one could buy gifts. Apparently the groom gives a gift to everyone who attends the wedding. He spends about half the price of the money the guests will have given him on them. All guests give money in proportion to their closeness to the pair, or their status. Toshiko said that relatives would give about £300 while aunts and uncles (close relatives) would perhaps give £1000, and parents much more.

At the engagement, a prospective groom gives his fiancé's parents money wrapped in a particularly decorative envelope. The money constitutes about three months wages. The decorations - stylized turtle, sea-weed, pine trees, all seem to represent long life and happiness, with a slighter emphasis on fertility. The money appears to be a sort of bond payment, showing earnest of intent as part will be returned to the groom at marriage.

The 'Plaza' has developed this wedding business so that it need a year's notice for each wedding. No hasty marriages here. It would like to offer party facilities for the engagement as well, and has a chart for calculating the most propitious days for announcing an engagement, which should take place in the morning, followed by a celebration party. Guides to the sort of clothes to wear, what to say to the sponsors or to prospective parents-in-law, are provided. At the other end, they can organize the honeymoon as well, and provide hotel accommodation for the first night as the couple will not be able to leave until the day after the wedding if they are flying anywhere.

The cost of hiring kimonos or other dresses runs from £300 a costume for either man or woman. The cost of the meal, from £30-100 per head, though wedding guests are expected to pay for their own meals, at least in part. Kenichi calculates that the average cost of a wedding in Japan is £14,000, though the 'Plaza' brochure suggests it must be more than this when all aspects are taken into account.

Reminds one rather of the cremation process in England - all done by a discrete, well-oiled machine, with variable prices depending on the sort of effect one wants to make. Toshiko thought that the girls were all wanting to be princesses for the day, but it must be disconcerting to see three other princesses with their attendants in the same place, doing just the same things.

Driving back with Toshiko, she started to talk about the difference in child-rearing practice between Japan and England. Subaru was born in England. When pregnant, Toshiko was surprised to find she could do anything and nobody advised her to curtail activities. In Japan, this is not the case. Pregnant women are encouraged to behave like delicate beings. When the baby was born it was taken away and not put into bed with her. Also feeding was regulated. She continued with this regime while in England. Subaru slept in a cot in a separate room. However, the other two girls were born in Japan and treated in the Japanese way - fed on demand and allowed to sleep with her. Subaru she described as quite different from the other two. Far more individualistic and self-possessed. She doesn't worry if she's late for school, and can concentrate much longer than usual for Japanese children.

16th July 1990

Alan's first lecture this afternoon at 3.00pm. to an audience of students. He spoke on the Malthusian marriage system and related English marriage and love practices with those in Japan. He spoke slowly and clearly, and Kenichi translated paragraph by paragraph. Kenichi had taken a copy of the whole talk and had annotated it, even questioned Alan on bits that weren't clear, so although we cannot say for certain, it sounded a good translation.

A few bemused students, especially girls said afterward that they found it hard to understand how women and men could be friends - sisters, friends, yes, but not men and women. Another girl said that the double standards over sex make it impossible for women to love only her husband. Kenichi and Toshiko both stressed the veracity of this statement. It is considered good business for visiting businessmen to be provided with women, and for Japanese men to expect this too. The young men present found it hard not to agree with this - so Kenichi and Toshiko's marriage is very unusual by Japanese standards, and Toshiko now appears to have been amazingly strong to stand up against the system which Kenichi obviously accepts.

NIBUTANI

17th July 1990

Our trip out of Sapporo to the country, and to see the Ainu settlement of Nibutani where Munro worked. Met yet another student, Mr. Kayano, who was to accompany us to the Ainu Museum at Shikai. Nice man who is going to work for the UN Development Agency in South- East Asia. He is doing a thesis on Fukuzawa in the History Faculty at present. Toshiko had written directions for the whole route, there and back, and booked an inn in Nibutani for us to stay the night.

The Ainu Museum is like a minor Disneyland. One enters through a great arch with wooden figures of Ainu hunters on either side. Huge car park, full of coaches. Before one reaches the museum one goes through a covered market of some size, full of stalls with 'airport art', only based on the Ainu. A lot of bizarre carvings of bears with salmon in their mouths, Ainu dolls of all shapes and sizes, furs, textiles, jackets - anything that could be made and sold as representing the Ainu in some way. Passing through this, we walked across another courtyard with outside stalls, mainly selling plants, then into the museum area.

They like to call it a reconstructed village. There are houses, but they are much larger than real Ainu houses, and there are tarmacked paths between them. The museum proper is an elegant building, and the displays are worth seeing. There are also four video set-ups where one can watch films on the Ainu while listening to a commentary on a personal 'telephone'. There is one larger cinema where they do a tape- slide presentation, with three projectors, every hour. We saw an interesting film on the bear ceremony made in 1925 by a Japanese - Hattu. Other films were more modern. There was a little display showing a few 'Same' (Lapp) artefacts, and another of North West Coast Indians - to show their solidarity as endangered species.

Leaving the museum, we went to hear a bit about Ainu culture in one of the large houses. There was a stage and benches for the many Japanese tourist groups. A man in Ainu kimono talked, then we went outside and listened to a woman playing a Jew's harp and another singing a lullaby, finally, a short dance with both men and women. That was that. The audience looked bemused, and many photographed or filmed, but they were more concerned to have themselves in the picture. We saw two tiered set-ups where groups could be photographed with Ainu in the middle. How much they, or the Ainu, really saw it as anything more than entertainment, I can't say. I suppose it does give employment to some Ainu, but they do not perform any ceremonies now except for tourists.

Train to Tomukamai where we left our guide. Managed to reach Nibutani safely, following Toshiko's magnificent directions. Found our inn - a one-storey building, 'L' shaped with the entrance in the middle. Above this door was painted a huge owl - an Ainu symbol. We were greeted warmly, though no one could speak any English. Our room was typically Japanese - tatami matting on the floor, eight mats in size, with futon and covers and a kimono each. Supper interesting. We were given a gas-heated tray on which to cook onions, peppers, beef, cabbage, with a sauce to dip each piece in before eating, and some cold pickled vegetable. Also had

a sort of ice fruit wine which tasted quite potent, and were offered glasses of saki each, which meant that I felt pretty woozy. Before we had finished, a smallish girl came in and greeted us in English. Alan gave her his card, and she seemed especially delighted as she is going back to Cambridge to do a Ph.D. in the archaeology of the Ainu. She translated one of Ian Hodder's books, so we had all sorts of common knowledge. After she had eaten, we went to her house briefly, and then to bed. Much heavy traffic so neither of us slept really well, though the futons were comfortable once we'd put some of the upper bedding underneath us. Washing facilities very good - three or four rooms for visitors, but separate lavatory and shower for men and women, and even one Western lavatory.

18th July 1990

Nibutani is surrounded by wooded hills, but the undergrowth is so thick, and there are no obvious paths, that it would not be easy to explore further. This museum lacked the Disney quality of Shiraoi. They are both run by leader of the Ainu, but this man seems genuinely interested in keeping the culture alive. His secretary, who spoke English, came to find us. They had been told of our visit by yesterday's guide, Mr Kayama, who has, incidentally, the same name as the museum curator. We saw a couple of good videos. One on an Ainu wedding. Very simple. It seems to consist of bride and groom sharing a bowl of rice together. Also one of the bear ceremony. Both films were made in the early seventies. Hoped to get a copy of a book which includes many of the photos that we saw, but no copy available. There was a photograph of Munro with an Ainu, which we were glad to see. We used his book as a guide book to the artefacts. Went to the office. Here the secretary teaches Ainu children the language. The curator is producing an Ainu dictionary which she is also helping with.

After signing our names on the wall, we took a quick look inside a few of the huts. These were a more accurate size. In them were people carving and weaving, with goods for sale. The road up to the museum was edged with similar workshops. A dam is being built at Nibutani, and this will create a huge lake, beside which they plan to build another Ainu village. Though the dam will take four years to complete, the car park and hotel are already there. Miss Fukazara is excavating (with others) the site of a 'Kotan' (village) of about eight houses, on a spur which overlooks the river. It is here that the developers plan to put their village. All rather bizarre. Left feeling rather depressed about the current exploitation of culture for tourists. The sad side of anthropology, but without work can't blame the Ainu for cashing in on their forefathers. Began to rain as we left, so back in the rain to Sapporo.



Hotel in Nibutani



Ainu woodcarvings for tourists



Model Ainu huts



Archaeological dig on Ainu site

SAPPORO

19th July 1990

Alan's first 'symposium' at 3.00pm. A Professor Nakanishi from Tokyo arrived just before 3.00pm. He will be speaking as well tomorrow, but today came for Alan's talk. Alan's theme was the suitability of the kinship system in both Japan and England for industrialisation. As most of the audience did not know much about anthropology, and had not thought about the significance of family relations in this context, it was clearly very intriguing for them. Alan was at his best - lucid, confident, but in no way aggressively so. When answering questions he managed on a number of occasions to elaborate his answers with seemingly new thoughts, so one got the impression of someone who was creating ideas.

Despite their reservations on certain points, the main thrust of the argument was accepted - that despite the usual acceptance that Japan is patrilineal, it is in fact a bilateral kinship system with little emphasis on blood relations, but much on the name. Later Kawato said that this was quite true in his own family. The previous three generations had only daughters who brought in males. In one generation, one of three daughters, the youngest, was chosen to inherit, but failed to find a man to marry in so married out. Her elder sister, to keep the family line, divorced her husband and remarried back into her family, bringing in a husband. This is particularly interesting as he is a Shinto priestly family where one would expect to find the most orthodoxy.

Alan's final position showed two poles. The atomised English individual with his network and the Chinese-Indian clan group, then the Japanese between them, with small, tight families, from which younger sons or non-inheritors are pushed out to set up other families. Furthermore, the Japanese use their idea of family in the context of work and in other parts of their lives in a way that is strange to us. Arthur pointed out just how dangerous this allegiance to the idea of the family could be by instancing the "creation" of the Emperor as father in the Meiji period, a political ploy what led to blind obedience and the militarization of the last war. Incidentally, Emperor Hirohito is usually excused from absolute culpability by saying that the war machine was the product of the army, and the Emperor was passive, but on Sunday, Toshiko said that he was in the most powerful position, and could have stopped the military build-up if he'd wanted to.

Everyone very cheerful at the end of Alan's talk which makes us think that they liked it. We went to a small restaurant with some of them, including Professor Nakanishi, whose wife also arrived. Alan provocatively started asking her about her courtship, and everyone joined in with cheeky questions to the other members of the group about their love-lives. There seems to be no taboo on talking in this way and it causes much humour.

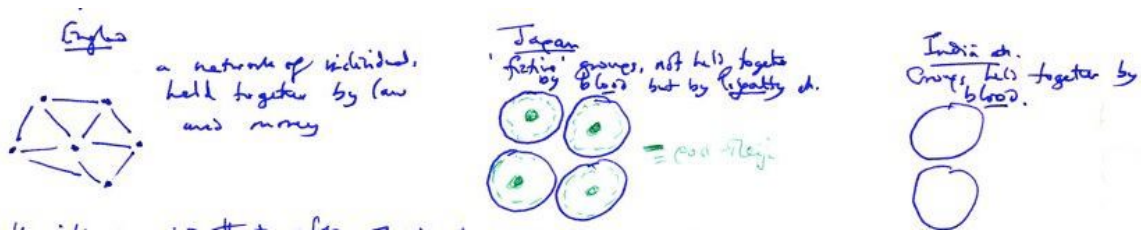
One other thing that did emerge from our discussions at dinner was that it was only through Kenichi's persistence that we were able to have this flat. Alan doesn't fit the usual criteria of a foreigner teaching here, and we are only staying for a short time. They expect these places to be used by people who are here for six months to a year. Kenichi was refused, but noticed that flats were empty, and pushed twice more with the same negative result. Then he traced the top man, and was immediately granted this flat for us. It appears that the huge bureaucracies in any organisation have a deadening effect. Rather than facilitating things, they hold them up for as long as possible. Furthermore, we learnt that status is very important if one wants to get things done. University professors are considered of high status in the community, even though their salaries belie the fact. Thus, our visits to the City Government offices and the law courts were carefully arranged because they were requested by important academics. If we had gone alone it is doubtful whether we'd have been able to see anything. This explains why all the heads of departments were there to talk with us, not just humble clerks. The power of the right name card is so well known that one of our party, a man we met at Toshiko's when we went for tea, has no academic affiliations on his card so that he cannot pull rank. In consequence, his requests are usually ignored until his profession is revealed. So here is the hierarchy at work.

Looked again at Isabella Bird's book in the light of our visit to the Ainu. See now what a remarkable piece it is. She managed to cover most of the customs and ceremonies of the Ainu, and to understand as much as we might with our access to much literature that she didn't have. Her questions are very much the same as an anthropologist would ask. She refers to 'notes' in her book. I wonder if they still exist? Another treasure hunt in prospect.

NOTES ON SYMPOSIUM

Japanese social structure There was no strong challenge to any of my interpretations or assertions about Japanese social structure. Of course, that may be partly out of politeness. But there could well have been indirect hints that I'd got it badly wrong. And Arthur Stockwin (Nissan Professor at Oxford), would probably have told me. For instance, no challenge was made to the ideas about bilateral descent, curious ancestor cult etc.

Determining infrastructure in Japan One minor modification to the theory that there was no determining infrastructure after the Meiji. It was pointed out that the Meiji re-assertion of politics as the main force, with the growing power of the Emperor, after about the 1990's, does suggest some kind of political hegemony. I modified my picture somewhat, with England constituted by a network of individuals, held together by law and money; Japan a set of fictive groups, not held together by blood but by loyalty; with India as a set of groups held together by blood. I modified my picture somewhat:



with England constituted by a network - not blood.

Nakanishi suggested that after the Meiji, the Japanese situation melted so that one had less rigid boundaries to groups and the groups took on a core/periphery structure. Those at the centre were influenced by *Bushido* (the samurai ethic), those at the periphery were 'outsiders'. The labour agitation of the 1930's and earlier was for recognition of these outsiders as members of the 'inside', to be treated with respect as 'persons'.

Ethic of bushido We discussed the spirit of '*bushido*', which, in a secularised form, like the ethic of Protestantism, lives on in Japan. Then the question arose as to what caused the ever-searching, ever-working, ever-struggling ethic of the Japanese and English capitalists. I suggested that in each case there was a kind of see-saw, in which there was permanent inequality.

Final goal in Japan Added to this is the lack of a ceiling, or boundary, in each case. There is no final goal - the goal posts are constantly receding away. Hence one finds mottoes such as "Boys, be ambitious" (the motto of Hokkaido University, devised by an American), or "*Per ardua ad astra*" (by hard work to the stars; the Dragon School, Oxford, motto).

The Christian and Japanese God In Christianity, the see-saw had God as weighty, with Man (with his original sin) in the air. God gave his only son to redeem us from original sin. We thus owe him a great, and never to be repaid debt. The more we show our love, the more he makes us aware of our sins etc. This also ties in with our fear of damnation etc.

In Japan, in terms of the Japanese concepts of '*on*' and '*giri*', there is something similar. On the heavy side is the superior - not God in this case, but the lord, husband, master etc. On the light side is the man, wife, servant. In Japan, the perpetual debt ('*on*') is not based on the Man/God relationship, but on the premise of inequality among men. Men are born unequal, but through their lives they strive, through loyal service and hard work, to achieve equality. But those who are superior reciprocate the gifts and hence the inequality is re-enforced. It is a perpetual state of inequality, similar in mechanism to the blood-feud, to Mauss' idea of the gift, to Malinowski's principle of unbalanced reciprocity. In each case the individual is ever-restless, with every action leading to "another day older and deeper in debt".

Is there Religion in Japan? Another thing which emerges is the curiosity of Japanese religion, which can hardly be called religion. Professor Nakanishi in fact said that "there is no religion in Japan". What he probably meant was there is no formal religion; no holy book, no proper priesthood, no

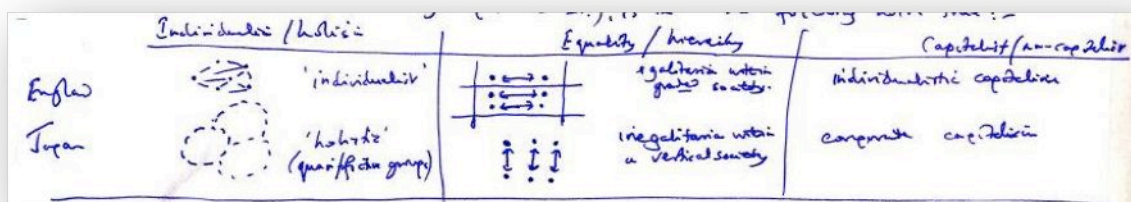
extensive dogma, little interest in the after-life etc. Japan is a society where ethics and etiquette have taken the place of religion.

A priesthood in Japan? As regards the priesthood, it is very strange that in Japan there is no formal order of the priests. Unlike the other agrarian societies which are broken into four great estates, warriors, priests, townsmen, peasants (as in the caste *varna*), Japan alone is broken into warriors (nobles), peasants, merchants, artisans. It has no priestly caste, but replaces them, significantly and uniquely, by splitting townsmen into two groups, merchants and artisans. To a certain extent the samurai have to perform the role of both religious and warrior leaders. Perhaps this partly explains their curiously ethical code, *Bushido*?

Japanese 'religions' The absence of religion at a formal level in Japan makes ethics and etiquette far more important. It becomes the glue that holds society and people together. The strength of any one religion is mitigated by the fact that in Japan, as in England, there are three major conflicting religions (Buddhism, Shinto, Confucian); it is like England a land of many sects. Shinto is also simple and more ascetic and avoids the "magic" of certain forms of Buddhism. For Buddhism, like Christianity, is quite elastic, with an ability to range in its various manifestations from the ritualistic to the ascetic.

The relations between individualism, capitalism and equality. Although somewhat indirect, Professor Nakanishi seemed to be hinting at a feature of my theories which I had already noted as a weakness if it is going to be a general theory. This is as follows. In England (and north west European) civilisation, there is a strong connection between individualism, capitalism and equality. I had therefore assumed that these were necessary relations, in particular between individualism and capitalism. What Japan seems to teach one, if one accepts that comparison is at all possible, is as follows:

England is individualistic, egalitarian within a graded society, and has individualistic capitalism. Japan is 'holistic', but with quasi or fictive groups rather than real groups, inegalitarian within a vertical society, and has corporate capitalism.



Thus it looks as if a much more corporate or group based and intrinsically inegalitarian framework is compatible with capitalism. The English or American model is thus different from that of the Japanese.

Japanese language The linguistic system in Japan reflects both of the above differences. In terms of individualism, the first and second person pronouns ("I" and "You") are avoided, although the words exist, as too direct and dangerous. The verb itself indicates in terms of its degree of humility whether one is talking about oneself or the other person. Likewise, all the language is hierarchical. One talks to another person as either a superior or an inferior. It is difficult to hold an equal conversation. This reinforces the vertical relations of the society. As noted before, even the writing is vertical.

Romantic love As regards romantic love and its presence or absence, it seems agreed that there are very different notions of it by men (who have little sense of it) and women (a widespread sense of). Furthermore, while it is momentarily present in flirtations, at the wedding, it is absent thereafter in most marriages. There is little sense of "commitment", of "binding or bonding". The man and woman after their marriage go off on their separate ways.

A national consensus and the group will The idea of a natural consensus, the feeling that the "will of the group" will emerge spontaneously out of the mutual harmony of interests to be embodied in the consensus statement of the leader is widespread. It will appear to come from outside, from the "natural order of things". "It appears that", "It is the case that" is asserted, not flowing from the will of an individual, but from the logic of the situation. (Compare the tendency for certain Conservative politicians to constantly use the phrase "The fact of the matter is...").

Absence of direct confrontation and saying 'no' The Japanese do not like direct confrontation. They find it difficult to say 'no' directly. They usually try to turn the question.

Japanese idea of identity of being There is no Japanese equivalent to the idea for "identity" meaning sameness, no idea of $a = b$, meaning that a and b are identical in the full mathematical sense. Hence, for example, they find it difficult (impossible?) to conceive of an identity between husband and wife. Things are complementary (more like yin and yang in China?). Perhaps this is related to the fact that nothing is complete in itself, it needs its counterpart, nothing is separate.

Finding deeper patterns in Japan While often odd and even contradictory, Japan does seem to be susceptible to the anthropological idea of trying to understand the culture as a whole, trying to search for the deeper patterns. It does seem that the art, etiquette, religion, business attitudes etc. of Japan all seem to fit together and the puzzle is to see the uniting thread. As De Tocqueville remarked of England (as opposed to America), it is a very complex, old and convoluted civilisation. Yet there are some central organising themes - the spirit of the society, or the "pattern of the culture". Hence Ruth Benedict was attracted to the culture and applied her "patterns of culture" approach in the elegant 'Chrysanthemum and the Sword'.

Japan as a very good comparison for England Further similarities and differences. Japan provides a very good foil for England in that it is clearly different and yet there are curious similarities. On the axis of individualism/ egalitarianism/ modernity, one might suggest the following: America....England.....Japan.....Nepal (Gurung)....India/China Like England, Japan is a country with an impressive history and literature and yet it is not so overwhelming and daunting as China.

20th July 1990

Alan's suit day. The formal presentation at a symposium. Audrey Stockwin and I went off in the morning to look for paper for book-binding. She had a short list of places that sold papers. Both in the centre of town, so I got to see the "West End" of Sapporo. Shops there very elegant and expensive. We went into one of the large chain stores, Mitsukoshi, for lunch and saw the galleries where artists, potters, etc. work is displayed by name. There seems to be better links than in England with real artists. Once man's work - bowls for tea ceremony - all finger pots with no particular charm or artistry as far as I could see, were being sold at £1000 each. No doubt the other things were just as expensive. Apparently, the store takes fifty per cent of the sale price. There were also concessions for stores like Harrods in the food department, which, as Audrey said, is even more impressive than Fortnum and Masons. Found no paper that could really be used though I bought one plain sheet to check.

Our chatting made us late for the start of the symposium which was earlier than yesterday, at 1.30pm. Alan was speaking when we went in. Much larger room, and mikes had to be used, so less satisfactory than the day before. Alan's paper took yesterday's theme and, coupled with others, showed the necessary components of capitalism.

21st July 1990

A quiet day. Went off about 11.00am. to buy food for a curry which Alan made after lunch. In fact he made two curries, one chicken, the other fish. Both felt tired so we slept for a couple of hours afterwards, then Kenichi fetched us at 6.30pm. and took us with saucepans, etc. to their house. The Nakanishis also there and we had a most enjoyable evening talking yet further of the Japanese and English. It was, as I suspected, easier without the Stockwins, and they could possibly be more forthright without feeling that there was an Englishman present who could criticise what they said. Found Prof. Nakanishi grows on one, he really is rather a sweet man. We may see them in Tokyo, which would be nice.

NOTES ON DISCUSSION

We discussed the attitude to punishment by spirits or gods. There is apparently no idea of such punishment. The Japanese 'devil' is always characterised as rather ridiculous, half-funny and far from diabolical. The little spirits which are expelled in the February house-cleansing rites are mischievous (stealing food and drink) rather than dangerous or evil.

One question is why misfortune/suffering occurs to a person. One explanation is '*bachi ga ataru*', the punishment which falls on a person for some earlier uncharitable or unethical act. For instance, one's child might suffer because one had earlier in life done something bad. But I did not get the sense that this explanation was often invoked, and they had no idea of how or who the punishing force was.

They tried to suggest a punishing god in a figure called Jacob Joge - but he turned out to be the god of poverty, a figure in folk-lore, who came and sat at the bedside of a dying man and watched the candle of his life growing shorter - a sort of "Old Father Time". This figure is not a punisher - but a metaphor and of relatively recent origin (many even have been imported from Brothers' Grimm). A person may fall ill because they work too hard - but a direct cause.

We then got onto were-animals. It is believed that mad people become so. (Women are like/become foxes). The fox is a special animal. Often its figure is incorporated into a shrine and it has something of the divine about it. A fox and a raccoon can change into human beings temporarily. A fox can even change into a bank note - though one can often note wisps of its tail sticking out of the note. A wolf is a guardian of the crops against rabbits, etc. A white snake is very fortunate if found in a house. In old times, a white snake might change into a beautiful lady who tempted Buddhist priests. The white snake will bring happiness/health.

We discussed Ritual and I explained what anthropologists meant by it. They thought and could think of no Rituals in the proper sense in Japanese society. They partly put this down to the absence of a duality between natural and supernatural. All humans are potential gods, so there is no break between man and nature. Hence there is no need to break through to a spiritual dimension, using Ritual. (This has the same effect, but is perhaps at the opposite pole, to the situation in England, where the separation of man and nature is complete - and again, therefore, ritual is not used).

There is no concept of the evil eye. They had only heard of recently in comic books. It was obviously imported from outside. There is no concept of witches or witchcraft either, though they had heard of the idea and made a joke of Toshiko being a witch and flying on her vacuum cleaner. The only thing they had were balls of fire that flashed through the night, frightening people.

There is no astrological system or interest. This is in sharp contrast with China. In China, heaven is the world of the Gods and there is a great deal of astrology, which is absent in Japan. The skies, in Japan, are empty - "just a space". Astrology in the popular press is just a recent fashion. [Could this be related to lack of fatalism in Japan as opposed to India, China etc. ? Nothing is "written in the stars", and hence all is possible]. There is, however, geomancy, probably from China. There is also the belief that cat-fish both predict/foretell and also (in some monstrous pond) cause earthquakes.

I asked about taboo. In each village there is a mound with a few trees, rocks and perhaps a lake that is sacred. If this is defiled, then the community or individual will be punished. This is called the '*mori*' [dict: woods, forest], the protector of the village. If it is insulted or destroyed, then there is catastrophe. But in cities (e.g. Sapporo), there are no taboos in the strict sense of any kind. Everything is ambiguous, relative, context-dependent. If one does something wrong, a punishment may or may not occur. It all depends...

"Gods in Japan are quite idle, sleeping and drinking sake, and taking little interest in human beings - the night-watchman God!" Even the sun-goddess, founder of Japan and incorporated into the Emperor tradition, is also lazy.

This led to a discussion of how men and women perceive each other. Men must be careful of women who are unpredictable. Sentiments of girls like autumn weather are changeable. Prof. Nakanishi thought that Genji and many men's lives were a search for perfection, a true relationship - and that they were constantly disappointed in the reality. Discussed "The Tale of Genji" - Kenichi thought the characterisation of women was excellent, but the understanding of men, less good.

We decided that there were three types of marriage relationship around the table. Macfarlane-Harrison = complete over-lap; Nakamuras = partial over-lap; Nakanishi's = no over-lap. In normal society, men have a higher status, so need to compensate by deferring to women in the home. Men are very romantic, with a lot of romantic illusions, but there is no romantic love (long term commitment). Sarah likened Western marriage to dancing, but Kenichi thought that impossible since men and women move at different speeds. He had a sense of rushing along, the floor moving fast under him and running to keep up with it. Women and home have a much slower speed.

People in the Ministry of Finance - the ordinary workers - go home at 5.00pm., but the very powerful and the aspiring will remain, chatting and drinking beer, and waiting until 12.00am. [Seems like a world of "*chakari wallah*"]. In a bureaucracy, 10 percent have the initiative and do all the work, the other 90 percent are waiting. When a business recruits, it recruits 10 percent high-level persons, the rest, drones.

Japan is a "small man" society - there are no "large men" nowadays, Kenichi thought.

Toshiko had said "the police are very nice", so I asked them about the reaction to police. They agreed that this was the general attitude - trust and warmth towards the police. They agreed that there were relatively few police. Thirty years ago they were all armed, now only 30 percent were armed. There had been a big shift in attitudes to the police after the war.

We asked about relations to other countries. People are now in general very curious about the outside world, but they are curious about the externals. They are not interested in, and reject, the core. Prof. Nakanishi said that he was most interested in Italy - because of the great men, etc.

Japan, we were told, is like a "magic mirror" (or two-way mirror); people can look out, see out, but outsiders cannot see in.

Gilbert and Sullivan's 'Mikado' has never been performed in Japan, since it is too anti-Emperor. There is little satire in Japan, no equivalent of Private Eye, for example.

Why are there so few police in Japan? Not self-control from the inside, Yoh (Nakanishi) thought, but the "managed society" (*'kandi-shakai'*). Everyone keeps an eye on everyone else and no-one likes to step out of line. There is self-policing, but not within the individual. The end or aim for the individual or society should be given from the outside, an invisible power of conformity. We should do as others say. People feel easy and relaxed when they behave like others. The Samurai group alone partly escape from this; they do something on their own, not imitating others. A few people have this "will to rule", e.g. Yamagata in the Meiji period.

Japan drifted to war - had no effective leader. No effective first-class people, just a void at the top. After the war, the lower - samurai with some drive escaped into business where they started many of the large and successful firms. Now they are followed by second-class people. Some of the elite do direct, but invisibly - people are not able/prepared to do things openly in their own names. An indirect approach.

The secret of Japanese life is the pursuit of perfection, and perfection is nothingness (Zen). There is no cost/benefit analysis in this, just emptiness or a void. This is the Japanese target. This has perhaps turned recently into hedonistic, amoralistic consumerism.

The Japanese do not believe in romantic love, but in romantic war. (Nakanishi)

I suggested that, as Weber argued, as the area of (formal bureaucratic) rationality increased, so there expanded the heart of Japanese society a growing irrationality, a black hole, empty, irrational etc. Nakanishi agreed, saying that this was true, but not many people had seen this.

OTARU

22nd July 1990

Met the professor who acted as our guide for the day at the University and took the train to Otaru, to the west of Sapporo, on the coast. At one time it was the most important town on Hokkaido - the main port and banking centre - but now it has given place to Sapporo and is in decline. This gives it a pleasant air. The wooded hills run all along the coast, very near to the sea in places, and Otaru is built along the coastal strip on the edge of a large bay. Many of the buildings are small and wooden, though there are some tall Sapporo-type buildings too.

We went to the museum first, built in a port house of some style - stone, with fish sculpted at each corner of the roof, and tiles with designs along their edges. The museum was small but had a number of video presentations. Had lunch in the glassworks next door - very nice. Then went down to the bay and got a ferry to a fishing village a little down the coast where we saw a huge wooden house, apparently that of a master fisherman, but later heard that it had been rebuilt there when it had been removed from the site of a nuclear power station. Still, it had a lovely feel, with very large tatami rooms, and windows overlooking the sea. Back to Otaru, and had tea in a converted bank. An odd place. The counters now a long line of fish tanks. The

'ladies' had heavy, safe-like, doors and tiny Sony TVs so one could watch, but not listen, to TV. while using it. Saw that early twentieth century English books were used as decoration, but that this was done by a British architect. Then home.



Small port in Otaru

SAPPORO

23rd July 1990

Went to visit a middle school - 12-15 year olds - this morning. Rather an austere place, and the aim seemed to be to keep the children under control as much as possible. The range of subjects seems to be narrower than in England. Very little art, and music only after school. So much emphasis on core subjects. Had lunch in the school, but this time in the Headmaster's office, and not in the classroom. Toshiko said she really hadn't learnt enough of what the children felt about the school as we were carefully shepherded around.

When we got back we went to the anthropology section and saw three fairly modern Ainu films. The few anthropologists don't teach, only research, and get Government grants to do so...

NOTES ON VISIT TO MIDDLE SCHOOL

I asked the children the following questions, and then noted their answers.

What is the worst thing a person can do? Robbery = 1, murder = 29, war = 2, destroy nature = 2.

What do you fear most? War = 25, destruction of earth = 9.

What do you like to do most? Play = 5, sleep = 3, "to do what we like to do" = 15.

What would you like to do when you leave school? Boys: businessman, not decided = 4, president of company = 3, owner of steak house, owner of bicycle store, politician, agriculture, professional soccer player, cook = 2, baseball player, barrister. Girls: scientist, business girl = 4, owner of food shop, fashion designer, owner of cake shop, athletics, pianist, beauty parlour, bride = 2.

I then asked them whether they had any questions to ask about England:
Do we have weapons (carry weapons)?
Do we have zoos?
What is an English school building like?
Do we export food?
Do we have any "fun parks"?
What kind of food do we eat?
They were full of other questions. At the end, a number came up and gravely shook hands.

Interview with head and deputy

772 students in the school - some 24 classes, 40 students per class (with 45 in 3rd class). Ages 12, 13, 14. Male to female teachers in ratio 2:1.

No bullying groups in this school though present in other schools.

Asked if they had prefect/responsibility system - no such system as a whole, though the students themselves have organised some kind of representative from each class to a central committee system.

I asked if there was any cure for over-conformity/over-stress on exams. Headmaster said that they tried, but were under considerable pressure from the Ministry of Education.

Some 96% of students go on to High School.

There is no computer teaching in this school. They intend to introduce it in 1994-5. There is a brass band out of school, and no drama. Art is done for two hours a week in 1st and 2nd years, and only one hour in third year. They teach all the sciences.

There is no grading in the classes. It is considered very important to teach all the students equally, otherwise parents would complain of discrimination.

Children enjoy themselves in the school - with their friends, etc. Then after school they go to do their real studying in crammers. The very clever ones do work at school and then strengthen their weak subjects at the crammer. Sarah asked if crammers were old. He said that they were for High School, but recently for Junior and Middle School.

Usually eat bread at school lunches - "because the school lunches are modelled on the U.S.A."

I asked for the words of the school song:

The Spring has come in northern countries
Pioneers' hopes still live here
Fertile, rich lands of Ishkari
There are lots of new powers here.

There is a large gap between what the children would want to do and what they will do. In December they decide whether to join the science or arts stream. Children choose what job they think they will do according to their self-evaluation of themselves. I asked class 3 what they wanted to do. Only 2/45 wanted to be businessmen, and 1 other, a merchant - a lot of nurses, and then a spread - scientist, beautician, doctor, etc. This is a school of children from lower middle-class homes - taxi-drivers, small shop-keepers, etc.

Girls learn cooking and sewing separately from boys, who do carpentry and metalwork similarly. Sex education is also done separately.

There is a school library and they learn to use books, borrow books,

The main problem with parents is that they think just about their own children and not others. Head Master thinks there has been a change in the family system - from larger family/ community system, to present nuclear family, with women working, so very little time for social relationships. Children have own rooms and don't see much of parents. Parents should teach social relationships.

No real difference in ability of boys and girls. Girls start to mature earlier and then more ability.

"Before the war we had some belief in Buddhism or whatever, but now we have no backbone, no church, etc." There are so many religions, he can't say which is good or bad. Parents should teach their children social morality. Government wants to teach ethics, but teachers opposed to it. After Japan's defeat in war, Shinto was denied and other religions eliminated for schools, etc. Parents are so busy they do not take any responsibility when children do something wrong.

Impressions of Middle School

Sarah felt it rather dull and lack-lustre, with a rather repressive regime and latent indiscipline, though some good teachers. The main problem, that in a meritocratic society with term-track/fixed careers after about 21, people's whole lives are determined by what happens between 10 and 18 - getting into a good University. So this leads to huge competitiveness, etc. Far worse than in Britain.

NOTES

Japan and the contradictions of capitalism To a large extent, the Japanese have managed to create an almost perfect (i.e. internally consistent/smooth) capitalist society. There is apparently little of the following: anomic suicide, crime, violence, psychological illness, extremes of wealth and poverty, obvious clash between spheres (religion and politics etc. How have they done this, as well as creating an incredibly efficient productive system? It is a mystery, but a few points can be made:

1. The absence of religion helps - the peculiar nature of a 'religionless' society takes away one of the binding absolutes, the absence of material and spiritual duality.
2. The related absence of ethical absolutes helps. The situational ethics of the Japanese allows a flexibility not found in most societies - an absence of right/wrong duality, all is 'yes'.
3. The strength of etiquette and inter-personal relations helps (often likened to the millions of tendrils which interlace in the rotting bean sprouts that are a favorite Japanese dish). Again it provides a flexible system that allows people to move with the group and the group to police the individual.
4. This means that politics and law can be quite weak and underdeveloped; the group can be left to look after itself, exercising strong self-policing.
5. The economic sphere is the opposite of a zero sum game; instead it is a system of energetically casting one's bread upon the water in the knowledge that it will return.
6. There are, of course, costs in all this. For instance, there is educational over-competition, conflict of women, herd-mentality, lack of innovation and creativity. But the price is bearable when we compare the problems with those of the U.S. and Europe.

24th July 1990

Talked with Kawato. He expressed surprise that Alan had come to Japan with such a little knowledge. Kenichi had said that Alan's information on Japan was mainly anthropological, but Kawato was astonished at the breadth of his knowledge as revealed in his talks, all three of which Kawato attended. This makes me feel that Alan has understood some of the deeper aspects of the Japanese mind. He asked whether Alan intended to put all this information into a computer, or to publish it. I said that Alan wanted to write about the obverse side of capitalism, to show its bad points, and that Japan was a splendid case between England and traditional societies, such as Nepal, and that what he'd learnt would be fed into this work.

I described other aspects of English society as revealed in our work on Earl's Colne. Kawato said that this sort of society is quite different from that which existed in Japan before the Meiji period. He described a system of ostracism practice by villagers. When one of their number didn't conform, they would isolate the family of the non-conformist from everything. The only concessions were fire and death, when the non-conformist could expect some help or support. We never had anything like this, by I wonder about Nepal.

25th July 1990

Our final day in Sapporo. Lunched with Toshiko in the student canteen, while Alan lunched with a professor of law. He continued their discussion until 2.00pm., then Kenichi and Toshiko came to Alan's room and questioned him on broad issues, like consumerism and technology, and their relationship to capitalism. Over lunch, Toshiko had asked me to comment on Fukazawa's book on women, and from 12pm. until 5pm. we were engaged in 'seminar', as they called it. This continued over supper too, which we ate at their house, though we bought the food.

NOTES ON DISCUSSION WITH K. SHOJI, PROFESSOR OF PRIVATE LAW

What leads to the group conformity, 'wa', which Shoji wrote about? He had no real theory except islandhood. As an example of group pressure, Shoji cited that it is still difficult to remain a bachelor.

Shoji talked about "the shadow side" of present Japanese developments - no democracy, no individualism. Another is the lack of legal disputes - instead there are informal/emotional solutions [mediation]. As a result, patients were very weak in relation to doctors, etc.

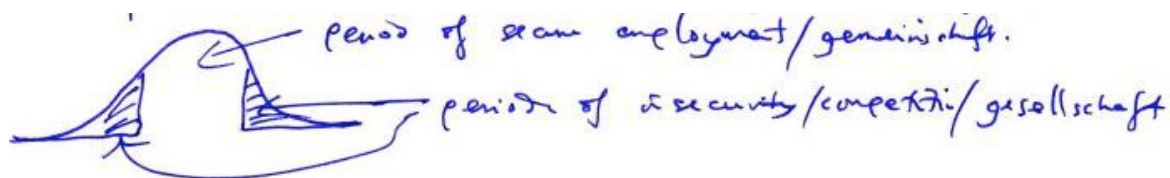
We discussed the "adversarial" system, and agreed that it is totally inappropriate for Japan, with its emphasis on conformity, integration, co-operation, etc.

NOTES ON DISCUSSION WITH KENICHI AND TOSHIKO

What creates needs Kenichi asked what created needs in England. We agreed that media, advertising, political power, and the superior use value of things, combined to make goods attractive.

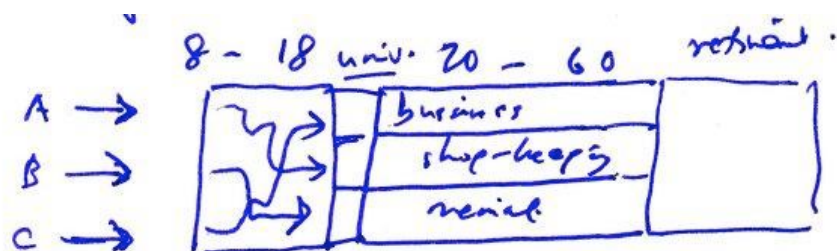
Purpose of business We asked what the purpose of life was in business. Kenichi had asked those training graduate students for business what their aim was. They answered "to give to people the life purpose to work there", in other words to make work in the company an end in itself. People can then relax at work.

The life cycle Kenichi drew a diagram which showed three stages in a life: A period of insecurity/competition/'gesellschaft' up to employment, a period of secure employment and 'gemeinschaft', then another period of insecurity and 'gesellschaft'.



Artificial community What seems to be one of the keys to Japan is that it is trying to create "artificial *gemeinschaft*". Strictly this is a contradiction in terms since the essence of *gemeinschaft* is its 'naturalness'. But in Japan it is not created by birth and blood, but by will. Yet once it is created, it is almost as firm and stable as proper *gemeinschaft*.

Pressure on educational system One related feature is that there is a tremendous pressure put on the educational system. Only during period between eight and eighteen do people have some freedom to compete and place themselves in a position to enter a "lane" which they will be in for the rest of their lives thus:



Everything that happens in the rest of one's life depends on what happens in the competitive exams from eight to eighteen. Once at University, one's course of life is more or less decided. A random thought; perhaps the above, which looks very like the pin-ball machines [Pachinko] which are an obsession in Japan, may help to account for their popularity. These are incredible halls filled with smoke, noise, and thousands of people standing or sitting in front of machine and dropping little balls down tunnels. (cf. Riesman, who notes many times, without explaining).

Consumption and over-production We discussed the problems of consumption and over-production. The Japanese are an ideal consumer market, very docile and ready to throw away the old and buy the new. Hence a huge problem of waste - where to dump things. There is a vast pressure on individuals, endlessly to consume. The British are more resistant and like old things, which they cling on to, hence making it more difficult for producers to shift their goods.

Non-commercial sectors of life in Japan We discussed also the non-commercial sectors of life. Whereas in Britain there are quite large areas which are carefully fenced off from the intrusion of competitive consumer capitalism - sport, leisure, nature, love etc. - in which commercial pressures, money-making,

should not occur, in Japan almost everything from top to bottom is interpenetrated with money. Even art is heavily commercialized and valuable. Hence there is little of life that is an end in itself and not geared to profit in Japan. Kenichi thought that this is definitely a source of weakness in Japan.

Love of imitation and novelty We discussed the Japanese love of imitation and novelty. It is like a searching mirror, or vacuum-cleaner, which tries to suck the best out of other cultures. Hence there are fads and fashions for certain "foreign" things. For a while everything was learnt from America. Now that America is no longer able to supply 'new' ideas, the Japanese are turning to the older, apparently more cultured and elegant cultures of Europe. Hence their particular interest in France, Germany and now Italy. After a few years of absorbing these, they will no doubt look elsewhere. They always want the best, hence brand names etc.

Female Taboos Asked about taboos in relation to women. Told that women must not go into tunnels that are under construction. They must also not go into the Sumo wrestlers' ring - this is a sacred area (hence the Sumo wrestlers sprinkle salt to purify it and wash themselves before entering). Women must not go on certain ships. Salt is thrown over people when they return from a funeral, to cleanse the impurity/pollution of death. Men should not (traditionally) enter the kitchen. Women cannot touch a sword (prob. during Edo period, as women used swords earlier - Confucianism?). Women traditionally may have been segregated after childbirth - going off to the mountains.

Male-female relations Couples are now starting to be seen together, shopping - though while wives try to come up close to the men, men are awkward and try to keep their distance from the women.

Ostracism Apparently, ostracism that used to happen in villages (with no one speaking, etc.), now happens in schools, and teachers may join in ostracising a child. We met an American student who had had problems with his Professor who had "made him a slave", etc. He reported that he had suffered from the Japanese mentality summed up in the Japanese saying, "If a nail sticks up, hit it down until it is level with all the other nails".

From all observations and discussions it would seem that Japan presents a new type. It is an exact intersection. Thus it shows that rapid economic growth and capitalism is possible while retaining a good deal of the group/hierarchical system.

Final thoughts It is thus a salutary lesson. Both Kenichi and Sarah thought that religion was the key. Kenichi several times said that there was no problem for Japan to introduce economic freedom/market or political freedom/democracy. What is difficult is to introduce Christianity with its jealous God (possessive and loyalty demanding and individualistic) or romantic love (which is again possessive/individualistic) – two things which he clearly saw as causally related.

26th July 1990

Today left Sapporo for Osaka. Very sad to leave the Nakamuras who have been not only very kind to us, but extremely interesting companions. I think that they liked being with us too, so it will be lovely to have them to stay with us in Cambridge. Spent the car trip to the airport discussing education. Will miss the intellectual stimulus of discussing deep issues each time we meet.

OSAKA

Flight to Osaka fine. We caught up on world news reading 'Time' and 'Newsweek'. Took a taxi to the Department of Education Technology at Osaka University where we met Prof. Mitsukoshi on the steps, with two assistants. He'd sent two others to meet us at the airport, but they've missed us. Taken to see their video experiments. They haven't got a Videodisc but were using a videotape deck to introduce the film element into their programmes. The video film many generations old, so not good. They had to rely on digitised pictures for stills. Again, not good, and nothing they were doing in the interactive sense looked at all original. Conclude that Universities are not the place for videodisc research. One might find it in industry, at Sony for instance, but otherwise not much done. It would seem that AV has penetrated much further in our schools than in Japan.

27th July 1990

Took a taxi to the Senri Expo site - to the anthropology museum. A magnificent modern building set in large grounds with water in shallow pools, and flowing over steps reflecting the building and giving a pleasant sound of trickling water. The ground floor vast, but only contained a reception desk and some rooms off with lockers, phones, a restaurant and bookshop. The museum was on the first floor which was reached by a huge, marble staircase. The reception desk upstairs starts the booths with videodisc presentations. There are forty separate booths which seat two people, though some are double booths that seat about eight people. There was a touch-screen in front of the seats which gave directions for use, and the titles to choose from. This is very complex for Japanese, but we had to rely on a file describing films which gave a number for each to punch in. The film then appeared on the screen on the wall. We watched four - each good even though we didn't understand the commentary. It is a most impressive system. Alan noted earlier the cost of building the setup. The videodiscs were only introduced last year. Before that they used video tape. The quality of the pictures was excellent, all it lacked was inter-action.

The museum itself is marvellous. The backing is always black and the lighting is superb. Many of the artefacts are huge - boats, carts, floats, etc. - and there are beautiful models of houses, both small and large. It is the most magnificent ethnology museum I have ever seen. We stayed until 4.00pm., spending the last part talking with some people about the system for video presentation. Rather stilted as no one spoke much.

NOTES

Osaka Museum and its displays

The Museum displays themselves were good and those on China and Japan were breathtaking. Some very interesting shamanic objects from North/Central Asia looked like the flat Angami carved figures. There appears to be nothing on the Indian sub-continent except music.

The Videodisc system also impressive. There are some 390 programs in all. They tend to last about 15-20 mins., though each one being recorded on an optical disc could last up to 30 mins. The sound and quality of the film is generally good - mostly films with some stills mixed in. There are 36 booths - mostly for pairs, but some for up to six people. Nice touch-screen system (also worked off optical disc) for making the selections. There is sound control available while watching the film.

The original film is mostly gathered from elsewhere - TV etc. - but some shot by the museum curators. There are two indexing systems - either by typing in the number of the film, or by a map and a map within a map, followed by pages (which can be "turned") with the names of the films which can be selected. There is no interaction or questions - and this could be developed. There is no genlocking - a two screen system. There is no use of text - just spoken commentary. A single ear-piece at the side of the seat provides the sound. No films on England, just a couple on France. Quite a few on the Ainu.

There are four systems with robot retrieval. Apparently they only have several copies of the more popular films. There are 48 players (videodisc) for the films and the same number for the introductory screens. The whole system is made by National Panasonic and is about a year old. They thought there were one or two other similar systems in Japan, but knew nothing about abroad. The booths on main VHS system were bought in 1978 for about 10 million dollars. The new system, replacing the VHS system with optical discs, was installed in 1989 and cost about 3 million dollars for players, computers, control room, etc. It costs about £4,000 to make a program. They have from 2-6 copies of each film made in NTSC.



Videotheque

The Videotheque (automatic audio-visual program transmission device), which employs a system developed by this museum, is the first visual self-study device in the world. Some 330 video programs recorded on optical discs, running up to ten minutes each, provide fascinating opportunities to learn the cultures of various peoples in the world. Booths are provided where visitors may freely select and enjoy the program by touching directions displayed on the screen at hand. The program selection will be made as follows:

Among our recommended programs

By region: twelve large areas such as Oceania, the Americas, etc.

By topic: nineteen topics such as hunting and gathering, fishing, farming, food, housing, children, marriage, festivals, religion, music, languages, etc.

Requests concerning use of Videotheque

1. When the visitor enters the booth and sits down, the lights brighten up automatically. Please operate the Videotheque according to the directions displayed on the screen.
2. Do not tear or fold the entrance ticket, as it is also used to operate the Videotheque. Groups must obtain Videotheque cards from the person in charge of the information counter on the first floor.
3. On Videotheque card may be used for one program. Visitors wishing to play more than one program may request additional cards from the person in charge of the Videotheque. The request may be refused at the busiest time.
4. When leaving the booth, please be sure to remove the Videotheque card from the slot.

• Operation panel

KYOTO

The journey to Kyoto very easy by train, and we found our hotel with equal ease. It is most pleasant. Our room is Japanese with tatami floor and futon, and there is a marvellous bathroom with a very deep bath. We went out to look for a restaurant but decided to buy some meals from a supermarket and eat in our room. So here we are, full after a meal of rice, salmon and other delights, watching TV, wearing kimonos with a fan cooling system keeping the temperature just right.

28th July 1990

Spent the day visiting shrines and temples. This area is on the eastern edge of Kyoto, just below the wooded hills, and there are a number of magnificent temples just at the edge of the hills. First we went to the Heian Jingo Shrine. Our hotel is in the garden of the shrine, though our window doesn't overlook the garden. This is a modern shrine, though huge and beautiful. It has a lovely garden, which after the huge white square in front of the shrine, felt very cool. The lakes are stocked with carp of enormous size and marvellous colour.

From here we went to the Nanzenji Temple - a Zen Buddhist temple with an enormously impressive entrance - a three-storey building on massive pillars. The whole place was beautiful as it was already within trees - great cedar trees - and one could climb up into the hills, so the effect was of massive wooden buildings being part of the forest. We had our sandwiches in the woods above. Below us there was an aqueduct of some size which supplied the water gardens. The main temple was particularly nice. As always, one walks without shoes, sometimes into tatami rooms, sometimes along corridors and over walkways and bridges of huge, smooth

planks. Many of the rooms here were walled with gold decorated screens (the little screens we bought came from here). Just empty rooms with golden walls, and a marvellous feeling of calm. Here tourists were not oppressive, and I think I found this the most satisfying of all we saw.

Next we went to the Eikando Temple, virtually next door. This was rather less awe-inspiring and the cedar gave way to maple, but the rooms were again lined with gold, and the walk-ways ran through gardens and over lily ponds, which were beautiful. Here we saw a large stretch of raked silver sand for the first time. In one temple we could hear priests chanting and we just sat on the ground - rather the floor - outside listening. Magical.

The last temple was the Ginkakuji (silver) Temple which Audrey had recommended. However, this was the least pleasing, partly because there were masses of tourists, but mainly because its buildings were not nearly as impressive as the others. The garden was in miniature with tiny streams and bridges, and tiny trees, but not nearly as pleasing as those we saw earlier. Walking down the hill, we looked at Honen-in Temple which had already closed, but the garden was cool and quiet after the Ginkakuji.

Walked back to the hotel where we had a bath. The bath being much deeper than any we've seen, one can float in it. We had supper with a couple we'd met at breakfast. He is a detective working on fraud and corruption in Hong Kong. Told Alan that Japan business is corrupt - even the biggest and best-known banks. A note on Tiananmen Square. He said that the massacre would not have happened if they had had a riot squad. With no police capable of dealing with crowds, they had to resort to the army. China is now buying riot squad weapons etc. from the British.



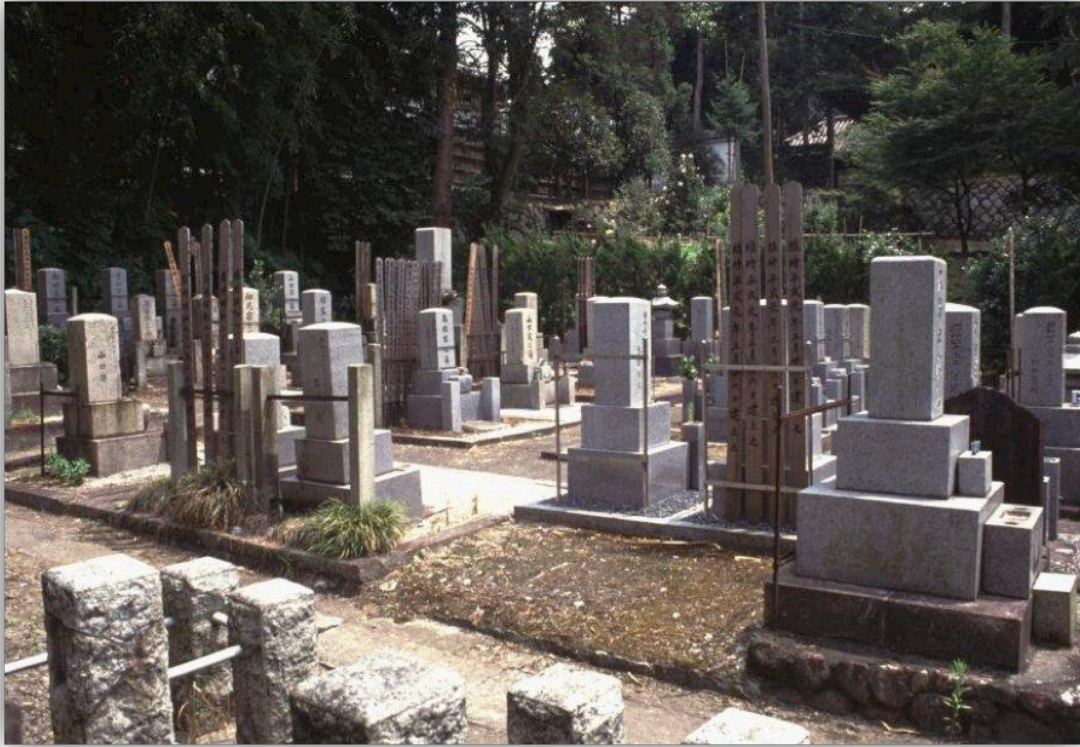
Water gardens at Heian Jingu Shrine



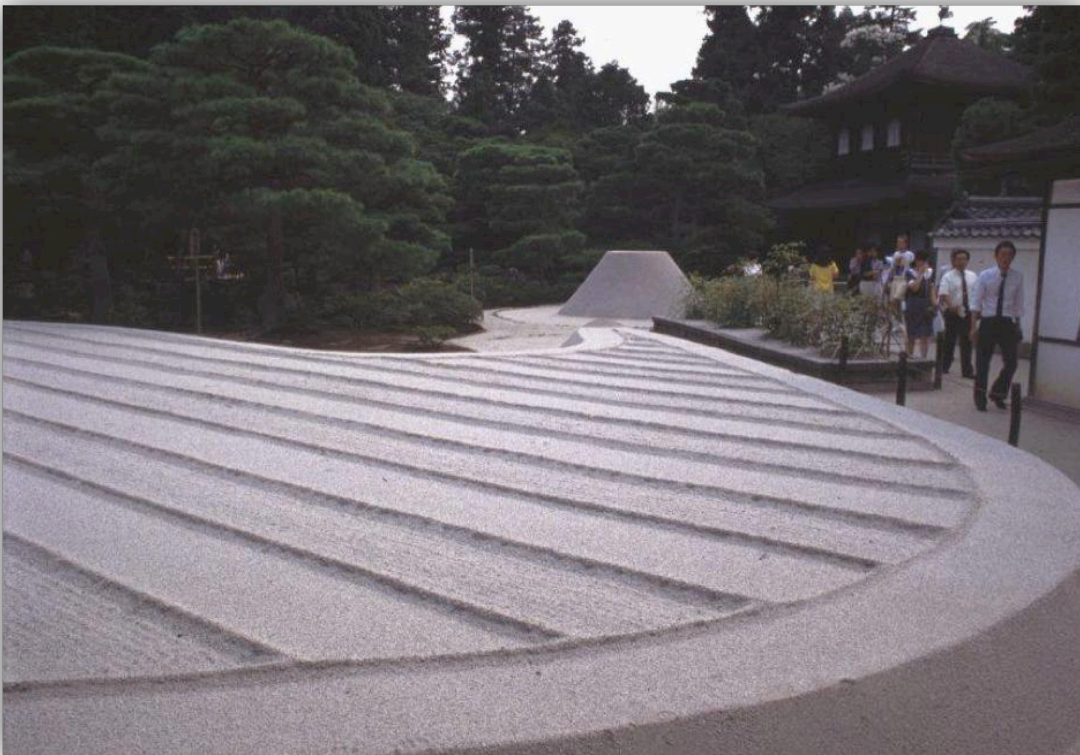
Nazenji Temple



Eikando Temple



Graveyard



Raked sand at Ginkakuji Temple

29th July 1990

Another day spent mainly temple visiting though with less speed than yesterday as we both felt a little tired after walking for the whole of the day before. Went first to the Shoren-in Temple. This had a particularly nice, quiet garden with a fish-filled lake. It had been a palace at some time in the far past and had a nice feeling about it - not too large.

The next was adjacent to it - the Chion-in Temple. This is a fully working temple - the headquarters of the Jodo sect, one of the biggest sects. We saw three separate temples being used during the time we were there. As it was Sunday, I expect that more services than other days were being held. We spent nearly three hours there, eating our sandwiches in the graveyard, high up in the forest above the temple.

We walked then to the museum area. We thought we'd gone into an industrial museum, but found an exhibition on the Second World War. Did not appear to be extolling war, so probably organised by a peace group. We then did find the newly-built Industry Museum, but this just had modern crafts with expensive examples for sale. Ate at the same place as last night.



Chion-in Temple

NARA

30th July 1990

Today we went to Nara. The train journey from Kyoto station was easy. Good to find we can manage to travel in Japan on our own without Toshiko's maps. Nara is a modern city. The temples and shrines are mainly round Nara Park on the Eastern edge, below the hills. We went first to the Kofukuji Temple. This was once huge, but now only a few buildings standing, one of which is a pagoda. All through the grounds of the park, deer roam. Very pretty. The National Museum was closed, so we went to the Isui-en garden. This is quite small, with miniaturised trees, but very pleasant. Here we ate our lunch.

Next to the Todaiji Temple - the largest wooden structure in the world, in which is a huge, bronze Buddha. Around this building were the first really mowed lawns we've seen in Japan. This temple full of tourists, but the next shrine, Kasuga Taisha, was quiet. The road up to the shrine is edged with stone lanterns, and within the shrine, brass lanterns hang from all the roof edges. Twice a year these are lit - there are some 3,000 of them. Pleasant walk back to the station through the park, and only one shopping arcade. Took the train back to Kyoto. Pleased we stayed in Kyoto as Nara can be seen in a day. Bought Shinkansen tickets for Tokyo on Thursday. Pretty expensive, but the only bus is overnight.



Todaji Temple

KYOTO

31st July 1990

Back for a bath at 4.40pm. One of the joys of this room is the really deep, stainless steel bath. We fill it with cool water when we come in from our walks. While it fills we drink green tea, and then we each wallow in turn. The water comes right up to the chin, and one can feel the pressure on one's lungs. It is difficult not to find oneself floating. Altogether, a lovely sensation, and most refreshing after the heat of the day. We also have kimonos to wear, so we can sit here reading or writing, the air cooled with a fan and a cooling system like a storage heater. The beds are three futon, a pillow and cover, and are very comfortable on the tatami floor. Much nicer than our beds which tend to roll with one. We are beginning to fit the role of hedonists, just gazing, walking and eating. As Alan said tonight, much more of this and our brains would addle, but it's a pleasure to have to opportunity to do so just once in a while.

This evening we got a bus to the centre of town and walked among crowds of people enjoying the coolness until we found a likely restaurant - cheap but tasty - then we walked back to our hotel - incidentally called "The Three Sisters Annexe". Why, we don't know, as we've not seen "The Three Sisters".

1st August 1990

Our last day in Kyoto. Again hot and sunny. I think we have got used to this weather as we seem to be able to walk most of the day, and not feel too tired at the end of it. Today we went to the West of the city to visit two more temples recommended in our guide book. Firstly, the Ryoan-ji Temple - a Zen temple with a famous garden of raked stones and 15 rocks with moss between the largest of them. The guide pamphlet suggested it was a good place to think, but with tourist parties passing through every minute or so, not possible to do so.

Next we went to the Kinkaku-ji Temple. This was rebuilt in the fifties after a deranged monk burnt down the original building which dated back to the fourteenth century. In 1987 they completed covering the first and second floor exterior with gold. It stands beside a lake, and is reflected in it. Sadly, one could enter no buildings here. I have to say that my favourite was the Nanzen-ji Temple that we visited on our first day in Kyoto.

Yesterday we bought 'The Tales of Genji' translated by Seidensticker. I had read part of Waley's translation long ago, but this seems better. As the action is set in Kyoto I now can visualise the whole thing much better. It is said that the author, Murasaki, is buried in Kyoto.

After the temples we went to look for paper for book-binding. At the third shop we found some nice patterns, bought some, and sent it off from the post office down the road. Next we went to the Kyoto Museum of Modern Art to see an exhibition of Dutch landscape painters, including Brueghels - the pictures loaned by Czechoslovakia. Rather a jump from Japanese art and culture, but very pleasant to look back to Europe again. It will be very sad to leave Kyoto. We have had a lovely spell of idle gazing and we still have not seen everything. It would be nice to come back here again sometime though it would have to be with British Council help - our pockets would not last long with the entrance charges to the temples alone.

Went to the centre of town after our bath, and walked back through Gion. Ate at a tiny shop without any other eaters. The little old lady who ran the shop cooked our food on the counter in front of us with half an eye on the TV., chatting to a man, drinking red tea. As we left, another man gave us a small cake each. And so we spent our last night in Kyoto.

2nd August 1990

Left our lovely Kyoto hotel at about 10.00am. The proprietor had given us a present each - a wallet and writing paper - and gave us a sweet send-off with a bow, on her knees. The Shinkansen from Kyoto to Tokyo was most comfortable and fast. Much smarter than British Rail. Japanese countryside between Tokyo and Kyoto is pretty in parts, with forested hills and a number of large rivers. We saw tea bushes growing in long lines, undulating over hillsides in a very pleasant manner, and in one estuary, much evidence of fish farming - tanks formed from nets and bamboo, it would seem



Our bedroom at 'Three Sister's Inn'

TOKYO

We left Kyoto at 11.35am. and arrived in Tokyo about 2.30pm. A huge city, of course, but not without some charm. Took a taxi to the International Guest House of Japan where we will lodge, thanks to Kenichi's last magic trick for us. He achieved what the British Council failed to do. Their substitute hotel would have cost us twice as much. A pleasant place, not unlike the similar institution in Delhi, but surprisingly, the Delhi version is grander. We have a large room with bathroom attached. No TV, but that really is not much of a loss as we've satisfied our interest with one in Sapporo and Kyoto.

Confirmed our flight on Monday, then looked at the library. A good selection of books, if one had time to read them. Stayed there until it closed at 6.00pm. then went for a walk in Roppongi - the disco-land of Tokyo, looking for food. As usual, we found ourselves walking for some time, rejecting this and that, and eventually ate an indifferent meal in a young persons restaurant where a Beatles record was playing loudly.

Back here, Alan phoned Chie Nakane and arranged to meet her here on Saturday afternoon, and the Nakanishis, who had left a number to phone. We may go to a Kabuki theatre on Sunday evening with them - so our last days in Japan fill up. Meanwhile, I am reading 'Genji' with much more pleasure than last time, though I do remember the story being similar.

3rd August 1990

After leaving the British Council, we went to the Toshiba plant where lap-tops are produced. Shown all over the factory. Interesting to note that they are really final product producers, buying all the parts from firms all over the world - electronic circuits from Taiwan and Thailand, software from U.S. and Britain. Nothing much seems to come from themselves, just the case design. As Alan said later, its rather like nineteenth century Britain bringing cotton etc. from abroad to manufacture in Britain. Alan talked about data bases, and their

data base man may come and see us in Cambridge. All the workers wear khaki overalls so hard to get an impression of status at all. Saw no one in a suit. May reflect an egalitarian principle in labour relations.

Toshiba's Comprehensive and Leading Edge Technology Creates Advanced Information Processing Systems and Equipment

At Ome Works we are utilizing a highly sophisticated CIM (Computer Integrated Management) integrating OA, EA, and FA to optimize the performance of every phase of operations from developing and designing of hardware and software, to manufacturing, testing, shipping and marketing. We apply leading edge technologies to manufacture high performance products and systems of superior quality to meet the needs of our customers in Japan and throughout the world.


■ TOSHIBA OUTLINE
 Headquarters: 72 Horikawa-cho, Saiwai-ku, Kawasaki-shi, Kanagawa-ken
 Head Office: Toshiba Building, 1-1-1 Shibaura, Minato-ku, Tokyo
 Founded: 1875
 Capital: 252.1 billion yen (as of the end of Aug. 1989)
 Number of employees: 74,596 (as of the end of Aug. 1989)

■ OME WORKS OUTLINE
 Location: 9, 2-chome, Suehiro-cho, Ome-shi, Tokyo
 Founded: 1968
 Site: land area 120,000m², floor area 75,000m²
 Main products: Distributed Data Processing Computers, Minicomputers, LAN Equipment, Packet Switching Unit, Data Conversion Unit, Small Business Computers, Personal Computers, Word Processors, Workstations, Optical Character Readers, Winchester Disk Drives, Other Computer Peripheral Devices, Various Computer Systems and Communication Systems.



■ ORGANIZATION

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  graph TD
    A[Industrial Electronics Planning Office] --- B[Integrated Communication Systems Div.]
    B --- C[Information & Communication Systems Lab.]
    C --- D[Information Processing & Control Systems Group]
    D --- E[Computer Div.]
    D --- F[PC & Workstation Div.]
    D --- G[Distributing & Banking Systems Div.]
    D --- H[Government Systems Div.]
    D --- I[Industrial Systems Div.]
    D --- J[Control & Instrumentation Div.]
    D --- K[Information Network Systems Supporting Div.]
    K --- L[Ome Works]
    K --- M[Fuchu Works]
    L --- N[Information & Communication Systems Lab.]
    L --- O[Heavy Apparatus Engineering Lab.]
    N --- P[Information & Communications Group]
    P --- Q[Government Sales Div.]
    P --- R[Office Automation Div.]
    P --- S[Telecommunication Equipment Div.]
    P --- T[Business Machines Div.]
    P --- U[Computer Peripherals Div.]
    U --- V[Yanagicho Works]
    U --- W[Hino Works]
    U --- X[Ome Works]
    X --- Y[Information & Communication Systems Lab.]
  
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View of Ome Works

Exhibition corner in Ome Works

NOTES ON TOSHIBA FACTORY

Visited the Ome works - "the birthplace of the laptop" and felt suitably reverential. Were shown round - a very impressive set-up stuffed with high-tech, even if their main function seems to be putting together bits and pieces from all sorts of lands. They have some 2,000 main workers and 2,000

"subsidiary worker", plus 600 part-time workers. In all there are about 65,000 people working for Toshiba. At Ome they do mainly FAT (final assembly and testing). They have to import many parts.

This factory's output is worth 280 billion Yen per year, but purchased components cost 85 percent of this, so 15 percent alone is value added. They produce 1,000,000 PC's per annum, and the same number of word processors. There are some 25 factories in all and Toshiba controls some 500 companies with a turnover of 3,000 billion Yen per annum = about 12 billion pounds a year. It was founded about 120 years ago.

They have no mainframe - using an NEC or whatever when needed, but the real power comes from linking all the thousands of PC's together into a vast network. Each engineer has a PC and there are many workers who also have them. The man who showed us round thinks they will soon discontinue word processors as they duplicate computers. There are some 3,000 PC's linked together; linked by optical fibre cable and net-grouping.

He admitted that "we are good at mass-producing, but introduce ideas from elsewhere" - e.g. CAD (Computer Aided Design) from U.K. and U.S.A. Micro-processors are bought in from INTEL/MOTOROLA in the U.S.A. Power supply units are bought in Taiwan. They produce 100 and 150mb Winchester disks, but smaller ones come from the U.S.A., e.g. JVC.

We were shown a film called "The intelligent Factory", which features Computer Integrated Manufacturing. This stressed how the Japanese listen to their users, etc. The whole factory seemed ideal for the Japanese - the ultimate in a network of linked reciprocities. They have image workstations and special discs and the connecting links is called VAN (value added network) - extremely efficient production.

One area was devoted to the "paperless" office. Here there was an ODICS-J5080 (EP 24) and extremely high-resolution display computer on which one could read a newspaper. Linked to it were 10 WORM disc players (made by Toshiba) - 12" discs, each holding some 720,000 A4 size pages, any one of which could be got up and manipulated digitally - magnified, printed out, cut, etc. - less work, less paper. Soon it will be possible not only to input by OCR, but directly from the screens of their numerous micros. Retrieval was rather laborious though, through screens and sub-screens, and they using some kind of simple "Spellcheck" program which has a direct match on characters. This system will control up to 8 optical disc-drives. One optical disc-drive costs about £4,000.

At the end of the tour, where the only noticeable weakness was the lack of seating for many of the bench assembly workers. I enquired whether there was any pilfering of the literally millions of small parts. The girls said "no".

We talked to a software expert and heard about his work, particularly on linking optical and computing. He sounded interested in CDS and said he might call by in Cambridge. He did not know of anything similar and had not heard of probabilistic systems, but he said that some system that could deal with unstructured data would be vital. He said that laptops were not suitable for pictures as one needed a high-definition tube which at present cost some 750,000Y. He was particularly interested in integrated office systems - multi-media systems.

As Sarah said, the visit, though very impressive in many ways, revealed the whole set-up as a sort of packaging plant - a collector of "raw" materials (in this case circuit boards, etc.) which are then "made up" into high-tech equipment - a higher level in the "ecological" chain, but one which is precarious, since as the "four little tigers" - Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong and South Korea move upwards, they could well push Japan off the top. It can go no higher, cannot go down to the bottom as it has no natural resources, and cannot compete in the middle as it does not have the cheap manpower.

4th August 1990

Feeling a little tired and wound down, probably the right moment to be going home, though perhaps it's the natural feeling before going home. Went to see the bookshops. Found Kitazawa with whom I've had dealings, and a few others specialising in English books. The number of bookshops in one street - Jimbochi - is impressive. So are the books. Returned about 3.30pm. to await Prof. Chie Nakane who came for tea. Learnt nothing really from her. Felt she had the reserve that many older anthropologists have. After, in Roppongi, Saturday night and all the young people made me feel old.

NOTES ON A TALK WITH CHIE NAKANE

Had an hour and a half tea and talk with Chie Nakane. Most of it about Christoph [Fürer-Haimendorf], mutual acquaintances, our reasons for coming to Japan, etc. She was fairly cautious and non-committal, but a few things came out of it. She had wanted to work in Tibet, and only gone to study matrilineal societies by accident when she couldn't (as an historian) work in Tibet in the early 1950's. She'd spent time in Chicago and SOAS.

She asked about similarities between England and Japan and seemed to agree with my assessment of the Japanese family system and the absence of joint families, etc.

I asked her what she had meant by the statement that "The Japanese have no principles", which got her into such trouble. What she had meant was as follows:

Firstly, she believed that most behaviour is context or socially bound; it is not done in relation to abstract or general principles. Thus, social relations count above abstract 'principles'. This is because most behaviour occurs within small, powerful, social groups. It is a group-based society. Hence, when the behaviour is 'exposed' to the outside world (e.g. the political activity of a village) it is often seen as 'corrupt'. The top politicians behave in the same way. When so exposed, people's reactions is not usually moral shock, but rather, "oh, how unlucky to be found out". Thus Japan is still, as opposed to England or America, a strong group-based society; but they are "artificial groups".

Secondly, there are only few and weak ethical codes. As she put it, beauty is more important than right and wrong in evaluating behaviour (rather like high-level mathematics and physics). This arises from the weakness and contradictions of the religious system. There is no strong feeling of absolutes of right and wrong. Art, aesthetics and beauty are more important than right and wrong. Perhaps more accurate to say that there is no contradiction seen. To adapt Keats famous "Truth is beauty, Beauty Truth", one might say that the Japanese believe "Right is Beauty, Beauty Right".

I asked her about religion; is it present and strong etc.? She agreed that ritual is hardly present, and where it is, it often a recent invention. She seemed to imply that it had been strong in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, with the high point of Buddhism, but had declined since then. Now there was very little beyond a superficial magic, talismans etc. She put forward no hint of a theory as to why this should be the case. She asked why "X and Son" or "X Brothers" was common in England. Apparently, the latter is unknown in Japan; perhaps, I wonder, linked to the maxim "the brother is the beginning of the stranger". According to her, many eldest sons are not able to find a wife, as girls do not want to take on the parents-in-law in old age. The only chance is 'love marriage'; ironically, therefore, the parents in this case are very keen on the idea of love marriage!

5th August 1990

Our last day in Japan. Spent it delightfully with the Nakanishis. Yoh picked us up by taxi at 10.30am. and we drove to the Kabuki theatre. Though the building didn't seem very large from the outside, the foyer was full of stalls selling Kabuki items, sweets and drinks. We met Himako who had gone to get the tickets earlier, and she arranged a sandwich lunch in the interval for us. The theatre itself was much squarer than ours with the bulk of seats in two tiers facing the stage, but banks also down either side. Lanterns hung from the first tier. A gangway from the stage to the back of the auditorium is on the left side of the stage. The stage itself is about two and a half to three times as wide as our stage, giving a super 'cinemascope' effect. The safety curtain looked like a huge carpet decorated with cranes and bamboo on a creamy background.

The performance started at 11.00am. and there were four items. The first was a complete play about a geisha who drove a draper to murder her for love. All parts are taken by men, but it was hard to fault the actor who played the geisha. The scenery has a rather flattened look, and the whole picture is like the Japanese paintings on long scrolls. Even the makeup helps to confirm this impression. For the women it is dead white, and there is no attempt for either men or women to give depth to a face. However, they manage to convey emotion with much subtlety, despite the flat appearance.

The next two items were acts from longer plays. One gave the chance for a quick-change actor to play five roles at once - changing costume at an unbelievable rate, from man to woman, even to the god of thunder. This playlet was performed to music played by two separate groups of players and singers on either side of the stage,

who took it in turns to sing until the last part when they sang together. The instrument was a Japanese 'banjo'. The third playlet was part of a ghost story, the ghost being a woman who felt she'd been deserted by her lover. The last item was a stylised dance by an eight year old boy, the son of the 'actress' who played the ghost, one of the Nakamura actor family.

We left the theatre about 3.00pm. and found a place to have tea - part of Sony House, decorated in the style of an English pub. We then went by train to their house. From the station one walks through a delightful park, over a large lake where the cherry blossom is apparently particularly fine in the Spring. The area reminds me of Hampstead Garden Suburb - expensive houses, and tree-lined, narrow roads. Apparently it is in the middle of park land so is an oasis of calm in the middle of Tokyo. Himako apologised for her home being "old" - twenty year's old to be exact. They had it built to Himako's design. The interior living room, which extends the length of the house and a greater part of its width, is wood-lined, like our dining room ceiling. There were plenty of Liberty print cushions on the chairs, and cupboards of china.

Part of the back garden, which is very small, is taken up by another house where their son lives. It was rather odd to see a Japanese 'plastic' house crammed in just behind theirs, but we later learnt that the son has a spinal defect which doctors never believed he'd recover from. In fact, he's trying to make a career as an artist, painting large canvasses which must add to the strain on his back. We did not notice that there was anything wrong with him until we were told. He is charming and was keen to show us his work and to describe what he was aiming to express. He would like to go to the U.S.A. where he thinks he would find more appreciation than in Japan. However, as his parents have to support him (he's now about 27) it may be impossible. Their other child is a daughter aged 21 who is at Tokyo University doing philosophy. We had a pleasant talk with all the family, then ate with Yoh and Himako. They drove us back to the International House and both expressed keenness to see us again. It was a particularly nice end to a most enjoyable and illuminating stay in Japan.

NOTES

Karma I asked about the concept of karma, which had been mentioned in one of the Kabuki plays we had seen. Yoh said it was related to the idea of 'bachi', some form of retribution from the Gods. He said his wife still threatened the children with this. But what god/God it was, he was not certain. Probably some kind of Shinto god.

Kabuki theatre We discussed the Kabuki play in which there was a female ghost. They commented that only women are ghosts (in Kabuki) in Japan because only women feel resentment. Men are not supposed to have this feeling. The resentment felt by an older woman at the lack of love/affection from a young student she had befriended would not be considered a sufficient motive for haunting in England. Note the two-dimensionality of the Kabuki stage - also the fact that the theme for all the plays is love - romantic love - in its various forms. Note also the relative freedom of young persons of the opposite sex to sit together, etc. - but absence of any courtship/foreplay. Declarations of lover are very sudden. Note also that Kabuki was originally probably invented by a woman, and that there were women actors who were eliminated in the Edo period

Disinheritance in Japan I asked Yoh about the possibility of disinheritance in the Japanese past. He said a father could, for a reason, disinherit, literally cut off, a son. This is called 'kando'. It is just done by words; and there is no appeal to a court that can be made against this.

Individual rights in Japan Yoh said that the concept of rights were not the same in Sri Lanka - although the word or phrase is often used nowadays, it does not mean the same in Japan. Rather it means that a person requests something as by "grace and favour" from a superior. To insist on one's rights is thought to be indecent behaviour in Japan.

Legal systems of Japan and England We discussed the legal systems of England and Japan. Yoh agreed that trust and fairness was the basis of the economy in both countries and that this was held in place by the idea of equity. But whereas in England there was Equity, but also Common Law and Statute Law, in Japan there was only equity and custom - little formal law.

Zen garden We discussed our interpretation of the Zen garden we had seen and came out with diametrically opposed interpretations. Whereas the Japanese (Yoh, etc.) saw the gravel as "life" - flat, peaceful, restful, serene, and purposeful, the rocks were dangers, threats to this. We saw the gravel as the treacherous sea of life with the rocks as islands or havens of peace in the general sea of misery.

Guilt, sin and work motivation I asked Yoh what he thought motivated the Japanese. It was not guilt, he said (there is no sense of original sin) or even acquisitiveness; it was the love of work, the sheer pleasure of working, that lured them on.

REPORT TO THE BRITISH COUNCIL ON DISTINGUISHED VISITING FELLOWSHIP IN JAPAN, 28 JUNE - 6 AUGUST 1990.

Dr. Alan Macfarlane, F.B.A.

Exchanging ideas

1. Britain and Japan.

I had been asked primarily to lecture about and discuss English social history, and in particular the general fields of the development of British capitalism and individualism and the peculiarities of the English family system.

A public lecture and two seminars were given on these themes and the general content of my contributions are outlined in the synopses which are attached to this report. These public occasions seemed to go well and the seminars lasted longer than scheduled and were followed by long informal discussions.

In order to make my presentation of the history of England comprehensible and interesting it was necessary to learn a good deal about Japanese history and social structure both in the past and the present, and this visit allowed me to do this.

My major discoveries included the fact that the Japanese experience throws into question the too easy assumption that I had made (in my books on English Individualism and English Capitalism) that there was a necessary connection between the following four: individualism - capitalism, - egalitarianism - industrialism. Japan provides the intellectually stimulating case of a society which has two of these features - industrialism/capitalism, combined with a 'vertical' social structure and holism (a non-individualistic, group-based social structure). It provides a fascinating intersection of western technology and economics, with eastern social structure and morality.

My hunches that 'companionate love marriage', as discussed in my book on 'Marriage and Love in England' is scarcely known in Japan seemed to be confirmed. Discussing the differences between the two cultures provided the basis for very many talks and discussions.

In general, there was a considerable interest in British culture and traditions. The Japanese we met were beginning to turn away from the American model, which they feel they have now absorbed and seems too brash and single-level to them. They are becoming intrigued with the more complex, historically ancient, cultures of western Europe, including Britain. They are not merely very keen to learn the language, but to learn about the whole cultural context within which the language is spoken.

I found the intellectual experience marvelously invigorating and it enabled me to plan out a major work on the contradictions inherent in capitalist society which I hope to work on over the next few years. Japan will now figure in that work as an important part of the argument and I hope that this will make it of interest to the Japanese. They have already shown some interest in the purely English dimension by translating my 'Origins of English Individualism', which came out a few weeks before my visit. I learnt a great deal and hope that my hosts did as well.

2. Educational technology and optical discs.

A very separate interest lies in the use of new educational technologies in museums, universities and schools. In Cambridge over the last five years I have directed a project (with funding from the ESRC, Nuffield, Leverhulme and elsewhere) to make the first 'Cambridge Experimental Videodisc'. This was just completed before my visit to Japan and an exhibition featuring it was opened by the Duke of Edinburgh in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology

and Anthropology while we were in Japan. I wanted to see what use was being made of computers, optical discs etc. in museums and teaching in Japan.

I investigated this in Hokkaido and Osaka Universities and in various museums, including the Hokkaido Historical Museum and the National Museum of Ethnology. In short, apart from the most interesting 'library' of short films kept on a bank of videodiscs in the NME, it would seem that the use of new educational media is far more advanced in England than in Japan. Japan, of course, produces the sophisticated hardware to show the optical discs etc. on. But computers have hardly entered schools, and videodisc technology is only starting to come into universities. I was able therefore to tell them something of recent developments in Britain and in Cambridge in particular, but did not learn a great deal in this field.

3. Advanced information retrieval systems.

Over the years, as an historian and anthropologist, I have worked with computer scientists to develop various advanced information retrieval systems, first of a relational (CODD - COroutine Driven Database) and then of a probabilistic kind (CDS Cambridge Database System). These have aroused considerable interest and we have linked the latter to optical discs. Visitors from the Getty Foundation and elsewhere in America and Europe have told us that the semi-intelligent system we have been developing is in advance of anything in America at present. We therefore wanted to see what 'the state of the art' was in Japan.

At the University level, we were unable to discover similar work at Hokkaido University. One problem in demonstrating our system was that it was written for IBM-compatible computers and, of course, half those in Japan (NEC) are not compatible. While there was no evidence in this small part of the University world of similar developments, it seemed likely that more would be happening in the industrial sector. As our system has been set up on, among other things, a 'Toshiba' laptop, it seemed appropriate to make a visit to the Toshiba works at Ome where they make these machines. Through a family link with our hosts we were able to spend an afternoon being shown round the Ome works and talking to software and hardware specialists. The works were very impressively organized, but on the information retrieval front (if my hosts are to be believed), they had not even heard of the new type of database system which we have been developing. They seemed very interested and will probably make a visit to Cambridge to see a demonstration in the autumn.

Again, therefore, I was able to tell people about important developments in Britain, but learnt little in this field, except about Japanese production methods and efficiency.

4. Learning about Japanese society.

As a social anthropologist with my main expertise in English and Nepalese society, I was interested to learn more about Japan. Through the great kindness and efforts of our main hosts, Professor Nakamura and his wife, we were able to probe inside Japan quite a bit during our stay. Indeed, with one or other of them, we jointly explored parts of the society which they themselves had never seen at work.

In particular we visited and discussed various levels of the educational system. We visited nursery schools (two) for very young children, and spent a day each in a primary and middle school, interviewing the staff and head-masters, spending time in classes, asking the pupils questions etc. This was fascinating. The major impression was of a highly efficient, but over intense system. Too little time or space was given to 'creative' and 'imaginative' work - music, drama, art, creative writing etc. Far too much time was given to rote learning of language (which was started too late in a child's life). The children were under enormous and increasing pressure and this continues, with a brief respite in University, until retirement.

All this is, of course, well known, but the pressures seem to be getting worse as 'cramming' outside school mounts in time and cost. The problem is obviously related to the lack of imaginative creativity later in life in Japan. It is obviously caused by the fact that in a supposedly 'egalitarian' society, the only way to allocate people between better and worse jobs is through

education - and with jobs for life, all is decided by the time one reaches University. The pressure on children, whose whole life will be determined by what they do between about ten and eighteen, and upon their parents, is very great indeed. The advice we would give from an English experience was to allow more fluidity in later life - with job mobility etc., so that people have some opportunity to change and develop after they leave school and move from career to career, firm to firm.

Schooling is one of the main sources of anxiety in Japanese society, along with the growing tensions between men and women. Although supposedly providing equal opportunities, women suddenly discover at University, if not before, that they are not wanted in the world of work. Their sense of betrayal is reinforced in marriage, which they often now enter with a feeling that this is a 'western' style love marriage, where they will be 'friends' with their husband and live in a companionly and close way after marriage. Within a short time, however, many discover that their husbands chief emotional loyalty is to his work. He comes home late and exhausted, and soon becomes regarded as the "big rubbish" (a Japanese phrase which we heard frequently and is glossed as meaning a thing that takes up space in the corner of a room, but contributes nothing).

The English experience, which we explained to them, is to take a little pressure off the workplace, to encourage more leisure and time with the family etc. Of course, this all goes against the grain of Japanese industrial organization. The Japanese may have, finally, to decide whether to sacrifice their economic supremacy or their family system. If they do not modify their work organization, the current trend of women refusing to marry may increase dramatically. But a system of job-sharing and more flexible work habits (distributed work etc.), might be possible.

The third major anxiety lies in the problem of old age. An ageing population is, of course, a problem facing all advanced industrial societies and England is no exception. But the Japanese case is particularly difficult for two reasons. One is that the ageing of the population is happening particularly fast - much faster than in Britain, for instance. This is because the move from high fertility to negative fertility has coincided with one of the most dramatic rises in the mean age at death known in the world. Thus the Japanese have fewer children being born than in the past and people live longer on average than anywhere else in the world.

The second reason lies in the traditional expectations concerning provision for old people. In England and western Europe, in general it has been assumed that after marriage the young children would live separately from their parents and would never return to the natal home. Consequently, there have not been expectations of an impelling kind that children should co-reside with their parents or provide much financial or practical support for them. Even with this background, there is a good deal of ambivalence and guilt and worry. In Japan, however, the family ideal was that of the 'stem' family, where the oldest son would not move out of the parental home at marriage. He would remain and with his wife would look after his parents. The bond between mother and oldest son is particularly strong.

This traditional pattern was tolerable when houses could be extended and modified in country towns and villages, and when the old people, who often did not live very long in any case, could contribute to the family enterprise. But in a small and crowded flat in a big city, the strains, particularly on the daughter in law, are intolerable. Thus many Japanese families are faced with a bitter choice - sacrifice the mother or the wife.

With their accustomed good sense, the Japanese are facing up to this with private old people's homes etc. It seems likely that they will increasingly link this (as is happening with development of large retirement estates in Australia etc.) with the perks of working for a big firm. The English experience, however, can provide a model of a long historical tradition where it has been accepted that it is impossible to have two adult couples living in one home - however much they love one another.

Moving to the top of the educational system, the University level, we gained some idea of how a good State university works. It was orderly, the staff courteous and interested in ideas, the Library well equipped. From a Cambridge perspective, probably the major shortcoming lay in what appeared to be a rather large gap between staff and students, particularly undergraduates. There is no one to one supervision, and although the staff-student ratio is much better than that in many private universities, it would still seem that some of the deficiencies of the schools are present. Lectures are too long, there are too many of them, there is not enough time for creative thought and reading and little direct stimulus from the teachers. There are too many tests and minor examinations.

There is a generally relaxed air about the Universities, however, which is no doubt a relief to the students. After huge pressure in schools, they form an oasis before the pressures of a full-time job. Since the job a person gets is not dependent on his final grade of pass (unlike England), but rather the University and Department he is in, there is far less pressure on the students than in a British university. But there is far more pressure to get into the right University.

This leads to the curious and, in many ways undesirable and recent growth of "crammers" for Universities. I visited one of these and was taken round. It was very luxurious - with much better facilities than the University. The lecturers were paid much more than their equivalents at the Universities. The students or their parents paid high fees. Almost half the intake to Hokkaido University comes from these crammers. Among their insidious effects are to force up the competition with schools - making the cramming in schools even worse, and to begin to push Japan towards a bias against equal opportunities. Although, in theory, the educational system is 'free', a wealthy family can buy its children a place in a good university through extra cramming at school and, if that fails, by one or two years at a pre-university crammer. The wealthy can thus pass on their advantages, while children from poor homes, if they fail on the first attempt, have to give up the chance of a University education.

Outside the educational system, we visited two other major kinds of institution. One was the law courts. My wife accompanied me and, as a Magistrate in Britain, was especially interested to look at a part of the Japanese legal situation. Since I also have written books on, and lecture on legal anthropology and history, this also interested me. Between us we attended three court sessions and met several judges and academics working in legal sociology. This was a most interesting experience. Among the impressions we gained were the following. The pervasive influence of the criminal gangs is evident; all three cases we saw involved members of these gangs, though otherwise they were unrelated.

Secondly, it appears that litigation is avoided if possible in Japan. This has the benefit of saving money, time and aggravation, but also means that occasionally individual rights (particularly of weaker citizens) are not protected. Apart from the dislike of confrontational situations (and hence the wariness about accepting the adversarial system of British common law), there is also a dislike of making irrevocable decisions and apportioning blame. As one Judge admitted, this may be one reason why many cases are interminable; the judges cannot bring themselves to give a decision that a person is guilty. The main hope is that an individual will conform and re-join the group. Hence a sincere apology by a defendant is strongly welcomed.

The dislike of reaching a verdict to condemn a fellow Japanese as guilty, combined with the absence of a tradition of unpaid and voluntary community service, are among the reasons why the British jury system, though admired as an ideal, has never been adopted (despite a short trial in the 1920's). There is talk of its being so in the future. Since the British legal system is, along with its language and democracy, its main contribution to world civilization, it seems likely that the Japanese will show an increasing interest in it. But since the basis of the British legal system is the free-floating individual with individual rights and responsibilities, while the basis of Japanese society, is the group, to which an individual must conform, there is a considerable area of incompatibility.

The visits to the local Parliament and discussions of local politics, and to the local government offices, were difficult to interpret. As at a national level, it appeared that while there was fierce argument, in practice the way in which the major parties would behave in power was even less opposed than that of the present Conservative government and reformed Labour party in Britain. The government offices we visited were busy on ambitious plans to turn Hokkaido into a twenty-first century city-island. With high speed rail links, vastly expanded airport, satellite links, science parks, etc. etc. one had visions of a mini-Japanese miracle within Japan. No doubt they will succeed - despite the cloud that hangs over them in the shape of the dispute with Russia over the northern territories.

On an entirely different note, we also visited the main Ainu area on Hokkaido, since, as an anthropologist, the curious and unique features of Ainu culture had long interested me. This was a sad experience since, in many ways, Ainu civilization has been obliterated and all that remains as a memorial are a few faded video-tapes and films, some dusty museum cabinets of artefacts, and a growing 'airport-art' tourist industry. But it was good to have been where the great Isabella Bird stood in the nineteenth century and to have some picture of the forested hills which were once peopled with Ainu.

Continuing the Conversations in 1991-2

The path of our research then went in a new direction, almost totally different from the traditional anthropological study of a remote community. When I returned from Nepal in 1970 and was writing my Ph.D., I did meet one or two Gurungs, Gurkha soldiers in the U.K., and was able to ask them a few questions. On the whole, however, I was on my own with my fieldnotes and memories. There was little to read on the Gurungs or neighbouring societies. All the relevant books and theoretical literature would easily fit onto one shelf.

When we returned in August 1990, I put Japan on hold for a few months as I had much teaching, administering and other research to do. The possibility of further work on Japan changed when Kenichi, Toshiko and their family came to the Nissan Centre, Oxford, for two years from the end of October in 1990. We had agreed to continue our collaboration after our first visit so we were delighted to be able to combine some further reading on Japan with the chance to continue the informal 'seminars', both in Oxford and Cambridge, which we had established in Japan. In the short periods of two or three days we would walk, talk, eat meals together and build up trust, friendship and a set of shared conventions for a productive dialogue, the language and rules which long-term collaborations need to establish. We began to get a sense of the gaps in our mutual knowledge, to formulate more clearly the puzzles.

What slightly surprises me now is to see that almost immediately, from our first such meeting in 1991, I was also writing at length on various Japanese topics. I had always encouraged my Ph.D. students to start writing about their experiences in an analytical way from the start of their fieldwork, even when they understood very little. Just collecting material is passive, but writing immediately shows us what we do not yet know, but should look out for. It is all guesses based on previous experience and analogies. It starts to connect the random information that is pouring in. We discover new things as much in the writing, throughout the years, as we do in the talking and the reading.

So, in those two years I had written several book-lengths of occasional pieces. I was also confident enough to give papers on Japan in public settings, at a conference at Oxford on comparative work patterns between Japan and the West, and for the prestigious Radcliffe-Brown lecture of the British Academy, at Lancaster and Glasgow universities. I was also starting to review books on Japan for journals. From 1991, Sarah and I started to collect books on Japan, finding several excellent sets in second-hand bookshops.

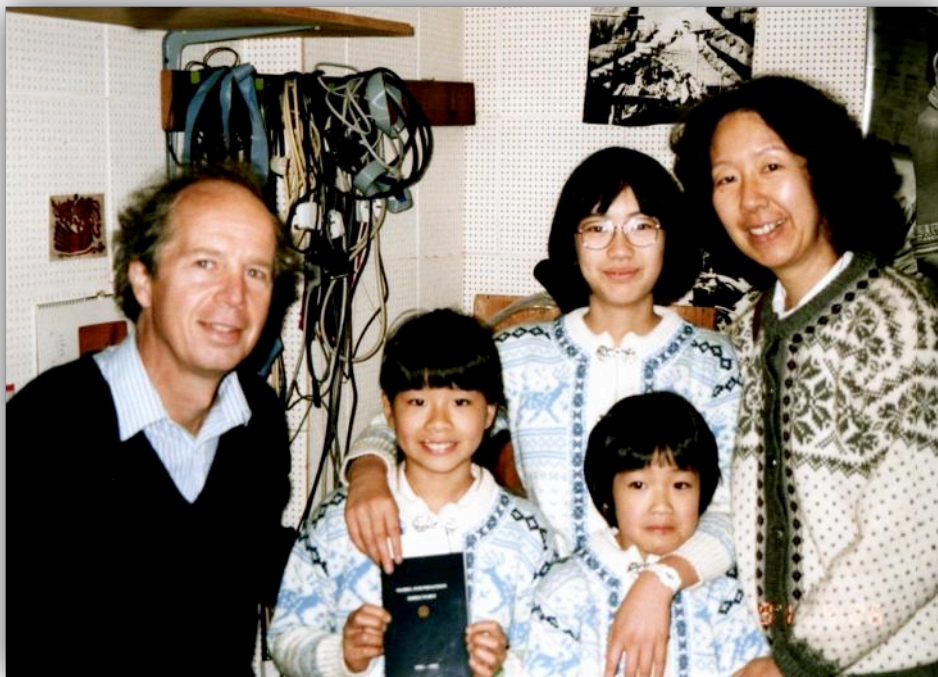
25th May 1991

A pleasant day, mainly entertaining the Nakamura family. Kenichi, Toshiko and family arrived at about 12.30pm and we showed the garden and house, sorted coins, talked etc. Children lovely and lots to talk about and pick up on after not seeing them for a while. Much discussion of differences/similarities of Japan and Europe etc. Kenichi convinced that Southern China is the sleeping giant that will challenge Japan and the rest of the world. Also did some house and barn cleaning and cooking. Nice to relax as I felt pretty exhausted by the end of last week, with further work on computers etc.



26th May 1991

A day entertaining the Nakamuras. We went in to Cambridge after breakfast, and showed them the department and King's and Trinity colleges. Then back to Lode where we went for a walk and the children sorted stamps etc. Watched a couple of Nepal films in the evening and had a good talk. Quite a strain entertaining for this length of time, however nice the people. But they are very sweet, especially sweet and intelligent children. Showed them the computer system which they seemed to enjoy using.



27th May 1991

The Nakamuras left about 10am. Nice to have seen them much food to finish up, and milk enough to bath in as, contrary to expectation, the children drank none of it.

In October we visited the Nakamuras in Oxford for more intense discussions.

26th October 1991

Drove over to Oxford for a very interesting afternoon and evening talking to Toshiko and Kenichi about Japan and England. Joined by Prof. Minamoto⁷ and his wife who were very sincere and thoughtful. Took many pages of notes about various topics.

27th October 1991

Much of the day sitting round various delicious Japanese meals discussing further aspects of Japanese peculiarity. Then back after a walk in Port Meadow etc. Feel full to the brim with further thoughts/information on Japan.

CONVERSATIONS - BRIEF EXTRACTS

We asked about the idea of sacrifice. The idea of sacrifice seems to be more or less absent in Japan; certainly blood sacrifice is absent. The nearest to sacrifice is the sacrifice of the Emperor, who symbolically commits suicide for his people (very similar to Jesus). Thus in both Japan, there is a once for all sacrifice. The word for sacrifice is something like *idenie deana* - often means gifts of food, rice, saki etc. to the spirit. The Emperor's secret ritual of installation, includes an element of symbolic suicide for the people, and the myth of father killing (as Frazer). As with God/Jesus, the Emperor is both the sacrificer and the sacrificed.

We asked about the concept of pollution. Apart from the pollution of death (dealt with by salt), and the pollution of power (e.g. sumo wrestlers - again cleansing with salt), and some residual pollution of bodily fluids (menstruation), there is really very little idea of pollution in Japan - as in Europe. Another curious similarity.

We talked about other aspects of religion. If there are natural disturbances (earth quakes etc.), then it is assumed that it would be sensible to deal with by finding a cause often a tragic death etc., and then to build a shrine to calm down the dead person. Dealing with the unquiet dead.

We discussed the burakamin or supposed outcastes; they are in some strange way both at the bottom of the society, and have a link to the Emperor. For instance, they claimed the right to carry the Emperor in his installation (or perhaps at his death?).

We learnt about the way Shinto permeates gangsters, prostitution and other areas of Japan. The Yakuza gangs have their own version of Shinto, as do the clans of prostitutes. It appears that there were once what looks like temple prostitutes in Japan. They were bright, respected, knowledgeable women (Shiraboishi).

We discussed the nature of religion in the Genji. In the Genji, religion is, in Kenichi's words, a 'black box' - a nothingness. There is no motivation of liberation. Buddhism is a protection against fear - a teaching of man to accept the fact of mortality and death. The Genji gradually comes to terms and accepts death. It chronicles the movement from the temporal and moral world to the eternal world of nothingness, of dying before death.

We discussed the nature of Japanese Buddhism. There is a very special form of Buddhism, in which the aim is nothingness; in the training, if one thinks of anything, one is hit etc. It is the casting away, or emptying of everything. People become the living dead, shedding all desire and vanity. Only

⁷ Dr Ryoen Minamoto, a historian of ideas, Professor Emeritus of Tohoku University, played a key role in establishing the Peking Japanology Research Centre.

the stripped man is left - makes a person very strong. A person is no longer strong in himself, but becomes the tool of something stronger you do not fire the arrow, the arrow fires you etc.

We talked about religion and were told that there is no functional equivalent to western religion because there is no individual soul and no external God; there is no theodicy, no idea of original sin, no after life, no theoretical system. Those who need a salvation religion adopt Christianity.

We talked about the tea ceremony. It is an anti-ritualistic ceremony, a curious contradiction. There is ceremonial, but not ritual, etiquette but not ethics. It acts as a functional equivalent to religion, but without the theological system. It is a chance to meet people whom one would normally not be able to meet. It may (before a battle), be the only occasion on which one can meet a person; before fighting to the death.

The tea house ritual is a third way. Games assume equality and create divisions, ritual assumes inequality and creates equality, the tea ceremony assumes nothing and creates nothing. It is formalised, yet not religious (cf. judo, which seems similar). It is half ritual and half game, but more than both.

In the tea ceremony anyone can meet anyone equally, do the same thing. In the sixteenth century time of war, the meeting at the tea house was possibly the last chance to meet on neutral ground and avoid war. It functioned to allow political alliances, negotiations. It was also an anticipation of death '*Tchiko ichie*' political empty ground. It is a neutral stadium, an isolated space and a very shortened or compressed time. It is the crystallisation of the sense of eternity (as created in drama), in the midst of chaos and war. The floor plan of the tea house is very elaborate to create this separate space (cf. Masons), to make a sanctuary. Since there is no God to help man resolve his tensions, the tea house makes a very special here and now situation - an aesthetic religion. In form it is a ritual, in content a joint game.

The tea ceremony changed very much after Rikyu (in the late C16), becoming narrower and narrower, until only two people came together. The reason why the cup is so rough and simple is to force people to concentrate on the taste of the tea, and not to get distracted.

We discussed saying yes and no in Japan. The word for 'yes' in Japan, 'hai' can be taken to be mean yes, but can also mean anything from yes, through maybe, to no. Really it is reflecting the other's words and intentions and saying "you know" or "you decide". A person must not say no directly in Japan, where it is almost impossible to say no. Rather he must leave it to the other's discretion to pick up the positive signals that underlie a 'yes'.

One should not say no in Japan, for the word for 'no' is much heavier than in the West. It is only possible to say no to very close friends. With others, only very occasionally can one say no. If one does so, it precludes all future intimacy and communication, and is tantamount to a declaration of war.

We discussed the unification of mind and heart. The split of heart and mind in the West is not accepted in Japan - the two are joined.

We discussed Japanese aesthetics. Japanese aesthetics revelled in colour and luxury, but then there was an equivalent to the Puritan reformation of manners; when Zen was imported, black and white became the highest colours, the red leaves of autumn and blossoms of Spring were replaced by the snow and ice of winter as the highest aesthetic experiences. Ice with its absence of colour and transparency became important. Mono colours began to dominate. Nara, similar to China, is very colourful with red and gold Kyoto is a mixture of the old colours with the greys and blacks of the zen gardens.

We talked about what real love is. The deepest form of love is hidden love, which should not be expressed. It grows and crystallizes, but the two people concerned should not show their love. They guess each other's love, like two mirrors reflecting each other's, but it is not expressed in words. This also applies to the love of the servant for the lord and vice versa; they can guess the intention of the other. It is thus possible to have love and inequality which the west tends to think as incompatible.

Prof. Minamoto and his wife were very struck by the fences between fields in England suggesting an obsessions with private property which is absent in Japan.

There are two strands in Bushido or the ethic of the warrior. There is the side of loyalty, devotion, self-sacrifice, to die for one's lord, loyalty and love to the lord. Then there is the 'Gentlemanship' side, *Magasako* - mixed with Confucian element and humanism somewhat similar to Eliot's 'The Governour', they thought.

The Emperor is empty in Japan. The Emperor says nothing, a black box, a sounding board for other people; but sensitive people can guess each other's intentions, and need to anticipate those of the Emperor who loves one and one loves. The Emperor absorbs all expectations without saying anything, all people project their deepest desire onto him.

In noting what is unusual about England, Prof. Minamoto said that Japan is too busy, too short tempered, aggressive, time moves too fast. In England, time moves relatively slowly, people have the ability to wait and to endure. In Japan the most frequent phrase of parents to children is "Quick Quick".

They observed that English children are well trained and behaved and well disciplined, much more self-restrained, calm, Protestant – as opposed to volatile and rushing Japanese (and French) children. German children are very like the Japanese; indeed Prof. Minamoto feels very familiar in Germany in general (e.g. in German shops).

There is no tradition of war memorials with particular names in Japan; just mass memorials. Minamoto was impressed with the English memorials in small villages, living continuities and respect for individual persons. It may be that this shows something about English individualism and Japanese communalism. In Hiroshima, for a while, there were individual memorials where victims lived or fell, then they were all pulled down and heaped in one place (Japan is one large stone see national anthem).

Minamoto thought that "relax" is the key word of British society; Japan lacks this and lacks the tradition of the church and particularly the quietness of the village church. He was struck by the weight and function of the Anglican church in English society.

I asked whether Japan would have developed industrialism without the West. Minamoto thought that even in the Tokugawa, every Han was trying to industrialise themselves, but not sure whether this could have achieved industrialism without the West.

We discussed empirical thought in Japan. Minamoto thought that Confucianism changed its character in the eighteenth century, becoming more empirical and rational; in the seventeenth century empiricism had arisen from the power of the merchants and the large cities. In Japan it was possible to expand the empirical, partly because of the practical, non-logical and intuitive thought. In China, everything was too rigorous and logical (as Catholic Europe), whereas the Japanese were not too strictly logical; practical and ingenious (like the English). The *chu si* school. Thus it was not at all difficult for them to accept Western thought.

The merchants and samurai were the carriers of thought in Japan; whereas in China Confucianism developed into a purely scholastic tradition, in Japan it had a double strand, the intellectual and the practical needs to the Samurai for military and other tasks. Thus it had a practical and rational streak to it, because it needed to work. Empirical thought was a combination of Confucianism and militaristic science. The merchants were even more rational than the Samurai – believing in free competition etc. They were contrivers, with cleverness. The cleverest person tended to get to the top. In China there was a growing separation of the literate and the military classes – which did not happen in Japan.

Prof. Minamoto stressed that so many elements needed to combine together to create development; native traditions with an acceptance of western learning and interest in technology. The Samurai were interested in Dutch learning which was imported from very early onwards. The Samurai were very eager for education, as were the Koreans.

There has traditionally been a surprisingly small gap between the ruling Samurai and the rural classes in Japan, there is an overlapping 'common field' between them. This is shown in the tea ceremony, or the making of *haiku*, which is common to all. The tea ceremony is an attempt to eliminate all differences. It is a contrivance to crush all status differences. The merchant class is the most powerful economically and the most admired culturally for a long period.

I asked whether Japan discovered the method of Japan independently. Prof. Minamoto thought not. Although there were particular discoveries and parts of the puzzle were found, the whole was not there. There were bits and pieces, but not the system of discovery itself. Physics and mathematics were not combined in Japan. They quickly noticed that this had been done in the West and followed it up. There were no obstacles in Japan to its reception – thus they quickly learned Newton's law in the Edo period, and western mathematics. They realized they needed it.

We discussed the contrast of world religions. Christianity is realistic about the material world, and sees it as rational and real, non-magical. China is rational about the material world, but under Buddhism starts to consider it as an illusion. Japan sees the natural world as real, but in certain respects somewhat irrational.

Minamoto stressed the curiosity of the Japanese, though did not explain what it stemmed from; there was a big flow of information from China, geometry, agriculture etc. But the expulsion of the missionaries in the C17 somewhat stemmed this flow.

One difference of China and Japan was that in Japan, when they saw the superiority of Western weapons, they began to build them for themselves; learnt Dutch etc. In China, when they saw the superiority of Western weapons, they bought them off the shelf.

Minamoto stressed the fear that the Japanese have of untamed nature; they need to landscape, or create artificiality. Raw nature is very sharp and threatening and dangerous; everything has to be tamed. He asked how long ago English landscape had been tamed by man.

Minamoto sensed that in certain senses Japanese property is more privatised; anyone can do anything with their own – hence the horrors of developments etc. In England, there seem to be invisible controls which have preserved the landscape.

We discussed the idea of situational ethics. Minamoto disagreed with Nakane's ideas on this, but admitted that one treats different people differently; there are universal standards, for instance, parents tell children not to tell a lie; there is a basic consensus on what is right and what is wrong and what is true and what is not true, there must be agreement and honest feeling. There are particularistic aspects, but within a basic agreement.

We discussed the concept of the good in Japan public life. *Oyake* is the concept of the public; in the West all people have a responsibility to act in the public good as a duty to God; this is absent in Japan, though there are elements of it in Confucian moralistic reasoning.

Several times Kenichi talked about the epicentre of power, or centre of gravity in Japan, which he believes is 'lower' than in England. In England roughly in the upper middle class, while in Japan in the lower middle class (lower samurai, middle merchants, prosperous farmers etc.). He thought there was little gap between the local squierarchy and the peasantry.

A very central place in Japanese life is played by a concept which can only roughly be translated into Western thought, but roughly means sincerity, true heart, devotion, authentic heart, a sense of beauty, compactness etc. '*magokoro*'

Toshiba and Matsushita actually communicate a lot with each other, try to say the true things to each other, shouldn't tell a lie, give a certain amount but not everything, etc. At formal meetings, they will say nothing, but in informal meetings, at drinks, the real intention will come out, and a great deal will be conveyed. This is in a situation of trust – for there are no external sanctions.

We talked about trust and communication in Japan. In Japanese business, you must show the opponent your naked self; it is most efficient if there is direct and honest communication, straightforwardness, pragmatism, sympathy etc. With the authentic samurai, it is "no good in telling a lie, a waste of time"; need for real decision makers, straight forward. Thus there is a special ability to identify the real scholars, people one can trust and break through all the time wasting outer shield. One needs not go through the greeting period.

Kenichi pointed to irrigated rice cultivation and its needs, to the fact that taxes were levied on the whole community, both real taxes and labour taxes; that the senior village man was in charge, and that the village was given much autonomous power in decision making, a participatory political system.

The relations which one Japanese ideally has with another are based on family relations, not contractual relations, but relations of sympathy, based on self-control and reasonableness etc. One should think of others.

Fukuzawa was principally interested in how one combined reason and intellect, knowledge and virtue or sympathy. He assumed this could be partially based on the responsibility of the father to the child, the village chief to the villagers etc. Sympathy of this deep kind was assumed, by Fukuzawa, to exist in Japan. The Samurai have such an ethic e.g.

One should have a respect for one's enemies, '*jo*'; if we get to know each other, we will have such feelings. (Japan is based on the premise of basic goodness or virtue of human beings, while Christianity is based on the paradox of the basic honesty, yet sinfulness (original sin) of human beings.

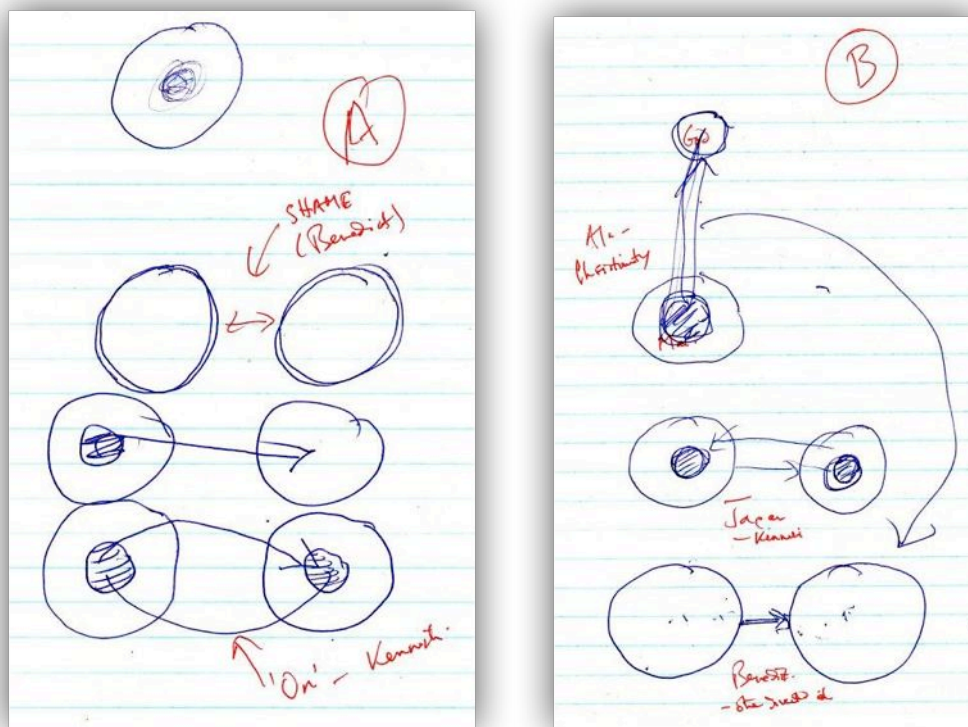
There have been large changes in Japanese aesthetics. With the emergence of reformist sects of zen, there was a change whereby food, art etc. lost some of its colour and freshness, to a situation of monotonous, endurance etc.

I asked again about the Japanese success in industry and capitalism. Minamoto retreated to the usual explanations; the Japanese are very industrious, they were part of a large south Asian trading zone in the C16, with a lot of trade, accumulation of capital, cotton etc. etc. But why not China?

I suggested the curious nature of the artificial corporations of Japanese families; Kenichi stressed that this was only true of the 'ie', which was a sort of kin organization which was confined to merchants and rich farmers. Most people lived in smaller households, where it was not true. (Hence adoption dying out in Japan now).

The continuity of the larger families is expressed in the idea of the name, 'na', in Japan. This is the basis of the samurai ethic, the pride of the name, the honour of my name, keeping my name etc. etc. There is no God to remember my name, thus I need to remember it myself. There is a warring society; I am just a man but I have a name, a survival strategy. The origins of Japanese 'ie', Kenichi thought, was in the warrior clans (plus bilateral kinship), but later turned into business management succession.

I raised Ruth Benedict's contrast between shame (Japan) and guilt (the West) cultures. Kenichi dislikes this opposition of Benedict's very much. To start with, 'on' is a feeling of shame not towards others, but towards oneself, a failure on your own name; my image is within here. Thus there is an inner core etc.



We talked about the mirror as a symbol in Japan. One finds this metaphor in the works of Mishima and Maruyama (see the former's 'Silk and Observation' for instance). Each is searching for signals in the other, an endless searching. Interestingly, the Emperor fits into this in that the mirror is one of the three main symbols used in the coronation – the sword (power), jewel (wealth) and mirror (communication). The Emperor is the ultimate empty mirror, reflecting everything. The mirror is the absorption of every particle of light. This is 'kyo', the capacity of a person who could absorb the expectation of others – the Emperor and other leaders do this.

They explained the Noh drama tradition in Japan. In the centre of Noh drama there is the contradiction that the best actors hide their feelings and expression; one should not express oneself, try

to protest etc, but conceal. But through such concealment, one will leave to the audience of totally discovering oneself. One should hide one's real intentions etc.

One should hide one's real intention, if your partner or opponent really loves you, they should be able to identify your unspoken intentions, a subtle telepathy of relationships which is spoiled by talk.

Kenichi agreed that many young girls, before they marry, are 'empty', with no real responsibility etc. This is truly a floating world; this part of the zen tradition – try to nullify yourself, reduce yourself to zero. One protects oneself, but one cannot hide, and the more you hide yourself, the more you reveal yourself – an obvious contradiction. You cannot, in particular, hide before the really powerful, the Samurai, and indeed it would be shameful to – The tea ceremony provides the ultimate in both revelation and concealment, the final mystified protection, declaring oneself to be empty, but also that one has a symbolic existence. The goal is zero or nothingness, the extreme for the Samurai, the road or way (*'michi'*), the unending road. This sets an unattainable goal or God from within, hence the never-ending striving which is taken to be one of the keys to western restlessness and success. It is functionally equivalent to the Protestant ethic §– an ever moving goal, which keeps one striving for ever.

I continued to try to comprehend Japan. One example of this work will suffice, a set of notes on 9th February 1992.

NOTES

Models of social structure - Japan etc.

Have been thinking in odd moments of a theme for the Radcliffe-Brown lecture. One possibility is to consider the difficulties of forming models of social structure and social organization appropriate for studying complex societies. One could consider the view that models which are appropriate for small-scale, holistic, societies, are inappropriate for complex societies – but that the alternatives – namely those of methodological individualism – are equally unhelpful, because they merely reflect the current ideology and hence do not allow us to see behind it. When faced with the problem of Japan and Nepal and England, for example, one needs a sufficiently robust model that will enable one to take an independent view of all three. Perhaps I can illustrate what I mean by a diagram.

Curious that the French like relational and structural approaches much more, e.g. L-Strauss, Dumont, Mauss, Bloch, Granet, De Saussure, while the Germans like the atomistic individualistic models more (Tonnie, Weber, Marx and the English).

It could be that the social structure determined the methodology, which in turn comes back to reinforce our interpretation of the social structure. A self-confirming circle. If my hunch that Japan is not properly encompassed by either R-Brownian approach or by pure structuralism, it looks as if it will be necessary to generate a third type of model, in order to encompass all the varieties.

One thus needs to abstract to a higher level, to create a potential model which is flexible enough and powerful enough to encompass, understand and generate all the major formations. The person who most conspicuously tried to do this was Weber – though De Tocqueville, Marx and others also attempted. They each got a little way, but much remains to be done.

27th June 1992

Kenichi, Toshiko and the children came over a midday and we had long talks about Japan/England and the usual. I got lots of new ideas to feed into my daily dawning knowledge of Japan. Very nice to see them and the children much more articulate and we even had a guitar sing-song in the evening and a nice walk up by the Lode. I read through various Japanese pieces in the morning.

28th June 1992

Even more intense discussion all morning and early afternoon about Japan etc. with Kenichi and Toshiko. Ended up by agreeing to co-operate further on working together on exploring peculiarity of Japan etc. Kenichi

keen to get us to come to Japan and we provisionally agreed to visit in August 1993 (before going to Nepal) and to apply for money from various funds for yearly visits over the five years it would take to write the book.

NOTES ON THE CONVERSATIONS

Divorce and children's homes Despite the statement of a film we had seen on seven-year-old Japanese children, to put a child in a children's home after a divorce is very rare. Divorce is still fairly uncommon in Japan (perhaps up to one quarter of Kenichi's colleagues have gone through), and hence single parent families are still quite unusual. But usually a mother will look after her child if separated. The rising number of broken families, step parents etc. was one of the major changes to have occurred in England since K and T last visited.

Schools before nursery schools Another wrong impression of the film was that children did not go off to school until they first attended primary schools at 7. Not only do they go to nursery schools, but there is now developing a necessity to have nursery schools to prepare children for nursery schools – since to get into even a good nursery school is important. Thus children may start some form of formal, out of home, education at the age of one or two.

The importance of children's success Parent's success is achieved not only through their own success, but through the success of their children. If a parent is very successful in other things, he may still consider him/herself a failure if his/her children are not successful. Parents' happiness is accomplished through the success of others. Thus the crimes of children reflect badly on parents and they feel ashamed. Hence, as Sarah observed, in the juvenile courts in Japan, the parents attend and are in tears at their children's offences. They feel a sense of responsibility.

An example of parental responsibility K. told of a case where a man's son, aged about 23, had killed his grandfather; the man had gone on national TV to apologise for his son's behaviour and to plead with the media to leave him alone, even though the son was mentally disturbed. The view is that the father's responsibility is limitless.

The power of adoption There are seven main *noh* player families in Japan. The first son normally succeeds to the skills. In the chief family, there was no son for many years, so an heir was adopted in. Later, a male son was born. He became a *noh* player and turned out to be better than the adopted son. But the father felt that having once adopted another son as his heir he could not break the adoption, so the adopted son succeeded to his position, against the competition of blood and skill.

The dangers of adoption In Kyoto, the Ogawa family had four sons. Two other families had no sons, and so they adopted two of these four. The two adopted sons turned out to be much better. One got a Nobel prize and the other was very famous. The two remaining sons were less successful. But nothing could be done about the fact that the father had been unable to pick out the likely successful candidates. The sons had been 'gifted' to another and could not be reclaimed. One of the adopted sons asked his sister whether the fact that his natural father had been prepared to make a gift of him in this way meant that he loved his son less; the sister replied, 'no, he loved you best' and it was for this reason that he gave you away.

Types of adoption Sometimes an adopted son will merely adopt the name of another family, to stop it dying out, but will continue to live with and be with his natural parents.

The relations of parents and children Parents and children are like two mirrors, reflecting each other. But while the parents' mirror remains constant in size, that of the son becomes smaller – i.e. his obligations decrease. Often, therefore, the expectations of parents become burdensome on a child. This may also be an historical shift, from the Meiji restoration. The novels of Natsume Oseiki deal with this.

Succession in many activities, e.g. academic There are special expectations of the teacher-student relationships. One special student is expected to succeed his guru, to become an heir to his supervisor. Kenichi was the star pupil of his guru and was expected by all to succeed him. But he chose to go to Hokkaido. His guru was criticized for letting him go and selecting another successor from another university.

Sacrifice through abstention Mothers, especially, make sacrifices for their children. For instance, when K failed to get into University on the first occasion, his mother gave up her favourite activity of drinking tea for a year. She did not tell him, but both were aware of what she had done. K could not

see any directly religious aspect to this, for God or gods were not involved. But it was still believed to be helpful for K in his next attempt at entry.

Parental involvement in children When K was forty and had to go to hospital, his elderly parents accompanied him there, while T did not go. They felt very involved in his health.

God and gods In the past, if a son was involved in a duel with a very strong samurai, a mother would make constant visits to a shrine to pray for him. Now there is some element of pressure through self-sacrifices, but nothing explicit. Nor are formal prayers made, partly because it is thought that God, like a sensitive Japanese, would not need to be told that a person was making sacrifices. As to which God one was appealing to, neither K nor T could offer an answer.

Nothingness and Buddhism One element of 'nothingness' is the idea that nothing is constant; the world is not constant, man cannot therefore control the external world. The universe is not controlled by men, but by transcending powers. If you understand this truth you are free from sufferings. There is no idea of God or Heaven. One should merely gain some sort of control of the external by way of control of the internal. Thus the Genji learns to control himself, to renounce, to co-exist with the world. This is related to *mononaware*, the truth for the life, the outside world which you cannot control becomes controllable internally, and one becomes free from suffering.

Essays in Idleness This set of early writings, in the collection we have, by Kenco, has been translated. 'Essays in Idleness' is a rather bad translation, something like "searching for real life" would be better.

Difficulties of understanding Japanese religion I explained that the basic problem for a westerner was that, in our definition of religion, there were two central features. First there was a God; secondly that there was a division between this natural world, and a supernatural or spiritual world. Neither of these are to be found in Japan, where there is no God, but all sorts of Gods or no Gods at all, and where there is no separation of this world and another.

The insideness of one K explained that within your mind you have to incorporate the uncontrollable, to discipline it. A master of arts or crafts does this. God is within you, not outside, not in heaven.

Hence everyone is a God. Each man has god within them. Each person can become a God, even in their life. Each trade or occupation has their own God; a carpenter's God, a housewife's God.

The Holy Spirit K could understand God the Father and God the Son, but found the idea of God the Holy Spirit very puzzling. But he felt that the secret of Christianity lay there. The idea of a God that transcended everything, time and space etc. is represented by God the Holy Spirit.

Living Treasures These are not just craftsmen, but also kabuki, noh and musical instrument players

Effortless achievement and God K said that effortless achievement, that is the achievement of Masterhood, that is the real Godship.

The history of kabuki K thought that kabuki, noh, crafts etc. became distributed and established mainly through the middle class in the Edo period; the lower samurai also joined in. Noh actors were originally from untouchable groups, but the form moved upwards. The standard repertory of Kabuki was probably laid down in the Meiji period. The Kabuki is a kind of mass media, a sort of news, information and amusement activity. People are still writing kabuki plays, for example Mishima.

Holidays T and K found the idea of holidays rather strange. Not only because of the 'holy' association, but also because of the idea of a period of complete absence of work. But T said that she thought her mother had an idea of holiness; for instance she would clear the house on the evening of a celebration.

Weather, seasons in Japan Because the differences of season are so much more pronounced in Japan, the contrasts of clothing are much more distinct. On the 1st June all those with uniforms, for instance policemen, school children etc, all change their clothes. Clothing is ritualistic, one has to wear clothes as appropriate. There are two uniforms; with bright colours for the spring, dark colours for the autumn.

Colours K and T could not think of many colour meanings. Black and white in combination signify death (rather a nice symbolic statement of Japan as half way or combining east and west; in the west black for death, in China, white for death – Japan mixes the two,). The only other colour they could find an obvious association for was violet, which is an aristocratic colour (and is associated with Buddhism).

Englishness K and T described a garden party after graduation as "quite English". When pressed on what this Englishness was, it seemed to be a mixture of formality (gowns, smart clothes etc), with informality (in a garden, wandering about, no particular structure to the occasion). People were quietly showing off their achievement with their gowns, each discipline with different colours, in a

somewhat childlike way ("look at me, am I not clever"), yet it was relaxed and unaggressive. People were "celebrating themselves" and each other.

Change in Japanese art and separation of religion and politics Early Japanese art is more like Chinese art. It is full of red and gold and very stately. At the end of the eighth century, it begins to change, perhaps alongside the move of the court from Nara to Kyoto. This was part of an attempt to separate politics and religion, to escape the increasing pressure of the Buddhist orders. The Emperor's family 'escaped' and built a new capital in 792 A.D. Another change came when the samurai increased their power in the C12 and the new ascetic sects of Buddhism (Zen etc.) came to the fore. They started to adopt a much simpler form of art and religion. The Buddhist orders tried to follow the political powers to Kyoto in the Heian period. They set up their monasteries on the hills behind the royal palace and built up their orders of military monks. But they never regained complete control and were finally destroyed by Nobunaga in the C16.

Robinson Crusoe and the other Although Robinson Crusoe became the model and hero of the guru of post war Japanese economists, it is not clear why he should have done so. He seems to have been related to the "something is lacking" theory used to explain Japan's failure in the War.

For whom is one living? Robinson Crusoe could have a meaning in his life because, implicitly, God was watching him. The "eyes of the relevant other" are important in Japan. Who are they? They are special people who can truly appreciate what one is trying to do; one's father, one's superiors etc. etc. Everyone knows, implicitly, whose eyes are the relevant ones. They are not the obvious person. If there is no one, or if the person(s) turn out to be a fraud, then one has chaos. These relevant persons have the ability to tell what is authentic and what is not. They can intuitively judge, often very quickly, whether someone is good or bad at their craft.

Authenticity and sincerity We discussed this at some length because Kenichi had been struck that Charles Taylor should list 'authenticity' as one of the four important attributes of freedom. He seemed to think that authenticity was somewhat different from sincerity. One could have a sincere fool but because their activity was of no value, they would not be authentic. It is clear that my understanding of authentic, and Kenichi's, are different.

Reaching the stars We agreed that much of life in both cultures is concerned with trying to reach the stars; "boys be ambitious" etc. The aim in Japan is by using a code of rules and investing effort to reach the stars. But when I pressed K he admitted that while one should try to aim for the stars, one would never actually reach them. They would always be separated, (in G. M. Hopkins phrase, "Lovely asunder starlight"). Yet K also seemed to half believe that by internalizing God, it was possible to become perfect, to become as a God, in other words to reach the stars. One could become a perfect Master, God makes the person perfect. In the moment of illumination and ecstasy (my words), the gap between action and intention would disappear and one would just be, as in the firing of the arrow in zen archery.

The effects of technology Because of the shining light of technology, a good deal of the mystery of life has been taken away. It is part of a general confusion, in with there are less and less focal points, absence of role-models or people to respect.

The mirror and the mask Mishima uses this metaphor quite often, and believed in the emptiness of the mirror; there is nothing within the mirror. The mask is important in Japan because it is one of the many devices (like noh plays or presents) which is simultaneously showing off and concealing. Hiding is the highest form of showing off. Mishima's life was centred on this theme; both showing off and concealing, even his suicide was part of it, a great mixture of inferiority and superiority. But true sincerity cannot show off. And sincerity is taken for granted in Japan. If a person is not sincere, they are not worth considering. There is a dislike of arrogance.

The problem of causation and plan of work We discussed at some length the way in which one would approach an analysis of Japanese history and culture. K thought that one should start with concepts, with the self-understanding of the Japanese. This self-understanding is fairly constant over long periods, but it influences another realm, namely social forms. These social forms change quite rapidly, and their changes then reflect back on the self-understanding. But as we discussed further, it began to look more and more circular; it was impossible to be certain of the 'first mover'.

The aim of the project We agreed that the aim of any project would be to try to understand the "essence of Japan", in the same way as I am trying to do that for England. This "essence" or "spirit" is fairly unchanging, though its manifestations change over time. One part of it is the curious double

concept of the person as both thing in itself '*nin*' and relationship to another, '*gen*'. This creates the essentially relational nature of the Japanese person.

Artificial gemeinschaft We had a great deal of discussion of this concept, which seemed to be helpful and catch some of the peculiarity of the Japanese and English. The ratio of Group and Individual seems different in the two societies, but in each the pressure of the Group is less than in many societies.

Communalism, Individualism and artificial gemeinschaft Normally, it is thought that one has communalism (i.e. as in many primitive or communist societies, where an individual is identified fully with a group, no private property etc), or one has individualism, where the individual is separated off, with individual property etc. In fact, the secret of both Japan and England is that they have other forms or ways of dealing with the relationship of person and group. They have something which is neither of these. In the Japanese case this is the small, artificially created (through adoption etc.) group, but which has the sentiment and feeling of a real group. In England, there are similar, though less total, institutions such as Fellowships, Guilds, Clubs etc. etc.

The rotting-bean-sprout image of the Japanese I asked the name of the food which has been likened to Japanese social structure, endless fine roots intertwining as bean sprouts kept in water begin to rot; it is called *moyashi*.

Absence of charity in Japan K has been looking at the importance of charity and voluntary work in England (Oxfam etc.). This is a tradition that is missing in Japan and is part of that wider absence of a civil society, a sense of 'public benefit'. He wondered why we did not just tax people a little more and shut down the charities & was disconcerted to find that a). charities and voluntary organizations are often more efficient and dedicated than government organizations b). that people feel that 'giving' voluntarily of their time and effort is preferred to being told what to do c). that the essence of this charitable, voluntary, effort is so old, dating back to at least Anglo-Saxon England.

How is it that the English are united I explained that by the eighth century the English were united along the five major dimension; a unified language, a unified law, a unified religion, a unified political system, and a unified market (coinage). Add to this high geographical mobility, a sea boundary, and the absence of any significant disruption through foreign invasion or revolution over a period of more than a thousand years, and it is not difficult to see the depth of the unity.

Blood, community, state etc. K drew some diagrams, linking in a triangular way blood, individual and community, linked to the threat system and gift system. K will have to develop this further as it is very complex and needing elaboration.

Irrationality and irrationality We discussed this at length, partly in relation to Fukuzawa. We agreed that Fukuzawa mainly meant by 'rationality' scientific rationality in Bacon's sense – i.e. the experimental method, testing of experience, questioning etc, the 'rationality' of physics. He was not addressing another problem of rationality, the fact that in most societies people's individual rationality and perception of the world becomes moulded/bent by the social structure. Social relations are more important than dispassionate cognitive truth. Nothing is absolute. Everything bends and depends on the relationships.

This may help to explain why the Japanese at times appear to behave in what looks like (externally, or after the event) a crazy way – for instance committing suicide to make a point, when they will no longer be around to savour the triumph (Kamikaze etc.). Or, as K explained, entering the Second World War fully realizing that they could not win it, but feeling that they must fight. It is "system irrational" and needs explanation. Or again, the Japanese Labour party recently resigned en masse. When K asked members why they had done so, all they could answer was that the "atmosphere was so tense".

Conflict of logics Given the tension in the definition of the person, as both 'I' and 'I in relation to the other', there is a contradiction in matters of logic and truth. There is the logic created by the social relations to the other, social logic, and there is the logic of the internal 'I'. Hopefully they coincide. But when they do not, either the internal I gives way, or commits suicide.

The husband-wife tie It somehow falls exactly between the normal classifications. It is neither a unity of two persons, as in the western ideal where the partners fuse into one, nor is it a contractual relationship of separate individuals. It is difficult to explain what it is – perhaps complementary? K and T stressed that the ideal is separateness, yet complete sympathy and empathy. Each should

anticipate the needs of the other and no words should be necessary. They are like two mirrors, each picking up signals from the other.

Japan as two magnets or two electric points We discussed the image of the Japanese as like two electric points, between which sparks are constantly flying back and forth. The secret of this is to keep the correct distance. This is related to the "pathos of distance". The yearning is to bring the other one closer, but as they approach closer there is a danger that the individual will be extinguished, that the gap will close and the sparks will stop moving, that the mirrors will merge and crack.

So there is simultaneous attraction and repulsion – one cannot allow the other to escape, but nor can one pull too close. It is like two cars in thick traffic, one of which knows the way. The other must stay close and not get lost, but it must not crash into the first – perhaps towing a car with a tow rope is an even better analogy. One is constantly adjusting speed with accelerator and breaks to keep the right distance.

One has to keep one's distance, or one will lose the source of the attraction (for instance, if one does not keep one's distance from one's guru, he loses his magic and his role as a source of respect etc.). There is some similarity here to the tension between hiding and showing off, concealing and making public. A constant sort of strip tease, where if one reveals too much, the interest is gone, yet if one reveals nothing, then there is no interest either.

Ideology and actuality One clue seems to be that there is a constant tension (shown for instance in Fukuzawa's work) between the ideology and the actuality. For instance, as he argues, the ideology of Japan is hierarchical and vertical, but in practice many relations are equal. In ideology, women are inferior and subject, in actuality they are not. There is a constant tension, as if the Japanese were trying to conceal things from themselves (this dissonance reminds one of some of the work of Maurice Bloch in Madagascar).

Again one finds the clash in the representation of power. While there is a formal hierarchy of power, from top to bottom, in fact, Japan has a system of bottom-up decision making. Many of the ideas come from the bottom, though the decision to implement them comes from the top. The result is that it is middle management who are really the most important and powerful since they lie between these two extremes. They are the crossing point between ideas and authorization.

Ideology and actuality in the kinship system As I explained with a detailed diagram, there are two major forms of kinship system. There are those based on unilineal principles (e.g. China, India, many African societies). These form water tight groups or boxes, and a society is built up from these boxes. Each box, based on kinship, is also a religious, economics, social and political entity. The society is a society of groups. At the other extreme is the English situation, an example of non-unilineal kinship where descent is traced through both genders and consequently it is impossible to form into groups. Instead, one has ego centred networks and, at the most husband/wife dyads.

These are the two basic types. In certain ways, as we discussed, the Japanese could be described with their cognatic kinship as being in structure a member of the latter class – hence with high status of women in theory, no bounded groups based on kinship etc – and yet, partly through the influence of China and other pressures, that it is an example of the Indian/Chinese form. Thus, over the actual relations is laid another ideology, just as one finds in the Japanese language or even in the kinship terminology – which has Chinese terms, but subtly altered.

This double layer, where ideology and reality do not fit is perhaps one of the major difficulties in the way of understanding Japan, making it difficult for both the Japanese and outside observers. This theme of the double level of reality, the actual forms and their illusory representations (not dissimilar to what Marx discovered in the fetishisms of capitalism) is worth analysing further. It will help to reduce or at least explain some of the tensions and contradictions.

In some way, Fukuzawa rightly saw himself as a sort of surgeon who, with his scalpel, is trying to cut away the external growths – the Confucian, Chinese, recent Tokugawa despotic influences, and discover the 'real' Japan beneath. Although, of course, we would now estimate that both ideological representation (however 'illusory') is just as real as anything else, the distinction is an important one. (In some ways it is similar to the Scottish clan system – a cognatic system pretending to be a unilineal one).

It is a dissonance, which, of course, we find in all civilizations - in reverse we find it in America where the patent inequalities are masked and people pretend that it is egalitarian (as Beteille and others have pointed out). What is curious about Japan is that it is back to front; usually it is

inegalitarian structures which try to pretend that they are egalitarian, Japan (like males in many societies) is the reverse, trying to mask the egalitarian structure under a layer of unequal ideology. Closeness and distance Returning to the discussion of the need for distance in Japan, one can again invoke the metaphor of the two hands clapping. If distance is totally reduced, the hands join, there is one large clap – and then silence. So they must come together and then stay apart. The lips can hover, but they must not form into a permanent kiss.

Such permanent joining is obscene because it destroys the differences/boundaries between things, the innate difference between men and women for instance, which is so necessary. Indeed, the greater the distance, the greater the chance of really strong communication – as if the electric current had to be really strong to leap across a wide gap. Hence people at the bottom of an organization often have a double or very strong loyalty to people at the top. This is the phenomenon of the 'double patriot' explored by Storry and others in relation to the unquestioning loyalty to the most distant one – the Emperor. This heightened loyalty which increases with distance is what is sometimes described as "the Japanese disease", though it can also be seen in Hitler's Germany.

Another way of looking at it is as a desire to pull things into the centre, a desire for excessive centralization, a reduction of all alternative centres of power. Carried to an extreme, of course, this is the path to absolutism and fascism.

Why marry at all? We asked why people should marry in Japan? If it was not arranged by their parents, and if they did not fall in love, why should they marry? T and K answered in terms of duty or responsibility. It is a responsibility of human beings to carry on the line – and marriage is the way to do this. Furthermore, without a husband/wife, a person could not manage. There is a division of labour such that a man without a wife is incomplete and vice versa. The idea of the 'housekeeper' who as a servant will arrange everything for one, seems to be absent. A man depends on his wife to manage the household.

Marriage is not a union or community or *gemeinschaft*; it is a form of association or *gesellschaft*, out of which each partner profits. (As an aside, this is a curious contrast; in England, where almost everything is Association, romantic love tries to create a tiny pool of Community within marriage; in Japan, where many things are quasi-Community, marriage creates a tiny pool of Association!). Marriage is good for women, for instance, giving them stability, it is the lesser of evils, preferable to non-marriage. It represents an identity of interests, a sharing, if not a merging.

The core or true nature of people T asked what the 'true nature' of an English person was. In Japan the 'true nature' of a person is good – it is a potential to be a perfect person. If one acts truly, sincerely and in accord with one's true nature, then there is the possibility to become perfect.

Here there seems a very basic contrast with the legacy of the Christian era, where one starts with the opposite premise. One starts with the idea of fallen nature, of original sin etc. A person is naturally filled with evil tendencies – aggression, lust, greed etc. etc. But as he or she grows up, he realizes that only through holding in check these basic, bad, instincts, will society survive.

So life is a continuing exercise in suppressing one's true nature; in self-control and limitation. One learns not to attack others, one learns control over one's body, mind, emotions etc. And one learns that each inhibition actually gives one a deeper freedom. If you desist from killing others, they will desist from killing you (the Hobbesian contract); if you pay for other people's goods, they will pay for yours (the market contract); if you respect other people's property, they will respect yours (the Lockean contract); if one is kind and truthful and charitable, others will be the same (the Christian contract) and so on.

Thus what is the 'core' by the end of one's life is different from what one started with. The instinctual, harmful, vices have been replaced by virtues. And by the exercise of this self-discipline one has gained those rights which one can now take to be 'natural' – life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They are not really natural, but earned. And they can be alienated – but only by a personal decision of each actor (e.g. if he does things for which he is imprisoned). They cannot be alienated on his behalf by others – by birth, slavery etc.

The ultimate aim of our project The ultimate aim of a comparative project, which might provisionally go under the working title of 'Capitalisms; A Comparative Study of Japan and England' or something like that, is to discover the "invisible thread that defines" each civilization. This thread is different in each case, but there is enough in common to be able to compare them. It is made more complicated because there is not just one thread, but several, a warp and a weft etc. But both K and T and Sarah

and I have the feeling that both Japan and England are homogeneous civilizations that it may be possible to locate and specify at least part of their 'essence' in a sensible way.

In order to do this, it would be very helpful to carry on our 'conversations', whether in England or Japan, and by post. In order to do this, we may explore the possibility of getting some money for travel/subsistence over the next five years (assuming the Wolfson does not oblige). Among possible sources are: Mombusho (Japanese Ministry of Education Fellowship), the Japan Foundation, the British Council, the man at Seibu etc. A possible time for our next visit to Japan would be (assuming no Wolfson) in August 1993, for 3 weeks (from where we would go to Nepal for a month in September 1993).



Yuri, Subaru and Ai working on Alan's desk



Supper and music

14th September 1992

Had a frustrating trip to Oxford as we lost our way at one point and found ourselves in Gloucester rather than Tewkesbury. The trouble was that I was reading the draft of Alan's Radcliffe-Brown lecture and not map reading. In consequence we just managed to reach Oxford by 1pm. As usual a stimulating discussion with Kenichi and Toshiko. Kenichi had comments and thoughts on Alan's paper. All filling in details.

15th September 1992

More very stimulating discussions with Kenichi and Toshiko. They have planned an application to the Japan Foundation which would give us funds to visit Japan next summer. Part of the plan would be a tour with Kenichi and family to Kyoto etc. - a rare opportunity to see the country through local eyes. Left after 5. Back after 11pm.

NOTES ON THE CONVERSATIONS

I asked about the fermented bean curd metaphor (*natto* society). K. thought this metaphor was only partly appropriate; it suggested links and ties to all the other beans, whereas, in fact, an individual Japanese only has links to certain other individuals.

We talked about the first son syndrome. There are very great strains on the oldest son, who has a particular relationship to his mother and father. K had been visited by his parents for two weeks and this had caused considerable problems for T. K is pulled in two directions, by his wife and by his mother. There is no problem for daughters, and the pressure on the first son is slightly less if he has sisters.

This is reflected in the folklore story of a man who was told by his wife to wear one pair of shoes, and by his mother to wear another. So he put on a left shoe from one pair, and a right shoe from the other. K. thought this just about caught the problem, half committed to mother, half to wife. A man would feel the same strain even if he went outside the house and had a concubine.

The term for a retired man is 'wet leaves'. This is a fairly recent term, but reflects an older problem. A woman during marriage has seen little of her husband and has built up her own meaningful life. Suddenly her husband retires. He has lost his own world and clings to her, unwanted, like a wet leaf.

We discussed the famous Zen enigma of the sound of one hand clapping. Kenichi said that the shape of the left and the right hand are not the same. The metaphor implies a symmetrical situation, but in fact, as K. demonstrated, the two hands are different and only partly overlap. This seems to be related to the difference in hierarchical position. Hence it is very difficult to have a full and satisfying meeting with another; one is not comfortable with anyone.

We asked about psychotherapy in Japan. Previously it was not common nor was there much interest. Recently, for those under about forty, there has been a considerable growth of interest in psychotherapy.

We talked about mirrors and mothers. K said that his mother's expectations of him were like the inside of a mirror. I didn't quite understand this, but take it to mean that he tried to see himself as reflected in her expectations.

We discussed the difficulties of the older generation in Japan. Those in their seventies in Japan are in a particularly difficult position now. They fought through the war, often lost their children or husbands, and then re-built Japan after the war. Now they are neglected and confused by the new Japan.

The problem was particularly difficult after the war. Lots of widows were left by the war; they shouldered everything. Men's pride was lost since they were blamed for the war. Men had lost their direction and the women rebuilt Japan. There was thus a status revolution, with much liberation of women. They also benefited from the labour-saving in the home created by the electronics revolution and also from the example of American liberation. They enjoyed a new and better family life. But they are faced with the problem of having looked after their parents in law, but now their sons are deserting them.

Toshiko is beginning to envisage life as split into four sections or phases; childhood, child rearing, return to a career, and old age retirement.

Retirement in Japan normally means that you lose everything – influence, sources of power, belonging to a meaningful community etc. For instance, a retired academic Professor at age 60 will often stop writing, stop attending conferences, cut off all relations with his former students etc. Men tend to have more problems in this way than women.

Japan does not have many parks or benches for the old to sit on. But it has many clubs, for instance to play chess, and here the old men, the 'wet leaves' congregate. Early retirement is a considerable social problem.

In companies, the vice division chief, aged about forty, is the most powerful person in the company. Those above are starting to lose their influence and are often side lined. When a person retires they should disappear as completely as possible, otherwise they cause difficulties.

We talked about obligation (*on*). There are only two people who K can never reject; they are his Professor and his mother. Though T urges him that he can say 'no' to their requests, he feels that he cannot. He calls his Professor his 'father in the Nerima Ward'⁸ or 'Academic father'. K is his Professor's favourite son, almost an eldest son, and hence has to act like one. He is afflicted with what K calls 'the good son syndrome'.

We talked about individualism and democracy in Japan. Only after retirement, having left the group which constitutes a firm, is a person truly an individual. This has led one commentator to talk of the "silver democracy". There is also a "women democracy", for women have much more potential to act individually.

I asked Kenichi to explain a little more about Japanese language. There is no definitive theory of Japanese grammar. The western models do not seem to work well. Seidenstecker is the only westerner who has really mastered the language of all periods. The order of the sentence in Japanese follows the Japanese thought process. Firstly, a speaker tries to define the field (as in field theory in physics), the date, space, relations, and finally comes to the movement of the agent. The verb and auxiliary verb comes at the end. There is no need for an explicit subject, since the subject has already been implied by the description of the field. This way of thinking makes structural thinkers like Foucault, Merleau Ponty and others very popular in Japan. Thus the situation is defined first, and then the subject's action. This is a complete reflection of the way of Japanese thinking, where thought is first directed to the field.

When starting a conversation, the first remarks are of a very general establishing kind. One starts by using the highest distance/ranking words, extreme politeness, "I am a very poor, humble person", "I know very little about this subject" and so on. But gradually the language becomes less humble and less formal. If one maintains the original distanced language, it is a sign that one dislikes the person and does not want to get any closer in the relationship. One wants to keep them outside the whole system. It might take up to thirty minutes of conversation to negotiate the right level. If one reaches a satisfactory communication, then one stands up at the end and exchanges cards.

There seems to be some similarities to the languages of Polynesia and even Tamil Nadu; but the language is very different from that of China. The Japanese language of the eighth and ninth centuries was already fully developed and much more flexible and powerful than the Chinese, as is shown in the works of the women novelists, who used Japanese. All the linguistic symbols are from China, but very much modified in Japan. Korea and Vietnam, however, invented their own languages.

There are lots of short cuts to gauging the social distance between oneself and the other in Japan, for instance their age, position in a company, education and so on.

Because of the great difficulty of overcoming the normal distance and etiquette, mutual drinking is very important in Japan. It provides a kind of collective identity, a sort of sacred space and time, it is distinguished as an "unpolite is alright" situation. One can reveal one's true feelings at this time, for instance a cleaner can talk frankly and even criticize his boss. It is a sort of 'communitas' or liminal period in Japan. One has to pretend all are equal, impoliteness and forwardness are encouraged. Thus, for instance, Professors will sometimes go off with their students and drink sake and a sort of "ceremonial community" of drink will be established.

⁸ An area in Tokyo

Elaborate and formal language is a good way to keep the hands apart, to stop them clapping. For instance, if K is arguing with T, he will use formal language to express his distance. If she tricks or persuades him into using familiar language, he has lost.

There are historical reasons for men's weak position in family. K suggested that part of it may have been related to the practice in the Tokugawa of the Samurai being away for half of each year with their lords in Edo. Women are left alone for half the year to run things and get independence. Hence husbands have very little power in the household and hence women are much more individualistic. Some women have an alternate power base, in the home.

There are considerable effects of Japan's marginal geographical position. Japan always had a sense of being on the margin of the huge Chinese Empire. Imagine if one dynasty ruled Europe from Russia to Spain, how the English would feel. It was a vast psychological presence, and from China many bits and pieces were imported. But Japan is far enough from the centre of Chinese power for both countries to feel it is separate. This marginality means that Japan is always comparing itself with China.

Paradoxically, Japan is made to feel self-contained and separate by the presence of China. This inward looking, self-contained, attitude is considered natural in Japan. There has never been a tradition, as there is in England with its much smaller sea, of being involved in the Continent – for instance as it was through the middle ages. Thus Japan is an extremely 'insular' place. There is a strong belief that Japan and China are very different in many ways, though, in fact, there is of course quite a strong influence of China.

There is a widespread and strong inferiority complex towards China for many centuries, which K and T still feel. When K travelled in China, he realized how much Japan owed to China. He had the feeling "my culture came from there", i.e. Confucius, Buddhism, the linguistic characters.

Chinese like absolutes. For instance, near Beijing there are huge tombs on the huge approach to the city. On one side the names are written normally, on the other side in mirror writing. This is "unimaginable" for a Japanese, implying too much symmetry.

We asked about religion in Japan, China and India. The influence of Confucius on religion seems vastly greater in China. In Japan there is no such penetration. The "Chinese actually believe in their religion", K commented. In India there is an over – presence of religion – it is religion soaked. A Hindu shrine is a strange dis-orienting experience for a Japanese. He has no sympathy with the jumble of meanings. In a western Church or Chinese shrine, K has a solemn feeling of awe; but in a Hindu temple there is too much life, noise, colour etc.

We talked about the attitude to the past in Japan. There is very little grudging of the past. For instance, at the Meiji restoration, the defeated side were not punished severely and were soon incorporated into the new framework. After the Second World War, there was immediate acceptance of defeat and few recriminations. K half linked this to the fact that because of the very many natural disasters in Japan, typhoons, earthquakes etc, it was very necessary to forget the past and re build the future. Whatever the cause, the whole nation or large groups could very quickly agree to forget and forgive. In Japan religion is largely a device to help forget and forgive.

We talked about coming to terms with the past. In England there are many signs for remembering past events; less so in Japan. But where there are memorials and memories, they tend to be to the losers. There are very few tales of the winners, but many of the losers, e.g. the Heike who were defeated. This is all part of the catharsis. There are lots of losers tales and shrines to the losers. For instance, the Heian government, after the smashing of the opposition, put up shrines to the losers, those who do the killing make shrines to the losers. In the West, losers are crushed (the retribution after the first world war), in Japan, if one neglects the losers, they will be angry and their souls will arise again. One has to win the peace as well as win the war.

There is a recognition that while one's enemies must die, or certain people be replaced, they should not be dishonoured; a shrine is put up to them. This is also partly because in any conflict, third and other parties will be watching to see with what honour one treats the enemy.

It is especially important to deal with the losers in any situation. Every decision has a loser, and you have to fix them in advance, persuade and encourage them to accept the decision. The harmonizer is a mediator, who gets his power from reconciling interests.

We discussed the importance of harmony in Japan. Harmony is a keyword in the sixth century constitution of Japan; the word for 'governing' means making circles. Thus 'Subaru' is the word for the

circle of stars known as the 'Pleiades'. It means to make a round or governing. A leader is the harmonizer of the community. What a real leader should do is to be able to reconcile people; find out what the individual interests are, and what their settling point is, and negotiate a solution acceptable to all. The 'losers' need to be especially carefully watched and made to feel good, otherwise the agreement will come undone.

We asked about how politics worked in Japan. The Emperor is like the man who is carried on the bearer's back, he is entirely dependent on those who carry him. In the West, a leader is expected to lead, like Moses leading the Israelites out of the wilderness, but in Japan the supporters decide everything, the top is powerless to lead.

We were told that a Japanese house is built on pillars. Below these pillars is a dirty, dark area, but a crucial one. If it is not kept in order, the house will collapse. A Japanese politician or harmonizer works in this area, working underground, behind the scenes, to make everyone's interests come together. Often a bright young man who wants to assume command is told by an older man, "You are good, but you still have not done enough background work". There is need for consensus politics. A good leader has to be a stage manager, financier, harmonizer.

We had a long discussion on the twin concepts of *on* and *giri*. People feel obliged to their parents, "I am here because of my mother" and so on. There is a saying that "the *on* of mother is deeper than the sea, the *on* of father is higher than mountains". It is obvious that the sea is much deeper than the mountain is high. The Chinese characters which make up the Japanese word '*on*' has two parts. One part of the character means to contribute or support, and the other part is 'heart' or feeling. You thus have to contribute your careful and loving attention to a person.

One needs a standard or justification for paying back a kindness. This is provided by '*giri*'. *Giri* is composed of two characters, '*gi*' meaning justice, and '*ri*' meaning reason. (Thus, the name of Kenichi's second daughter, '*Tu ri*', means, 'There is' (*yu*), '*ri*' a reason. Thus *giri* gives one a justifiable, defensible, reason to do something. Thus one has justifiable and formal debts to a lord. The word has somewhat changed its meaning over time. *Giri* is the form of a gift, a justified gift, to someone to whom one is not related by blood e.g. a lord, in-law etc.

If the gift, for instance to a lord, has no heart or spirit or true feeling in it, it is '*giri*'. For instance, one may give Valentine chocolates to people; some of them one really likes, and they are true gifts, others, for instance to a co-worker, are '*giri*' gifts done out of obligation and politeness but with no emotion in them.

All relatives through marriage in-laws are *giri* relations. One does not feel anything towards them, but has an obligation towards them. There is a 'justifiable reason' for doing things for them. Kim il Sung tried to use this idea in N. Korea, saying that "our socialism is *giri* socialism". One likewise might have a *giri* relation with a landlord.

Giri creates a sort of artificial community. It is modelled on the true feeling relations of parent and child, and has some of its enduring and binding power. But it does not have the real feeling that arises from blood and affection. Real brothers are not '*giri*'.

We asked whether adopted sons have a *giri* relation to their new parents and siblings. This caused K and T to think for a long time in a puzzled way. They discussed the matter and came to the conclusion that such relations were not '*giri*', in other words they were true family relations. In-laws are complete strangers, but adoption absorbs a person completely into the new group and the person becomes like a real son and is so addressed and so felt to be. Ironically, therefore, while a wife is no relation to her husband, an adopted brother is a real brother.

In *giri* one has lost the heart or spirit of the gift or debt (*on*). *Ninjo* replaces this. It refers to natural sympathy which one person has with another. One has to live under the formality of '*giri*', but you must also have desire/interest/sympathy for certain things, in other words *ninjo*. And thus there is often a clash. Thus the framework is decided by *giri*, but inside this one has some room for movement and choice and spontaneity, for the play of '*ninjo*' relations. Thus *giri* is duty and obligation, *ninjo* is the spontaneous feeling. There is a class of '*Ninjo*' plays in the Kabuki theatre, describing the clash between the push of *ninjo* and the constraint of *giri*.

Ninjo is true emotion, and hence covers hate as well as love, if it overrides formality. For example, if one pulled out one's sword in Edo castle to attack someone, this was called an act of *ninjo*. All spontaneous feelings, of any kind – jealousy, sympathy, love, hate etc. were *ninjo*.

We asked the two older children about their knowledge and both of them said that they knew the word *on* and what it meant. Toshiko said that she did not feel any '*on*' to her mother, because she felt too intimate and close to feel *on*. *On* is not something one has between intimate relations, with one's really close kin. *On* implies distance. Friendship and '*on*' are also different things. But K feels something closer to '*giri*' than to '*ninjo*' towards his mother. Subaru said that she did not feel '*on*' towards her parents because she was not in their debt; it was the natural duty of parents to look after children.

Subaru, aged about eleven, knew both of the words '*on*' and '*giri*', but did not feel either of them. Toshiko does, however, feel a sort of *giri* or *on* towards the next door neighbours because of their kindness. Children only have these feelings when they become adult. Thus Subaru will feel *giri* and *on* when she is adult. It is the occupation of parents to have these feelings. Toshiko feels some *on* towards her Professor. *On* and *giri* are indoctrinated from the outside, they are forced social responsibilities when one becomes an adult.

When a man retires, it is very difficult for his wife. She has been used to running the home and now the clinging "wet leaf" has returned, whom she must formally defer to, but is like a lost child who knows nothing. She keeps her relationships to others, and he tries to stick to her; he cannot be thrown away. Thus a man moves "From Big Rubbish" to "Wet Leaf". A husband loses his central position in a woman's affections as soon as a son is born. The wife's attention goes to the son. It does not go to the daughter, for the daughters will go away.

Kenichi's mother thought it her right to choose his wife; hence when he chose T for himself, there was great tension and he didn't see his mother for two years. This kind of tension sometimes leads to the break-up of husband-wife relationships. He said "This will not continue, for our generation expect nothing from our children".

Men often have problems when they go to the West. Women are much closer to models of western individualism; they are much happier in the West, where they feel comfortable. In the West one can say what one likes etc.

We discussed Japan in comparison to some other countries. K and T felt that Berlin was very like Tokyo; people's character was similar, short-tempered, rather aggressive, for instance rushing to get off the train while it was still moving, always in a great hurry. There is much greater efficiency in Germany, but it is much more rigid. In England you have to ask people, and then they are very kind. We feel some similarity with Germany, for instance the structure of department stores is very like that in Japan. Germany is much more consumer-oriented than England.

In Japan sovereignty is with the customer; the 'customer is God' is the refrain of a song. You ask people to buy your goods. In England the feeling is that it is the customer's responsibility to choose wisely. In Japan, those who try to sell, humiliate themselves under the customer, but here customer and seller are equal. It is the seller's responsibility to sell perfect things in Japan. In England it is up to the customer. England is tilted in favour of the power of the shop keepers, a 'shopocracy' as Richard Cobden put it. The shops have the power in Britain, while in Japan they are servants.

T and K felt immediately the hidden violence of America; it is a very dangerous place. The Japanese could not understand what vandalism is. Berlin is clean and orderly.

Education is very good for able children in England, there is a strong middle-class bias to the schooling. The school reproduce the disadvantages of the weak and poor. The Japanese system is good for ordinary people (lower middling), teaching basic skills etc. But it is not very good for the really able. The University graduates are much better in England, ambitious, in control. In Japan they are dull, passive, not interested.

It is the duty of big organizations to absorb the jobless in Japan, for instance city councils and others will take on any unemployed persons. Every big organization has about ten per cent of persons it does not need. In England large numbers of people are told that they are not needed. Many organizations say that the first five years of salary for many people is wasted in Japan. It is the Japanese philosophy that no one is useless. Organizations try to forge people into doing something useful. Useless and difficult individuals are dispersed through the organization.

At the Nissan factory in the North of England there is great pride in work, a good working atmosphere and high efficiency; one man creates some 47 cars per year. There seems a strange difference in that in England the Trade Unions have endlessly tried to limit work to make longer holidays, tea breaks etc., while Japanese Trade Unions try to negotiate more work for their members.

In England there is training of very young children to perform and act in front of parents and strangers. This does not happen in Japan. To speak in front of many people is not a skill taught in Japan. The Japanese do not think it is important to make conversation with other people. They find it very difficult to start conversations with other people. At gatherings, there is often complete silence for long periods.

The Japanese like Shakespeare, on TV etc. Going to the western theatre and opera is a new middle-class phenomenon. Western opera is a status symbol. Wagner, Puccini, Mozart are very popular. Beethoven's ninth symphony is now traditionally played just before midnight on New Year's Eve. Hegel is fashionable. There are five versions of translations of Shakespeare.

Kabuki developed about the same time as Shakespeare in Japan. But Kabuki actors became hereditary. There are drama schools, but it is difficult to enter the Kabuki world from these. *Noh* is slow and boring; it is only a family business. It is gradually dying out, the rich patrons are dying out, thought the State subsidizes it. There are no women *Noh* or Kabuki players. Kabuki men justify this by saying that they are more beautiful than women. There are four Kabuki theatres in Tokyo and two each in Kyoto and Osaka.

One of the leading Kabuki actors, aged 70, has never touched money, never cooked, has never married. He has no sons and is thus transferring his skills to a man who was adopted by another Kabuki actor.

Puppet theatres (*bunraku*) was important in Japan. This originated from village festivals, starting on a remote island where farmers performed the puppet dramas. Then moved to theatres in the cities. It is much more 'realistic' than the other forms of drama.

Most of the audience would not understand the words/singing in a *Noh* drama. There are about one thousand 'popular' sequences of *Noh* in the later Edo period, therefore seven or eight families of *Noh* players, each has its own repertory. The story of the plays are from classics, folklore etc. *Noh* is pre-thirteenth century; the main textbook was written in the fourteenth century.

It was very similar in its origins, mean folk, wandering players, outcastes, then taken up by the richer Samurai and merchants. It was often played in front of a temple or shrine, a place where people gather. It was often sponsored by ecclesiastical authorities to attract people to temples. Part of the *Noh* repertory includes the dancing of *geisha* in front of the temple, linked to temple prostitutes.

The fourteenth to sixteenth century in Japan was a time of great turbulence and change. The peasants became the middle class, the strong and clever could move to the top. Those at the top sank down, an "upside down" period. The lower groups brought up with them their culture. Much of the culture changed. People started to eat three times a day instead of twice, food changed, clothes changed, an agricultural revolution occurred. There was massive hydraulic works, the control of rivers, new tools.

With the agricultural revolution of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, it became possible to irrigate the whole plain, building dams, banks etc. The war lords moved their castles down from the hills to the plains. So the power shifted to Tokyo and Osaka. Tokyo was a small village in 1600, and within one hundred years a city of one million. In the Edo period, Osaka was a city of eight hundred bridges. Before this Osaka was the castle or temple town for a new religion, the major opposition to Nobunaga.

The late Muromachi (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries) is the great break in Japanese life; "before the Muromachi it is a foreign country". Before that K cannot understand the culture, after that it feels familiar, with a continuity up to the great changes of the 1950's and 1960's. Before the Muromachi women were very strong. In the Kamakura, there were women warriors and rulers. There were Samurai women warriors. The great Kamakura Shogun was dominated by his wife, who killed off her husband's line to perpetuate her brother's line.

We discussed distortion through translation. According to Toshiko, when Fukuzawa translated the phrase from Chamber's work 'good of society', he replaced it with 'communication with other people'. It was the powerful forms of communication through language and transport which struck him about the West. He believed that Japan had the basis for a good civilization, but it could be improved by better 'communication'.

According to Toshiko, Fukuzawa translated Chamber's 'marriage state' as 'father mother' relations. He also inserted a phrase about how this institution was 'to look after children and helping each other'. He was trying to argue that the feeling that father and mother must look after such children is the

original human nature, it was the role of parents to do this. Thus he had not been aware of the fact that there is no automatic right of children to be looked after in England.

Toshiko said that Fukuzawa took his early and basic ideas about the family and society and competition from the Chamber's 'Educational Course'. His central idea that one could build up a Civilization out of the natural and spontaneous feelings within the family came from this work, though it was later supplemented by reading of how civilizations develop in Buckle, Mill, Guizot.

We talked about a well-known metaphor for Japan. There is a widespread belief that each Japanese is like an octopus within its own jar, everyone is separate, therefore the circulation of information is rather difficult, and there are barriers to unity.

T and K had noticed the English fondness for pets, and that the English seemed to prefer their pets to their children. Pets have the great advantage that they will obey commands, can be controlled, don't answer back, whereas children do.

We talked again about Japanese and Chinese language. Chinese is a visual language, you are forced to see it, through the pictographic symbols, whereas English is an oral language, which you cannot visualize and you hear. Kenichi finds it difficult to learn English because of this; he has to see the words, then internalize and visualize them, and then bring them up again. Japanese is half way between, both a pictographic language with the Chinese characters, but oral within it, in the Japanese phonetics. There is a very heavy weight of the Chinese characters of a visual kind. The Japanese phonetics have two types. Type one are Japanese words, type two are foreign loan words. These are easily distinguished.

With the rigidity of Chinese pictographs, the meaning is strictly tied to the word. Hence it is very difficult for a word gradually to evolve and change its meaning. In English it is easy, a word can drop some of its meaning and add others over a short period. Japanese is half-way more flexible than Chinese, less so than English.

I asked about the difficulty of understanding Japan. As far as outsiders are concerned, Japan is neither an open nor a closed society. One is facing a switch board when one tries to understand it. Different switches have to be activated to find out different things. Thus a visitor can travel through many different Japans, depending on which switches are pressed. Many cultural mediators, eg. the Japan Foundation, are set up to guide a visitor through a Japan which is a liberal, western style civilization, but this is only one side.

Dore is one of the few westerners who have got inside Japan. He has managed to build his own switchboard, learnt the language, got to know ordinary people, dressed in Japanese costume etc. Another who seems to have found the 'inner side of wisdom' (as John Galt put it in 'Annals of a Parish') is Terry McCarthy, the Independent Columnist in Japan. He has overcome some of the many invisible barriers which are present. Many others engage in a kind of 'airport anthropology', never really getting further than the superficialities of the transit lounge in Narita airport. The invisible barriers can be penetrated, but you have to ask the right questions, to say 'open sesame' at the right spot. Otherwise it is all superficial. It would be helpful to learn a little Japanese, just a hundred or so useful words.

We discussed family structures and relations. The mother-daughter relationship is very strong, Toshiko said, and does not end at marriage. It continues afterwards. On the surface, Japan has a sort of patrilineal system, respecting the husband's line, but the mother's line is emotionally and day-to-day more important. The male line is formally more important, but the mother's line is in practice more important.

Although the male line is formally more important, sentiment and knowledge stressed the female line. Thus most people know their cousins on their mother's side, and have a relationship to them, but not those on their father's side. It feels very similar to England – the maternal grandmother is more important than the paternal one for instance. Although the son traditionally looked after his mother, the daughters provide their mother with much emotional support. Officially, however, the wife of the eldest son looks after the mother-in-law.

If a household is very important, it is possible to adopt. In urban Edo, the merchant class would often kick out their sons and marry one of their daughters to the best worker in the firm, who would then be the adopted son. It was basically a business, with a family system attached. Or if there was a son of some competence, he would be placed alongside a manager who would oversee him.

There is no feeling of right in Japan, K said. It is not against the law to disinherit all the children. But a family with all its advisors and relatives will put pressure on a father to behave in a certain way. The father does not 'own' the property either, he just manages it for future generations. It is the duty of everyone to find the most suitable manager for the future. Thus there may be nominal inheritance by a son, but actually an able non-relative will run the business.

In the political system, there is a division whereby the inheritance (transmission of rights of ownership) flows down through the Emperor, while the succession (transmission of the rights of power) flows down through the Shogun. The same thing can happen in families, where a son may 'inherit', but the real power is in the hands of a manager.

In Japan there is something higher than the individual, a 'family unit', to which the individual is bound. The estate has been inherited from ancestors and no one has the right to destroy the family or go against its best interests. This is so important, that an individual may be sacrificed (as younger sons are), to this unit and disinherited. The same effect, but for different reasons, occurs in England. There is the individual who controls the property, and if such a person decides to disinherit the heirs he may do so (though, of course, there is a vast literature about attempts to limit his power through entails etc). In both cases, the individual is insecure, with no automatic rights. Second or third sons of peasants have no rights, no house, no right to get married. Thus they were a floating labour force. Second and third sons have to find their own way outside the farm, starting businesses etc. This is only true in England and Japan and may be significantly related to capital accumulation and labour mobility.

Primogeniture in both Japan and England allows capital accumulation since the property is not split up between all sons at each generation. The word for "foolish" or "stupid" in Japanese is "*tawake*". This happens to be composed of two Chinese characters which can be read as "*ta*", "rice field", and "*wake*" to divide. This word was later re interpreted by the Japanese to mean that it was extremely foolish to divide property among heirs – and used as a word to dissuade people from doing so.

In most societies, one gives in to the short-term affections and gives all one's sons a part of the patrimony. Only two civilizations have stood out against this pressure – England and Japan. If one is wealthy enough, one tries to create a job for other sons, and send them off to the professions, or they may be adopted by another family. For instance a rising merchant family may adopt a son from a good family to obtain his 'name', thus joining blood and wealth as happened in England. But ultimately, the other members of the family are sacrificed to the oldest son.

The new Civil Code in Japan in the 1950's, just as the change in law in England in c. 1938, has given rights to all children equally. Hence the centuries-old system of primogeniture has been wiped away. But some Japanese still renounce, without a murmur, their rights to inherit under the new code. But many children now sell off all their parent's property and divide it among themselves.

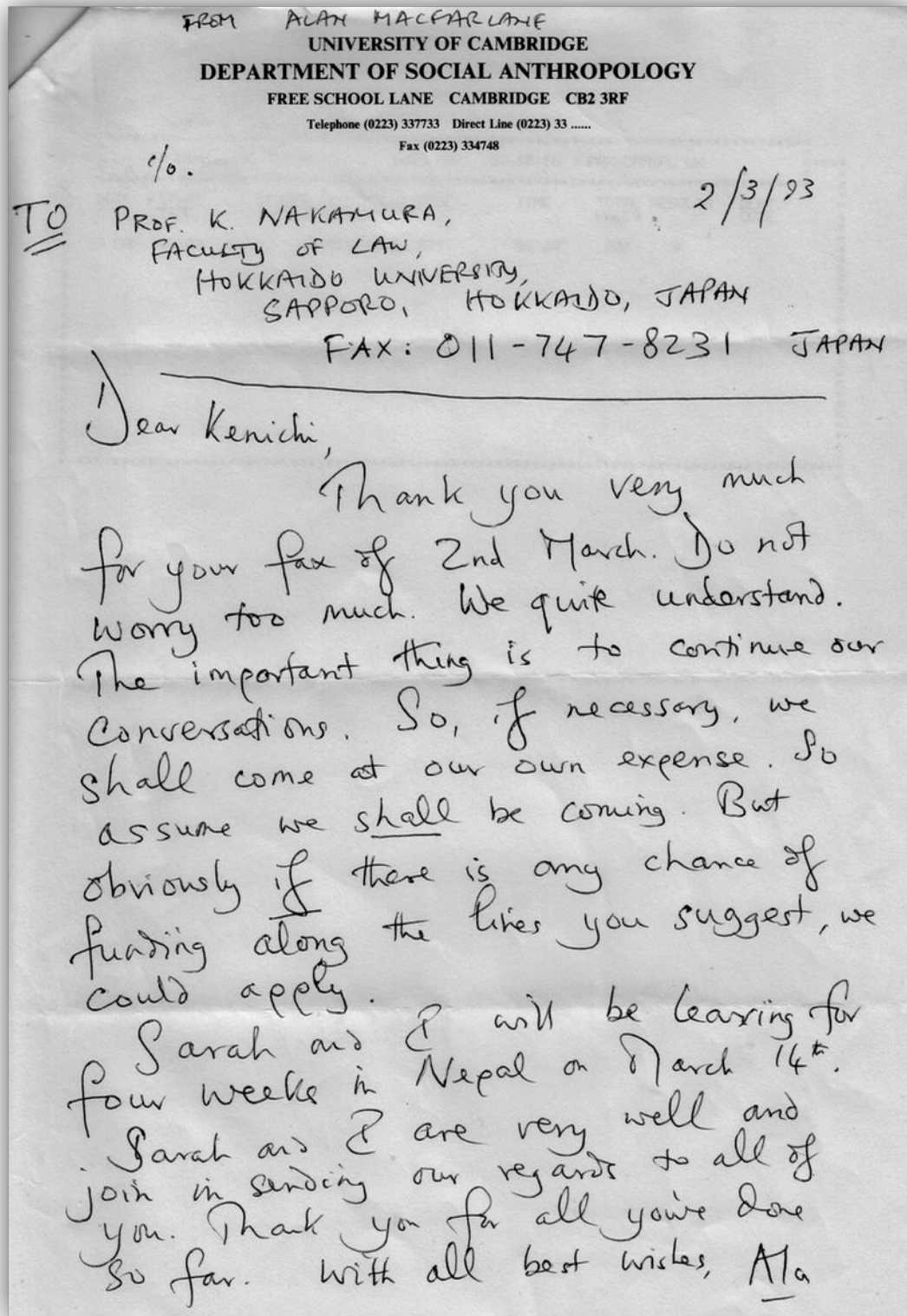
I made a diagram at the end of the discussions on this visit, which shows the evolution of my thinking over the summer. As a first stage, I tried to produce bench marks or continua, with India at one end and America at the other, with Japan somewhere along this. This was too rigid. I next tried three corners of a triangle, with Japan equidistant from holistic and individualistic societies. Finally, I am trying a Venn diagram, in which India is almost separate and much further away from Japan and England, which lie alongside each other, half overlapping, and half not, and hardly overlapping with India and the Chinese model. I showed this to K and T and they seemed to find it a helpful development of thought.

K had carefully read my early draft of the Radcliffe-Brown lecture and a number of the points above emerged from that reading. He had three main comments. One was that I should not cite from certain light-weight authors. Matsumoto, though interesting, was very light-weight. Endo was a novelist and should be cut down. Lebra the anthropologist was quoted too much. Secondly, he felt that I had got to grips with a certain level of initial literature and now was the time to move to a deeper level of people like Maruyama. Thirdly, he felt that the argument as it stood was trying to do two things – show something about

Japan and how it worked, and disproving some of the grand theories about the linked features necessary for capitalism. These two aims were not quite compatible and further thought was needed.

Visit to Japan in 1993

We had clearly planned to make a trip to Japan in 1993, come what may, as the following fax shows. (Fax was our main way of communicating until we started to use email to communicate in around 1999)



What was particularly important about this visit was that we already knew enough to have a broad set of questions to ask – I listed 138 of these before we went. We covered all of them, particularly on our long train journeys, but we also discussed numerous other subjects. The friendship and trust which had now built up in our previous times together in Japan and England, combined with the Nakamuras mixture of great knowledge and independence of thought, made the discussions into a mini version of the *Kodansha Dictionary of Japan*.

1st-2nd August 1993

On the short trip to Brussels the plane quite full, but the jumbo to Japan not bad, and we managed to keep three seats to ourselves. Heard just after we left that King Baudouin has died, and we were asked to keep a minute's silence. Shows how the aura of monarchies have declined. I wonder what will happen when the Queen dies. Journey good though the usual headache. Slept some of the time but still tired enough to lay out at Narita several times. We had to wait from 8.00am to 6.30pm for the plane to Hokkaido.

SAPPORO

Met by Kenichi at Chitose and he drove us to their house where we drank tea and talked with him and Toshiko. Surprised to find that despite tiredness we could launch into deep discussion in the same way as before. It was about 10.30pm that we were taken to the University guest house where we spent a reasonable night.

NOTES

We started by talking about bookshops. Apparently the major chain of bookshops was started by a man who used to wheel carts of books from Yokohama to Tokyo (before trains) and whom Fukuzawa befriended.

We discussed a funeral which Kenichi had officiated at. This had been a strange synthesis of Christian, Buddhist and secular. The deceased, a university professor, had died of cancer. His wife was a Christian and had appealed to the local Bishop to have a Christian funeral. The Bishop had been uneasy, but because she had suffered so much, he had agreed. Thus it was co-chaired (the word Kenichi used) by the Bishop, who did the Christian parts, and Kenichi, who did the Buddhist and secular parts. They negotiated which should do which. The Bishop gave an address and introduced prayers, Kenichi read out telegrams and did the rest, including at the end asking the congregation to sing "The glory of God", which he felt uneasy about.

The fact that a co-worker (Professor, in this case) was doing the service is quite usual in Japan. Where memorial and funeral service are rolled into one. Kenichi thought it was over-elaborate. It took about two days altogether, including the "wake" in the evening before the actual funeral. Money gifts are brought by all those who attend in a special envelope (q.v.) in which one writes one's name and the amount. Now it is usual to give an average of about 10,000 yen, though Kenichi gave 30,000 yen. Half of this is then given back in the form of a present by the widow, etc. which is a lot of trouble.

From funerals we moved to weddings. Roughly the same amount is given at a wedding but none is returned then as the wedding costs are high. The wedding card - of which we have an example - has a knot of gold and silver. Kenichi and Toshiko did not know the meaning of this. There is also a crane and a tortoise on the card. Each symbolizes long-life. The crane lives for 1,000 years, the tortoise for 10,000. They thought, when I suggested the knot symbolized the joining of the young couple, that it was more likely to be the joining of families.

And then back to funerals. At the funeral, when the money donation is given, a small card is given back as a "thank you". This asks the donor to pray for the dead person and gives a few details about him. There is also a "token of thanks" - in this case a telephone token worth 500 yen.

There was a detailed schedule for the wake which included a service very like that of the funeral. Because they had decided that this was a Christian rather than a Buddhist funeral, they didn't throw salt afterwards to remove pollution. Kenichi and Toshiko brought some of the flowers home - no inhibition. Flowers are very important. Each person who attends puts a flower on the coffin. Because this was, according to the Bishop, not a Christian act, Kenichi was asked to organise this. Just the head of the flower is put on the coffin. The ceremony on the night before was in a funeral hall, though it could have been at the house. The actual funeral included speeches by colleagues, the man's former supervisor and others. Some 200 people came. The flowers have to be white - chrysanthemums principally, but also a few carnations. A similar ceremony is done by the Emperor to commemorate the end of the war (defeat) on 15th August - with flowers.

We noted a couple of observations at the airport. At Narita airport watched body-distances, which seemed roughly in line with those of the English. Kenichi commented that the distances are growing less - eg. young people now walk hand in hand and even kiss in public. I did notice quite a few young couples and indeed several of them were touching.

I was surprised on going to the toilet at Narita airport to find quite a young girl in there cleaning the floor, with men coming in and out. I mentioned this as odd to Kenichi who did not think it was. It led him, interestingly, to talk about the problem of privacy in a Japanese flat - eg. the fact that there are only paper divisions between Subaru's room and his and Toshiko's. He obviously recognised a problem, but said it was dealt with by assuming innocence and invisibility

3rd August 1993

Had our first real sense of being in Japan with breakfast - fish, rice, soup, and raw egg, and that familiar taste. The other breakfasters were middle-aged males who didn't try to communicate with us. Instead of reading newspapers they were absorbed in a TV 'soap'.

Kenichi and Toshiko picked us up after 9.30am and we went to the same block of apartments for visiting scholars that we were in before. This time we are in flat 304 rather than 302. A pleasant place though its floor plan is different. Bedroom and kitchen are reversed for instance. Had the usual introduction with the man from the gas board and the lady in charge. Went through the inventory, and once again much made of the disposal of rubbish - when and where. Went off then to shop for necessities - they never seem to have a washing up bowl, for instance - and food.

After unpacking and taking a short rest, went over to the Nakamuras again and talked until 10.30pm over late lunch, tea and supper. Alan took copious notes which I hope he'll be able to type directly into his computer. Needless to say, the plug on his Toshiba is presenting a problem. Japanese goods for export are evidently made for use only outside Japan. Kenichi will be consulting Toshiba to see if they can supply a plug.

NOTES

We learnt that the transport system was transformed from the sixteenth century. Specialists developed. From Edo to Kyoto the route was so safe that a woman could travel by herself. There was a sort of transport police under the Tokugawa. No highway robbers. Every 20km. a staging post built with inns and hotels for Samurai. There were many inns which were very safe and the prices were stable. They were particularly developed for the Daimyo on their journeys from their estates to Edo when they stayed in "5 star" hotels. There were various grades for others.

In the later seventeenth century, it took 26 hours by horse and runner ("Daimyo runner") to take a telegram from Tokyo to Osaka. In the late Tokugawa, there was a lot of tourism to Ise and elsewhere. Lots of travel guide books. There was a famous novel, a sort of Chaucer's tales. [cf. "Shank's Mare" - Ikku Jippensha]. There were lots of hotels at Ise, etc.

Nowadays there are not really pilgrimages to Ise. Ordinary people don't go on pilgrimages, they are just tourists. In the past, there were thanksgiving pilgrimages by rich merchants, etc. Showed conspicuous consumption by throwing gold coins. In the war, the Ise shrine was bombed and burnt out. Every sixty years there was a pilgrimage to Ise (60 is 5x12 - a very auspicious number). Ise is rebuilt every twenty years. There are many pilgrims, particularly the year after rebuilding. In 1705 there were 70,000 pilgrims a day.

We noticed plastic bamboos in the gardening shop. Probably now much cheaper than the real thing.

I asked if there were any famous bandit legends. Toshiko and Kenichi thought for a long time and cross-questioned each other, but found difficulty in thinking of any examples. The only two they could come up with were: Masakado [Papinot - Taira Masakado (+ 940)] - in the tenth century, Kyoto area - the Emperor was losing control of the sea routes and the Kanto area; one of the less famous Samurai organised a rebellion - there was also a sea-revolt. The failing Samurai - his head flew and tried to bite the enemy and his body stood up without his head. This is the legend [not a bandit, but an over-mighty subject].

Another case was in the Edo period when there was a robber who stole money from rich merchants and distributed it to the poor. Absorbed into the Kabuki tradition - a robber hero, a symbol of anti-government, anti-rich, conspicuous culture. Again not a real bandit. They agreed that there were no bandit bands in remote mountainous regions.

I was interested to learn that Sun-Yat-Sen said that Chinese people were like sand - impossible to gather up or mobilise. The Japanese, Kenichi said, were 'natto' (fermented soya beans) - intermixed. When an elderly Chinese Professor visited Kenichi, he asked "who controlled" Tokyo, Kenichi said "nobody", that it was "self-controlled". (We agreed that this was a legacy of feudal society)

Apparently, the Chinese character for "the people" means "a slave blinded by his master" - people are without any power and responsibility.

We discussed education. On his visit to China, Kenichi asked what changes had occurred in a village and was told that they had started to plant rice in the school playground. Kenichi was appalled. This could not happen in Japan. There is too much respect for education. Confucian culture should respect scholarship. Perhaps due to Mao Tse Tung whose great enemy was Confucius. Mao said teachers were worse than murderers, rapists, etc.

Also, the Japanese have a great respect for law and order. It was Toshiko's father's boast as a railwayman, that the railways were still working on 15th August 1945 (end of war).

We were told that there is a Japanese saying: "If you laugh at one yen, you will cry for one yen". Nowadays, however, the children don't have a feeling of poverty. When Kenichi and Toshiko were young, there was a realisation of poverty though Kenichi said he only realised what real poverty was when he visited India.

Returning to the subject of the shrine at Ise: there was no particular resentment at the bombing of Ise and it didn't have an enormous effect. It was believed that if an American pilot was caught, Americans would stop food.

Apparently, Kabuki used to tell public what was happening in Edo. News spread very fast.

As for writing, Japanese writing consists of Chinese characters which have been adopted for their sounds, but not for their particular ideographic meaning. Hence, Japanese a phonetic language with an ideographic shell.

On the matter of conformity, Soseki the novelist often wrote of the stickiness of relations - forced relations - the conformity of society. Kenichi's aim is to try to make society a little bit more individualistic. I asked about "knocking down the peg which stands out" and it is still the case. It is particularly true in the Tokyo area. There are tricks people employ against conformity. Rather than directly rebelling they may just keep silent, or leave the room and then refuse, etc. Kenichi stressed individualism in the past - people had private chopsticks, a sense of privacy, etc. But even husband and wife, Kenichi thought, were "strangers to each other". Wives try to keep their distance from their husbands.

We had a long discussion about friendship in Japan. Several friends, at the funeral Kenichi went to, knew the dead person better than his wife did. A friend often shares every secret, a wife knows less than a friend. The relationship with a friend is very special - "similar to Platonic love" (Kenichi). Kenichi's and Toshiko's friends know them better than they know each other, partly because they have been friends since childhood.

Wives have to cut off relations with other women at marriage - "the friendship between girls cannot exist" - because women are supposed to marry. In the old days it was impossible for women to have friends. Now it's starting to become easier. A woman can make friends in a new place.

A husband's loyalty is absorbed into the "iron cage" (Kenichi) of the company.

Root of word "friend" seems to be 'tomo'. 'Tomo' in the Chinese character means "support with hand; help".

On Dick Storry's gravestone is written (in Japanese) "Dick Storry the friend from THE heart of Japanese".

"Nowadays we can be friends with the opposite sex". I asked whether one used the word "friend" in the relations of husband and wife and was told, "No, because 'friend' implies equality of status which husband and wife are not".

In relations of equality between senior and junior, to equalise the relations, the junior person used familiar terms, the senior person used polite terms, to counterbalance natural relations. It is possible to have equal friendships - "one of the most important relationships in Japan". In University, etc. dormitories set up deep relationships. There were youth hostels-cum-dormitories during the Edo period where young villagers met, drank, talked, and sometimes invited young ladies. People formed friendships in these. The institutionalised relationships formed in these were important - strong, equal, and an important binding device of people of the same age. They were not based on clan. Clans from the Kamakura period onwards were artificially created.

Master-Servant relations were often close - warmer and more like a friend. 'Heike Monogatari' has lots of friendship stories in it. Trust was very important after the Civil War period with the shattering of other loyalties. Thus friendship was much stronger than master-servant relations. The personality of the Samurai needed friends. One needed to count on the trust of the Samurai. There are lots of friendship stories - people helping each other in the life-death situation.

I asked about "blood-brotherhood". There is no such institution in Japan (cf. England), with no word for blood-brother. The nearest there is to this is that when people declare their final will they may drop a little blood into the ink with which the will is written.

There is something like "milk-brotherhood" - through fostering out important people, but this does not create equality, but a sort of patronage.

The Samurai are a self-made element, based on achievement, their own fighting ability, and a philosophy of achievement of the person. There is a mutual recognition of another Samurai, even if he is an enemy. A kind of unrealistic ethic (might even apply to a Russian).

Drink is important in cementing friendship - provides solidarity, shared closeness, an exposure of one's personality. No family are involved in friendship ceremonies, no kinship terms are used, hence nothing like ritual kinship.

During the Civil Wars, Samurai were hired, entered into contracts, became very individualistic, self-dependent and independent. The final sign of friendship was that if a Samurai had to go to a very dangerous situation, his friend's duty was to go with him and see how he fought and died - as eye-witness. The friend would sometimes join in, though not in a duel. One can ask a friend to cut off one's head after a ritual suicide.

As regards women, it is probably the first generation after World War II that women were potentially treated as equal.

The term '*San*' is used for women and girls as well as men. It is respectful. One would never use '*Kun*' which is used in equal relationships between men. '*Kun*' originally meant "prince" but has dropped down to meaning an equal.

All children do fitness exercises each day. On radio since c.1928, have been doing this in parks, etc. Health and beauty legacy.

Sumo wrestling goes back into the mists of time - connected to Shinto. A very hierarchical and ranked system within it. Shinto ideas, but priests are not involved. The clothes worn (and especially the referees) are related to those of Shinto priests. The 5 top ranks - the top two are real professionals who can recruit anyone from the lower ranks to act as their servant. The Sumo organisation might ask the Yakuza to set up a place for their contests, organise bookings, etc. Part of the tradition is that the Yakuza controlled Sumo and Kabuki.

We had a lengthy discussion about the semi-criminal organization. The Yakuza date back to the late Kamakura period. In the Heian period, the Emperor and his court controlled art, music, entertainment. When the Kamakura cut off the Emperor, this left a vacuum to be partly filled by the Yakuza. The Emperor tried to use the marginal people, people who lived marginally in Samurai dominated society, to help him in his intrigues against the Shogun.

The floating world was dominated by the Yakuza. Yakuza headquarters are filled with Shinto regalia.

In 1336 there was a revolt by discontented Samurai and outcast persons - Yakuza to be - they succeeded, but the Samurai still dominated so the Emperor attacked the Samurai (this was the context for the "bandit" whose head flew on its own to attack the Samurai - Amina Yoshikiko q.v. above).

The Yakuza are recognised as outcast people. They dwell in areas which the ordinary powers cannot control (like bandits) - but within the society - bottle up. There is a tacit agreement that they should let them regulate themselves. The police let them alone, allow them to informally control these areas (there used to be one in Sapporo).

The word 'Yakuza' is what they were called by the outside world. They themselves refer to themselves as 'ninkio' or 'gedo' - the underpass, underground - it is a partly family tradition. The Yakuza are quite secular. New recruits go through a ceremony - tattooing, cutting off the top of a finger, etc. Parents sometimes ask the Yakuza to take in or adopt their more difficult children. Authentic Yakuza try to keep within a certain prescribed limit.

Kenichi had not heard of the word or organisation called "Triad" - an indication of the exclusive power of the Yakuza. The Yakuza are into protection and act as an unofficial insurance company.

The lower ranks of the police are often bribed by Yakuza and are from the same background. They have mutual interests. The police service is split. There is an elite class - Todai graduates, etc. who go straight to the top. They are not bribed - are very separate from their men. The senior people are constantly moved about so that they do not become too involved or corrupted by the local situation. The lower ranked police stay where they are and are corrupted.

4th August 1993

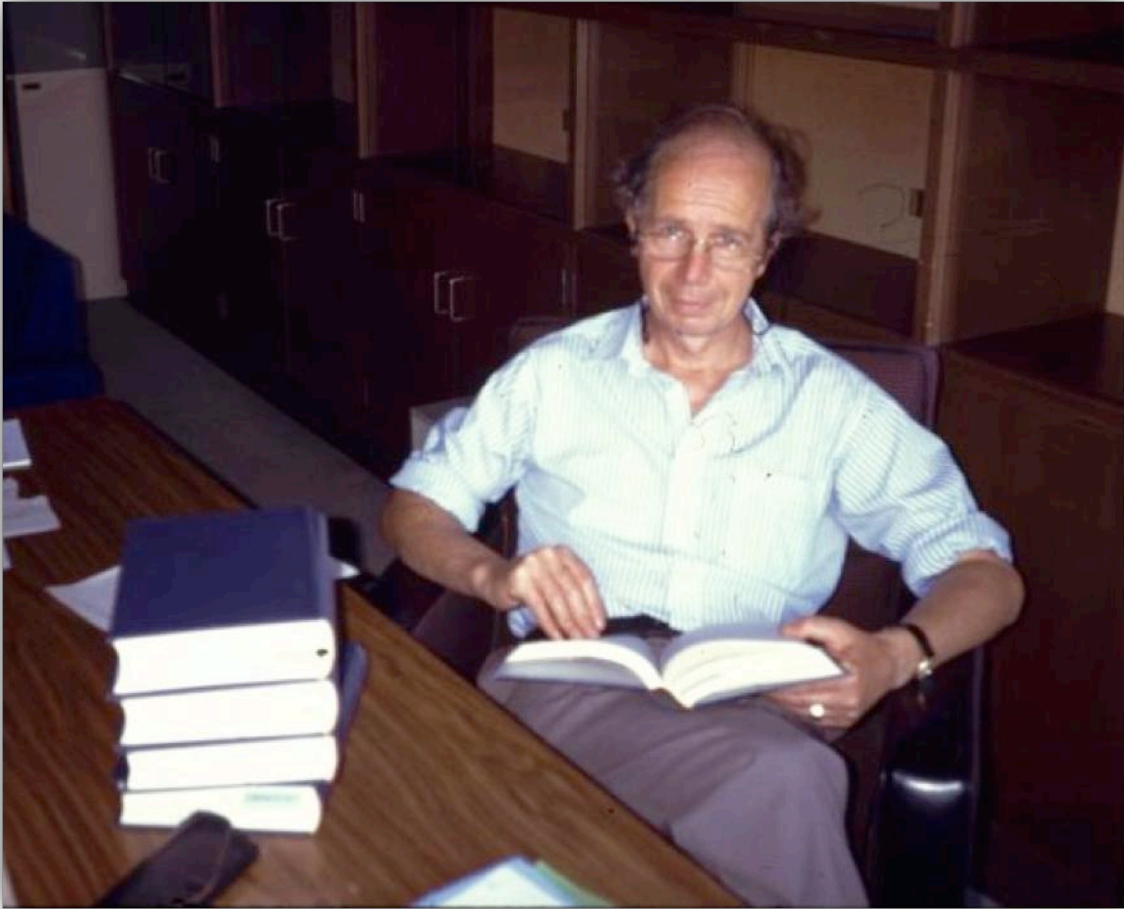
Kenichi arrived at 9.15am carrying a TV. They have just brought a new one so have this spare and are lending it to us. A relief to have something as I find my little short-wave radio can't pick up anything apart from faint Japanese stations. Surprising when compared to Nepal where we could get the World Service and much else. Picked up Toshiko then came to the Dept. of Law where Alan has been assigned a room on the 6th floor. Kenichi then took us to the library and Alan has a borrower's ticket.

Our interest and knowledge of Japan has increased so much since last we were here that we both have things we want to pursue. This may be a marvellous place for Alan to gather material, apart from our talks with the Nakamuras. Yesterday we planned our trip. We will not go to Kyoto and Nara but to Kamakura and Ise. We will stay with Toshiko's mother, so we shall live in a Japanese house. We shall be going next week, leaving before the Bon holiday which is around 13th August. Toshiko says that this festival is hardly recognised except as a holiday. Only in Kyoto is there any real celebration of this Japanese equivalent to 'All Souls'.

At noon Toshiko came and we went back to her flat for lunch. The girls were going to the cinema this afternoon but because their car was too small to take all of us they rode their bikes to the station and we went by car to the University and caught the same train as the girls to Odari, the central area of Sapporo. Huge area underground with entrances to the main shops above. In time one could envisage an underground area extending below the whole city with the bulk of buildings and cars above, people walking and tube trains below. Particularly relevant here where winter means heaps of snow from December to March.

After leaving the girls we went to the largest bookshop where books in English can be bought, and got a number of novels and other texts. As Toshiko had taken time off to help us, took her for tea and cake in a most fancy restaurant noted for its fruit which graces all of the cakes. As Alan was keen to work we then went back to his pleasant room in the faculty.

Before lunch discussed tenant dispute resolution with Toshiko (see below). Her comment that they don't punish children, only try to lead them makes one aware that their own children are pretty anarchic. It's not possible to really make contact with them. They aren't disciplined to be polite or to acknowledge other adults, neither do they appear to be interested in much outside themselves. Like little automata. Alan felt a little unwell this evening, but sleep and Paracetamol seemed to cure him in an hour.



Alan in his room at Hokkaido University

NOTES

We discussed the small seals which every adult has. This has to be affixed to all formal documents instead of a signature. It is a standard family name seal, and hence very standardised - far less individualised than a Western signature, every one of which is meant to be unique.

We noted that Japanese underground train carriages are undivided - long tunnels of moving light. The seats along the sides have no arm rests, hence people can touch. Nothing like the English barriers between people.

When we left Toshiko's flat, we asked if she left money there. She said "of course". It would be safe. It would not even be necessary to close the windows. Bikes, however, are locked, though Toshiko was quick to point out that the bikes would not be stolen to sell on, etc. but just used temporarily and then abandoned.

Within a block of flats the inhabitants will usually set up a self-governing body. In the case of dispute they will ask the persons to desist. If they don't then they would bring in the police. The younger generation is happier to take cases to court - Is this a fact? Older generations can be shamed. There is a feeling that if a dispute is settled it has to be rounded - O. If it is not settled it has corners (like a square) and this is not liked. Flats would be self-governing if owner-occupied, but these (ie. Toshiko's) are owned by the Government, and government officials would deal with problems of maintenance, however they may not deal with disputes. This block has a great turnover of people and many will know their successor or predecessor - great mobility of civil servants.

If a student creates trouble or gets involved in a criminal act, the police would probably ask a tutor to take the student, question and then counsel him. If a school child is caught shop-lifting, form teacher would have to interview and counsel. If goods had been consumed teacher would get parents

to repay. Children must not be punished but must be taught and led. Also undergraduates must be led. Parents used to teach and lead, now teachers have usurped this role.

5th August 1993

Today we spent in the Sapporo Science Centre - a very modern sort of museum, or rather teaching centre, built by the City Council to attract children and to encourage them to learn the basics of science by experimentation. Everything could be tried. Obviously computer displays, but also weights and pulleys, magnetism, electricity - elementary principles of physics which are so dull within a school laboratory, by obviously such fun here. It's a large place so that we could spend most of the day going round and trying things. Toshiko enjoys it. The children disappeared at once and we only saw them at appointed times - for lunch and to go home - apart from the first part when we went to the planetarium. Even that was interesting as it looks as though Japan's cosmology is part Greek, part Chinese in origin. They have the Great Bear and Little Bear and Sagittarius, but I didn't recognise a boy and bird (eagle? though looked like a duck), and swan, also harp. Must check. They call the 'Plough' the 'Ladle'.

Noticed that there were very many young children - 4-6 - who wouldn't be interested in our science museums, but here there were things that even a child as young as this could take part in even though they couldn't understand the significance of the result. Children were everywhere. Outside in an adjacent department store at lunch time, many tables of mothers and young children. Toshiko said that it had become an issue recently when a feminist took her baby into a very smart Tokyo restaurant and was refused entry because of the child. She made a fuss and an issue of it suggesting that if women couldn't take children into restaurants, the burden of caring for them would become too onerous and that women would not bother to have them. The birth rate is very low as it is - 1.52 children per family nationally though Sapporo's rate is higher. Toshiko said that three children was not unusual here while Tokyo's birth rate was very low indeed. She thought that pressure on living space was a strong factor. There is plenty of space on Hokkaido but very little in Tokyo, and land there is so expensive. She didn't think one would see many children in Tokyo.

I'm finding my attempts to master a smattering of Japanese are far more fun here, partly because they don't laugh at one's attempts but are gently helpful, and partly because the tapes make a reasonable stab at pronunciation possible. We can actually recognise words in people's conversations.

Got a newspaper today. It will be delivered each day of our stay. It is 'The Japan Times' - rather mediocre in coverage, but interesting. Toshiko and Kenichi have got a satellite TV dish so that they can pick up BBC News, French news and Russian news. This is to supplement the meagreness of Japanese reportage as Japan has so few foreign correspondents. Little is known of the Bosnian conflict here, for example. Bought ourselves a small Japanese teapot and cups (larger for man, smaller for woman) - also a 'saki' flask and cups which will double as egg cups too.



Sapporo Science Centre



Mechanical toys



Inside a Department Store

6th August 1993

A day at the office. Quite a bit spent xeroxing articles from 'The Journal of Japanese Studies' for and with Alan. For some time we worked on two Xerox machines standing side by side. Met with Toshiko and Kenichi for lunch but otherwise on our own.

7th August 1993

Spent the day in the office. Alan had hoped to go to the library but it was shut. He went through the material we xeroxed yesterday instead. I spent all the time on the language. Though not much seems to have rooted itself permanently in my brain, I do have a better sense of it and can see that it is possible to work through the book rather than getting stuck in futile attempts to memorise it.

Preparing for our trip. Have done several lots of washing and we've sent the large case by carrier to Toshiko's mother to await our arrival there. Finished most of our food too. Now spend quite a bit of time each day reading 'The Japan Times'. Though not much apart from the political troubles on Japan, quite an interesting look at the rest of the world through Japan's eyes. Much on USA, little or nothing on Britain, and only a little on EC.

8th August 1993

Today we started out holiday with Kenichi, Toshiko and the girls. We met them at their flat at 9.00am and took taxis to the train which went to Chitose. Flew to Nagoya by ANA. There was an in-flight video of take-off and approach. Chitose airport has only been built in the last three years. The old airport has been returned to the military which had shared its air space with civil flights until these increased beyond the limit acceptable. This plane is a 767, seven seats wide, and much larger than planes one usually thinks of for internal flights. However, there are thirty such flights daily to Tokyo alone from Chitose. The train costs about the same but takes twenty hours.

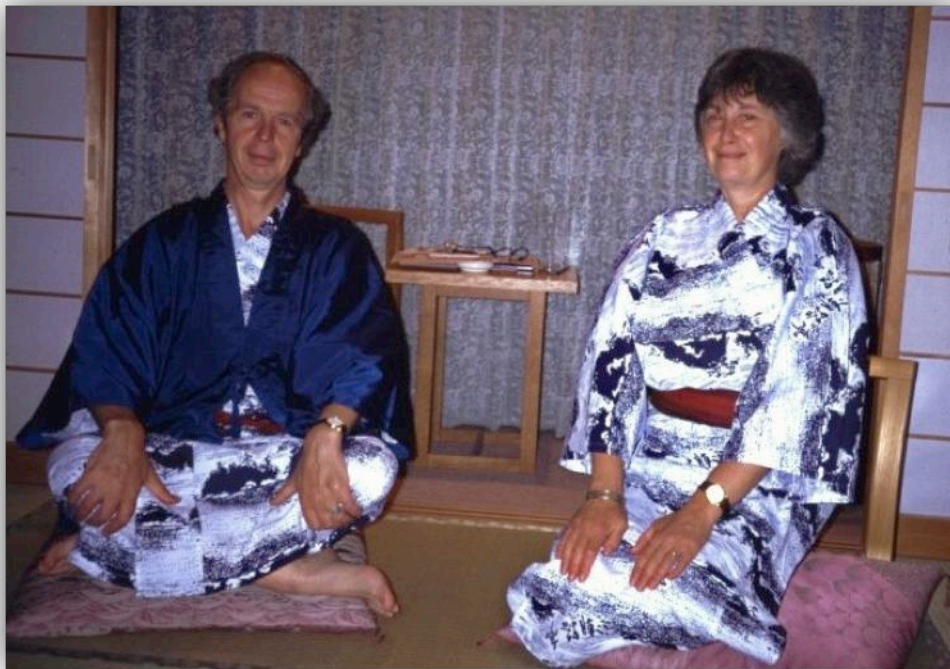
Left in sunshine, but arrived to overcast sky which soon developed into drizzle. The weather in this part of Japan has been bad for days now and a tornado is coming up too. Somehow the rain in trees and misty, wooded slopes are quite appropriate. We had lunch in Nagoya near the station in a colonnade full of restaurants each very similar to the next one. Nagoya is an industrial city of 4-5 million. It was destroyed during the war so the buildings are all modern, but unlike Tokyo, only a few are taller than 5-6 storeys.

TOBA

We took another train to Toba, a resort on the coast near Ise, famous as the birthplace of the man who invented cultured pearls, and where pearls are still grown. We are staying in an extremely expensive hotel, in the traditional Japanese part so are sleeping on tatami mats on futon. The first experience which initially rather shocked us was a bath in a communal bath. Luckily, women and men have separate baths but having never bathed naked with anyone, let alone Toshiko and the girls, felt a little uncomfortable in prospect. I think Alan did too, but he later recalled it as being like school. We all took off our clothes and put them in baskets, then went into the bath. First one washes with flannel provided and we also washed our hair. Then, when clean, one enters the bath and lounges in it. There is a large window down one wall. Outside is a pool and rock garden so one looks out onto nature from the warmth of the pool. One is supposed to lie and relax, which wasn't hard to do. One finds that nobody is the least bit embarrassed by undressing in front of everyone. Nobody looks.

Had supper in what was called a "Viking" restaurant which means that one takes as much as one can eat of anything. The likely appetites of men and women were reflected in the price - for men 4600Y, women 3800Y - but the restaurant was also being run by a beer company which is trying to attract women to drink beer which might have also increased the differentiation. Large room with many tables and food on a long table in the centre. People dress very casually. Alan wore his white jacket and looked very smart, but he was the smartest there. Toshiko in slacks, Kenichi in a T-shirt.

After supper we dressed in 'yukata' and sat in the Nakamuras' room discussing Alan's 138 questions. He has quizzed them on the flight and on the trains and continued this evening. They are very patient and try hard. I feel they are seriously trying to show us real Japan and we're happy to be guided by them. One small incident. As we were leaving the airport we stopped to go to the lavatory and afterwards Toshiko suddenly asked Alan if he'd left his handkerchief on the plane. He couldn't find it in his pockets so assumed he had and I imagined having to go back to the plane to look for it. I was just going to advise him not to bother when Toshiko took him to a desk nearby and there, folded neatly in a paper bag was his handkerchief. At the hotel we were greeted by ladies in kimono who immediately took our wet umbrellas and put them in plastic sheaths. When we reached our room we were seated at a low table on chairs with backs but no legs, and the kimono-clad lady made green tea for us.



Alan and Sarah dressed in 'yukata'

NOTES

We started by discussing universities. The first universities in Japan were in the early Meiji. Tokyo University founded c.1860's following the German model. 'Kaise-jo' - a place to check "Western (barbarian) documents". It trained translators and set up in 1840-50' as 'Bansho- shirabe-dokoro' ("barbarian's books inspection of"). Established after Opium War when Japanese realised the power of the West. Much earlier, of course, there had been Buddhist temple at Kamakura, for example, where Buddhist intellectuals had met together and taught. These were from C12, but basically studying Buddhist texts. Kenichi doesn't know what they taught. An institution to import knowledge from China was set up even earlier, perhaps from C7 bringing in the ideas of Buddhism, money, and administration at Nara. Nara temples sent students to China from C7 onwards

Keio University was founded in c.1866. It started as an English studies college. Before that there had been students who paid some sort of fees through presents at Bon. Fukuzawa changed the tradition and introduced the payment of fees in money. Earlier than this in late C18 there was something similar to this (ie. system of taking fees - 'tanso') details of which are in Ronald Dore's book. Fukuzawa's father's teacher had trained students in a large hall, marked their student sheets and introduced a competitive system, moving students from place to place according to the results of their tests.

In the early C19 there had been a boom in education and a lot of private educational centres, new skills and new knowledge, very similar to the expansion in C18 colonial America. There was a difference between the Buddhist monasteries and the college system, as Prof. Minamoto has pointed out, saying that Christianity had a strong tradition for teaching theology and the study of biblical texts and this led to a more developed interest in theory. Buddhism was much more flexible but the cost of this was that it was less rigorous and hence not applied to other things and couldn't encompass new knowledge. It remained basically religious.

Daimyo established their own education system for their own bureaucrats from C17 onwards, teaching Confucianism, but it was not a really serious form of education. A man called Sorai, a famous philosopher, tried to make the Shogunate system as Confucian texts said it should be. It claimed he even invited the Shogunate to do this, to get rid of the dual system of Government, that is to get rid of the Emperor. They did not follow his advice. His theories declined in popularity, and the failure of the Shogun to act led to an upswing in nationalism and increased support for the Emperor.

There are lots of rivers but few canals in Japan. In the Osaka area around Biwa Lake there is the Yodo River which is actually a canal. It has locks. Probably built in C16. Big castle built in the mouth of the river by Hideyoshi in 1580's. Using advanced technology, they managed to control most of the water of the Yodo River. The main effort to control and slow down the big rivers and their tributaries took place in the C16. This was for irrigation and castle building, and it was later adapted for transportation. The earlier irrigation system of C12-13 was much smaller in scale. Hence there was nothing quite similar to the English canal building.

There were no walled cities though Sakai might have had a wall. Osaka had no walls. It was a religious centre and then a place for merchants. The walls were not good enough to defend from outside attack. The absence of stone in Japan may partly account for this. Kyoto had no walls, neither did Edo, except round the Shogun's and Emperor's palaces. There were gates, however, important for stopping and checking people. Kamakura had no walls as such, but is in a natural amphitheatre surrounded by a steep ring of hills, and would have been very difficult to attack. No tradition of walled cities. Just a moat round the castles. They used natural barriers, mountains, etc.

Kyoto was based on Xi'an, the capital of T'ang China. Thus a Chinese city in plan except there was no wall. There was no need for a wall. There were no outside attackers. In Kyoto, adherence to the Chinese plan meant that roads on a grid plan just led out into the countryside. There was no sense of city states in Japan. The centre of Kyoto was a river, whereas in Xi'an the river was outside.

Kenichi was shocked to be told that the city was equated with "civilisation" - 'civitas'. For him it is just an administrative centre. His students cannot understand urbanism and the city as a centre. To them a city is just a centre of population. Of course, a city is more sophisticated than rural areas, but there is no sense that a city has a particular life-style, mentality, infrastructure, tax system, etc. The city is not completely different from its surroundings, unlike Rome, and it's not equated with civilisation, though Tokyo may be a distribution centre for "newness".

Kenichi pronounced that there is "No countryside in Japan now" - similar to the English and Dutch model. The English and Dutch have a sense of autonomy at the local level, but Japanese don't. Everything is decided from the top to the bottom. British "have civil society and economic society. We have only economic society".

Japan has no city tradition. "We have 'ie' delegation instead". As far as the concept of the 'ie' as a civilisation, Kenichi believes that Murakami's thesis is about "half true". Greeks could transplant a city, but the 'ie' is difficult to transplant, therefore a set of 'ie' does not constitute a civilisation. Whereas the city represents a way of life, etc. in the West, the 'ie' is much more loosely structured.

The city has some openness and adaptability for strangers. The city makes men free, makes men "comfortable" (Japanese concept, rather than freedom). One is constrained in the 'ie' which has a set of roles and obligations modelled on the family. The city, one theorist has said, is like a theatre in which a person is moderately free. The 'ie' is like the script or a score - it tells one how to act and is therefore less free.

On the "stage" in the city there are lots of performers who are free and use imported drama, ie. the Chinese city. The audience (that is the Japanese) are watching it, not so seriously and doing things in their own vernacular ways. The 'ie' systematised this vernacular way and guaranteed continuity of what it was and what it is. The 'ie' cannot provide a market or a judicial system, etc. It is just its own

system. Hence it needs other mechanisms to make the society work. Flower arranging or the tea ceremony can be kept within the 'ie', thus it can provide a framework for culture but not for any aspects of the legal system, etc.

Another system of the 'ie' is a gathering together to decide things similar to the African 'laagar' culture. The top man of each 'ie' gathers together the next level, then they gather the next level, and so on, as in Japanese business.

There is no civil society in Japan just a set of concentric circles. This system has no tension between levels, hence there is no real autonomy. Europe has dissimilarities between courts, universities, etc. and a tension between the spheres.

I described the nature of feuds, and that the Scots used the word "deadly" feud and "bloody" feud, and the principles of reciprocity. As to whether Japan had a feuding system, Kenichi and Toshiko thought for a long time and could hardly think of anything. The nearest they could come up with was the story of the 47 Ronin which was basically a political struggle. Vengeance, of course, is involved, but it's a long way from the normal sense of feuding. It's not a matter of kin groups against each other, for example. If someone kills my brother then someone else will interfere, not me myself. The feuds which did occur were between individuals, perhaps more properly vendettas between Samurai, but even those didn't continue. In fact they told a very curious story of a man who killed a man. The murderer then felt that the son of the slain man wanted to take revenge, and killed himself. The son was applauded for having wanted "to do the way of the Samurai" even though he had not done so.

The Tokugawa was a very safe period. Even Samurai couldn't draw swords without official permission, otherwise they were punished. It was a non-violent society. In theory, between Samurai families, blood revenge was encouraged, but in practise no one tried. Before the 47 Ronin incident, all the thousands of the Ronin's colleagues evaporated, found other jobs, etc. Only the 47 remained. This was a highly commercialised and bureaucratised world, hence people were sucked off in various directions and didn't get engaged in blood feuds. There were very rare occurrences, so the few cases there are became dramatized and remain the exceptions that people remember. There were no blood feuds in the villages.

Kenichi and Toshiko then thought further and mentioned the Genji against the Heike. This was a struggle for power, but sometimes people swapped sides so it wasn't fixed feuding groups. They felt sympathy for the other side, etc. It stopped when the Kamakura Shogunate stabilised the system during the Muromachi period, and then the blood lines of the two warring families were forgotten and people collaborated. At this time the Hojo, the most powerful family in Kamakura, helped the Genji family even though they had familial links with the Heike. Thus there is no continuous tension or feud. It emerges occasionally when the atmosphere becomes tense, as fighting between families, but it's not persistent in the way of feud.

Later in the Edo period, artificial blood lines were created in genealogical charts. People tried to link themselves back to the Genji, for instance. For example, both Toshiko and Kenichi traced their ancestors back to famous families. It became a fashion, an interest in ancestry, but it was selective not down one branch and it was cognatic.

The children do not use the respect language either to their parents or their teachers except when they answer the telephone. Even then it is not very complicated respect language. They just change the word endings not the words themselves. In fact they don't know actual respect language. This language is taught at school at Junior High level, but they don't really use it until they get jobs and have to do so to their boss, etc.

Toshiko and Kenichi use respect language towards senior people who are not familiar to them at the beginning of conversation. Toshiko doesn't use respect language to her husband. In fact women in general don't now do so, but the previous generation (Kenichi's parents) do. Recently Ai called Subaru by her forename. This is new. Teachers have changed from calling children by surnames to forenames. This has not yet changed in the universities, and even among colleagues there they call each other by their surname, thus Kenichi is called Nakamura (without the 'san' to show he's a colleague).

We discussed the counter-reformation concept, based on the phenomenon in western Europe in the seventeenth century. This was a subject that Kenichi felt strongly about based on an idea he'd got from Trevor-Roper. In the period 1600-1640 there was no re-emergence of a dogmatic religion equivalent to the counter-reformation in Italy. There was obviously some repression to cut off

Western information and to freeze the Japanese social structure, and this had implications, but it wasn't as severe as in the West. The Japanese style of mathematics is trapped at a certain level, though it's very sophisticated in many ways. It independently invented the integral calculus which was different from the West, but was not capable of some of the abstract concepts of Western mathematics. It was impossible to extend it into modern mathematics.

In physics, with little information from the West, there were some experiments in electricity, and if they had been able to have contacts with the West and Cartesian thought, for example, there would have been real progress. The Chinese, from whom they were getting ideas still, were full of information, and the Chinese felt they had all the information they needed and hence had no interest in Western science. The Japanese, on the other hand, would have accepted Western science. For example, they preferred Dutch to Chinese medicine, being pragmatic and taking what was best for Japan, and not over-confident of their own system.

Kenichi thinks the Japanese would not have invented science, but could have borrowed easily, and would have done so. For instance, the Chinese believed that the stars move at the will of god, but the Japanese didn't believe them, and would have adopted Western astronomy. The Japanese could easily admit that the world is round, for instance, because of their curiosity and pragmatism.

Religious people went to Xi'an, the Chinese capital in the T'ang dynasty. Kamakura priests and others went there. In fact when Kenichi made a visit to China he saw their tombs. There was much interchange between China and Japan in the C12, indeed there was a metaphysical interest prevalent in Japan up to the Kamakura period, then it tended to be lost. The Tokugawa era froze the secular trend in Japan. Again, in terms of a counter-reformation crushing an earlier capitalist ethic as Trevor-Roper had documented, Japan was not as extreme as Italy or Spain, but not as Protestant or protected as England. In other words it was half way between.

There was an earlier development of a city state in Sakai merchant adventurers of the kind that one finds in the west of Japan, but both these Italian-style tendencies were destroyed by the mild form of counter-reformation of the Tokugawa period. Some Samurai merchants moved to Thailand when trade was closed under the Tokugawa, and were very influential there.

The Japanese fear nature which attacks and is very violent in Japan - typhoons, etc. The main aim of politics in Japan is to protect people against the threat of nature in mountains, rivers. To control nature. They most fear earthquakes, then thunder, then fire. The aim is to master nature. Nature is much more threatening than man. Human beings are controllable, but not nature. The archipelago of Japan is so new and active it's like "living on the top of a volcano". It feels like that even in Tokyo where there are floods, typhoons etc. One feels the raw power of nature. In Sapporo one feels the heaviness and the power of snow. People were forced by nature to live close together. Also by rice cultivation where labour is intensive and there is a need for cooperation.

In relation to political corruption, there is a phrase "cutting off the tail" which politicians have. Every LDP politician, for example, had a "tail" which were his supposed dirty and corrupt links. The payments were not for the individual but for the party, and this was conceived of by many Japanese as reasonable as long as it was not for personal gain. The recent exposures of corruption in Japan have shocked the Japanese as they have been for personal gain and not for the party. For instance, at the moment there is a famous trial going on where the wife bought gold bars and hid them under the floor. This trial will take about ten years.

We discussed Murakami's thesis on the 'ie' as civilisation. Kenichi thought this accounted for about 60-70 percent of the situation in Japan, but it was rather over-simplified. More likely, Japan had several layers. Murakami was a good scholar. He studied with Kenneth Arrow, a theoretical economist. The other authors were political scientists. The basic premise, Kenichi completely agreed with, but the element of civilisation was a bit too strong. He referred to a work by someone called Yorino Toru, 'The Japanese as a Theatre State', and the work of Maruyama, 'Thought and Behaviour in the Contemporary Idea of the Japanese'. Maruyama was a neo-Marxist, a sort of Fukuzawa of his period. Watanabe is his successor.

We speculated on the Lack of development of science in Japan. Kenichi thought that religion was too weak in Japan to stimulate science, and indeed he thought religion, ie. Buddhism, tended to die out and become weaker in the late Kamakura period, though he didn't specify why. The institutions of religion continued but the mentality and the inner morality changed. A rather similar situation to what happened during the Civil Wars in England, he thought, perhaps likewise related to turmoil.

C13-C14 was the height of religious thinking, but the contents of theology "might be the source of our humiliated history and lack of success in science". The teachings of religion became simplified and conservative.

Zen Buddhism depends on intuition, meditation, etc. It is inward looking. The other side of the culture at the time were the Samurai who were practical, utilitarian, this-worldly. "Unfortunately, (according to Kenichi) the Samurai adopted Zen", and things like astronomy, physics, etc. were of no use in religion, and therefore not studied. There was no propensity to develop scientific revolution in Japan.

I asked whether adoption was still practised. We were told, no, there is a very small amount. The significance of the continuity of the family becomes less and less. Charitable adoption is just starting (eg. Vietnamese orphans, etc.). Kenichi knows no one who has adopted in his circle of acquaintance.

We discussed technological innovation. The Japanese introduced a stronger digging instrument in the C16 to use in heavier soils, but Kenichi doesn't know what it is. The powerful warlords were located up in the mountains and moved down from there into the plains which they drained. The Daimyo hired civil engineers to make water channels in the C17. Then an enormous amount of building of dikes and river control took place.

In relation to war, castles were just symbolic structures for the Tokugawa. In the late C16 the attackers got the advantage with new techniques. Hideyoshi's method was firstly to circle castles of opponents with a moat of water and hence trap them, and then seal it off for two of three years. This technique meant that castles became redundant.

In relation to guns and gunpowder weapons, the Japanese did try to shut off Christianity and gunpowder from the later C16, but earlier they had been very successful with guns. In the late C16 they were actually exporting Japanese guns to the English and the Dutch. In fact a Portuguese observer was immensely impressed at seeing a battle between Nobunaga and the Osaka religious orders where there were about 3000 people with guns on each side. He described it as seeing the future of organised warfare (modern equivalent would be "star wars"), and this was only a generation after guns were introduced. The Japanese didn't use cannon to knock down castles but just small arms.

The Shogunate monopolised the manufacturing of gunpowder. It was strictly limited and regulated. The gates of the cities were carefully watched for two things - for ladies and gunpowder - and these were prevented from passing out of Edo. A 100km. wide circle round Edo was supposed to be free from guns. The sword manufacturers quickly moved over to gun making when they were introduced, and the Dutch East India Company bought guns from them. Though this was stopped during the Tokugawa era, they took it up again later.

I explained the phenomena of godparenthood and they said there was nothing like this in Japan. There were lots of patron-client type links, perhaps within the Yakuza world. There is the '*oyabon-koyabon*' patron-client relation as in guilds, crafts, master-apprentice. '*Oya*' means parent, '*ko*' child, but this has not the spiritual godparent element. The master was meant to look after an apprentice as they would their own children. Likewise in Sumo. The nearest is the Yakuza-Sumo world, but there is nothing equivalent to the spiritual mothership-fathership element. Samurai name a person after a famous relative and ask him to be a kind of teacher, but not a formal patron. The marriage go-between might be likened in some way to this as a sponsor for the marriage. The go-between names the baby. It is a social relation and people often ask their own boss to do this.

It's impossible to translate the word "sponsor" into Japanese. For instance, the idea that Dick Storry sponsored Kenichi is something that the latter can't quite understand. The idea of co-parenthood is absent. There is no sense of "sponsorship" in Japan, but if Kenichi and Toshiko died, their brothers and sisters would look after the children. They do know about this because, for instance in China, Li Pen was the godson of Chou En Lai, and they thought that the lack of security in China led to this phenomenon.

Kenichi's colleague died recently and his widow asked Kenichi to take care of their children who were then at university. Kenichi admitted he would feel a responsibility to give them advise, but no further kind of care. He says, "We are kind of relatives to each other in the Faculty of Law. We have many chances to meet as family groups and all live near to each other". This is a rather untypical situation but reflects the fact that most members of the Faculty have moved from Tokyo to Hokkaido and have no natural relatives nearby, hence have quasi-relatives in the Faculty.

Looking out of the train window we saw what Kenichi described as a typical rice field, but this is nowadays just cultivated by machine for twenty days a year at most. The landscape is covered with electricity pylons, etc.

In terms of patron-client patterns, I explained the variations from the North to South of Europe. Kenichi thought Japan as somewhere like Austria or Switzerland, in other words there is something of it, but it's not as extreme as in the South of Europe. It's quite functional but not personal. It sometimes works like that in Japan and sometimes not. In the top Japanese Public Schools, three-quarters of the possibility of entry to such a school is through marks in examination, but a quarter is through the personal push of headmasters. One needs some minimum requirement, and then a little bit of patronage just to get one over the edge. Perhaps equivalent to 5 percent marks in doubtful cases.

There is some institutionalised bribery though Kenichi was rather unwilling to call it real bribery. In the universities, each professor in private universities has three "seats" or recommendation rights. With access to these one can get in some of one's own students and thus one might get some indirect rewards from it. Its patronage in the C18 English sense, the right of appointment. In the second and third class universities, in fact they just sell places to the highest bidders, but the profits again go to the institution, not to the professor himself.

We looked out of the train window and Kenichi thought that this atmosphere was the source of Japanese spirituality. The forests were mainly owned by the Daimyo in the C18.

There was a great enthusiasm for public baths in the hotel at Toba as in Rome. "We think it very famous. We are bath-sensitive people. We were very disappointed with the English bath. Not a bath at all. A bath is one of the most wonderful things in Japan. Most comfortable things in the world". There is no tense atmosphere about homosexuality in the bath. When James Joll came to Japan he felt free and relaxed when he went to the baths.

Once a year, usually in May, people tend to go to hot springs, but they are not relaxing if one has lots of things to do. One needs to prepare oneself and forget everything, forget all human relations. In the bath everyone is equal. People should behave modestly, talk about the landscape. People are completely naked. Even the Emperor is equal to other people in the bath. It's a sort of equivalent to the tea house - "communitas" in Victor Turner's sense. Forget about everything and enjoy it. I noted that it's rather similar to the English equivalent of games and sport which gives people relaxation and equality. Japanese golf, on the other hand, is a business activity, not to relax with. The children, we were told, were very keen on the bath.

The language of Kyoto and Osaka (Kansai area) - people in this area are changing their intonation to standard Japanese. Since radio and TV have become prominent, accent has become standardised from about 1958 onwards. Often said that in the Tokugawa era, when people gathered together they were sometimes unable to understand each other. It was also necessary to translate from Samurai to commoner language. There was a problem of how to unify the different dialects. People tried to unify the vocabulary. When the Satsuma came from the South at the time of the Meiji restoration, people found them difficult to understand. The vocabulary was different. Even in the 1950's, Kenichi visited Anmai in North Honshu and heard people speaking in the local dialect which he couldn't understand. Kyushu was also remote. Okinawan is a completely different form of Japanese. In the classrooms of Todai, people of Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe tried to maintain their standard language, but Kenichi thinks that while Japan is diversified, China is much more diversified than Japan.

There is a saying: "You waste money just like you waste water". There is so much water in Japan that it's easy just to waste it. There's a surplus of water, almost too much. Everyone can purify themselves with water, "hence our obsession to purify ourselves related to the plentifulness of water. You wash again and again. The water pool itself is a sanctuary. Here we wash off dirt outside the pool". Washing is almost a ritual. If you dip your towel into the water as I did by mistake at the bath, it's unclean and bad behaviour. It's against etiquette. One should keep one's towel on top of one's head, which indicates to other people that one is behaving correctly. Washing is an obsession with the Japanese. Kenichi said that Lady Macbeth's hand-washing is quite understandable in Japan. In front of every shrine there is a place to wash your hands and mouth. It's not a matter of hygiene but of purification.

Kenichi said at first there was no taboo on when public baths could be used. Nothing precluded public washing or a public bath, though you shouldn't swim. When pregnant, a woman could go to the public bath up to the last moment, but Toshiko said there were medical reasons which prevented

women from having communal hot baths during menstruation. Many people came together and it was not good to have a bath at that time. Kenichi was unaware about this as he thought there was no taboo on bathing while menstruating. Mixed bathing was discouraged under Western pressure in the C19 and is now rather rare. One can safely bathe with strangers. In the pre-war period, the Emperor travelled around from place to place and he would bathe in hotels, and people would take back a bit of his bath water to drink in the belief that it had healing powers.

Important to have the bath if possible near to nature, ie. outside near a forest or glade, or, (as in this hotel), with a window onto a pond, bringing together the natural and artificial. This is very important. "One is borrowing from nature. It's very artistic for us to create artificial nature within human space". So important are these things that Trade's Union congresses are held at hot spring resorts. Young girls are particularly keen on going to hot springs. As Yuri put it, "If we go into the bath again in the morning, it is like heaven". No notice is taken of a foreigner in the bath, it's a place where one can be in a public place with strangers. One trusts them. One makes friends in the bath as it's a place to communicate frankly. It seems to me to be much like an English pub, very different from France, for example, where one can't trust strangers. Even in rural mountain-side areas there are public baths and hot springs where strangers can come and bathe. "Even a monkey or bird can share" - the public bath is an equalizer.

The tea ceremony is much more sophisticated (than the bath) and one has to know the detailed procedure, but a public bath is a popular and egalitarian activity. The tea ceremony's essence is the saying of Rikyo "ichi-go ichi-e" (just one chance to meet in this life). "One time in your life you can meet a stranger, thus you put all your truthfulness into it". The tea ceremony is simple but spiritual. You can inject everything into it.

The Noh also has a similar sanctuary element like the tea ceremony. When traditionally, a Daimyo invited another Daimyo, he would arrange a Noh play for the guest. Noh was originally supported by the Daimyo. It was then much more coquettish and flirtatious in the dancing, etc. but was later simplified and spiritualised into its present form. It later became popular among the rich merchants who started to learn how to perform it, but it was never really religious. There were no religious stories. Most of the stories are about Samurai and old tales of the Heian period.

There is something mystical or magical. For the Samurai it was spiritual. Nobunaga performed a Noh just before one of his suicidal attacks to calm himself, to prepare himself for battle. When the Ashikaga Shogunate was failing, the last Ashikaga Shogun was completely surrounded by the enemy in a hopeless situation. Then he danced the Noh and made a poem ('waka') as his final will which was written down. He was finally killed, combining death, the Noh and 'waka'. The Noh is not strictly religious, but is highly spiritual.

Public baths are for ordinary people. The tea ceremony for Samurai, and later merchants. The Noh, for the aristocracy.

Puppet theatre, Bunraku was originally performed on an island (?) and moved to Osaka. The stories are quite similar to the Kabuki. Revenge stories, suicides, etc. It's a form of mass media.

There are no taboo foods, though according to Kenichi people don't eat dogs, snakes, rats, etc. however, if Japanese were in China and were offered dog or snake meat, they might well try to eat it. They do eat horses.

Kenichi talked about India. He loved Delhi - the chaos, the human smells, the sweat - Japan is rather boring. When he returned to Oxford from India, he felt he was "coming home". Much as he loved India, the chaos, etc. finally wore him down. "In Delhi every day is a struggle to survive. I suddenly found myself back in England in a safe, institutionalised place". Among the things he found difficult in India was the shortage of water.

Kenichi can't understand the Chinese features of the Heian period. He feels it's a totally alien civilisation in that period. They speak Japanese with Chinese intonation. But the other layer - the 'Genji', 'Pillow Book', etc. he felt is quite near to his own sentiments and he recognises it. It transcends the time and he can touch them. There is a vernacular feeling. Tanizaki, the novelist, parallels 'The Genji'. One still feels in his work that other world. The rain in Toba bay - relaxing in the hot bath.

There is no form of blood sacrifice in Japan, apart from the Yakuza cutting off part of a finger in initiation rituals. There is no cattle breeding in Japan, and hence no cattle to sacrifice. The horse is too precious to kill. When building a bridge, to calm down the god of the sea or river its said in folklore that sometimes a young girl was sacrificed as a human pillar for the god of the river. When

sailing in storm or tempest, the wife of the sailor might sacrifice herself to calm down the sea. Possibly there was some sort of sacrifice long ago when a nobleman died, his widow might have to die as well. However, Kenichi doubtful about this. In case of famine, there was "a rice-field judgment" which was institutionalised all over Japan. Every year, people had to jump over this, and later, in times of famine, if they no longer could they would have to leave the village and go into the mountains to die. This mentality of self- sacrifice for the sake of the group continues, and is similar to the self-sacrifice of leaving old people in the mountains until the later Edo period.

Kenichi and Toshiko thought it morally right to put people out of incredible pain. It's much more acceptable in Japan than in England. They don't think much about and there is not much discussion on euthanasia, and few court cases. These concern active killing rather than just not officially keeping someone alive. It's quite widespread to just stop intravenous feeding, for example, when a person is brain-dead. Toshiko's father was brain-dead and his heart was living, but they just stopped the treatment. A family may ask for the life-support machinery to be turned off, though they will generally follow the advice of the hospital. There are increasing numbers of appeals against hospitals for wrong treatment. This is usually done informally, and some sort of payment is often made.

In Japan there is opposition to this. "We refuse heart transplants". A case went wrong in the 1960's and this has caused widespread opposition. There are few kidney or liver donors either, so not many transplants. "We Japanese don't like to remove or cut up the body even after death. We like to keep the body whole", and hence there are few donations of organs for experiment or donation. A child is told very early on, don't hurt your body. This is a first principle of Confucian filial piety. Don't pierce it, thus very little ear-piercing (though actually we did see some). Very little cosmetic surgery. It's just not thought respectable. Naturalness is good. You yourself are complete as you are. Kenichi said that when he was sixteen he wanted to be an actor and was told that his face needed some remodelling to improve his voice if he was to be successful. He refused.

Drugs are not yet a large problem. Colombian syndicates, etc. have not had much success in Japan. There is glue sniffing among school children at the bottom level, but no "ecstasy" as yet. The Yakuza tried to bring in drugs but were stopped by the anti-drug squad, and failed. Indeed the main branches of the Yakuza denounced them and said they were false Yakuza. Hashish, marijuana, etc. were introduced in the 1960's but have largely died out, but use of alcohol has increased very considerably. Doesn't seem that there is a sense of hopelessness and a need for drugs. "Our lifestyle is instrumentally rational and accumulative. Murakami believed that we would become more consummatory, needing instant gratification, etc. in the late 1970's and this has partly occurred, but not through drugs". There's a lack of vandalism in Japan.

On hopelessness, Kenichi said "My students can't understand the hopelessness, normlessness which is predicted for America". "Japan has no Poverty". Every Japanese has confidence - "Our system is socially superior", Japanese have confidence as against America, but not against Taiwan, Singapore and China. There is no strong movement or argument now to follow America as there used to be, and there's no fear of being defeated by America.

We discussed attitudes to China. "China and Taiwan are different from us and from America. Overseas Chinese were very successful, now China is the key". "They took Confucianism seriously, and we didn't". Mao stopped Confucianism and moved to Communism. This was a sweeping reform. The Chinese are serious people. It's in their nature to be money-oriented. In the Meiji period, the Chinese were described thus. They are serious capitalists where Japanese are, by implication, frivolous. "Our society has some stabilising elements. We keep the same over time. The Chinese sweep from one extreme to the other like a pendulum". Now China is seriously becoming capitalist. They believe in the extremes of capitalism - Hayek, Milton Freedman, kind of capitalism. China is now producing more TV sets than anywhere else in the world. They are quite innovative and very single-minded.

They have to have a true belief in something. The Japanese are not so serious, don't take anything too seriously, and are much more pragmatic, blending Confucianism and capitalism. The Chinese are determined people, disciples of the Ford/Taylor systems. The destructive side is there as well. Ecological destruction on a large scale, for instance. They are moving towards a form of absolute capitalism, which they idealise now. China moves to extremes and this will have very bad effects on the ecology. There is a fear of sweeping cultural revolutions, of fanaticism, of the belief in the possibility of reshaping human beings, which is absent in Japan. The Japanese pendulum swings

delicately in a pragmatic and common-sense way without real revolutions. So far China is following Japan but it's very unpredictable what will happen there, and it could easily become Communist again, or whatever.

Students in China are very brilliant, very hard-working, but very few are pragmatic realists. The middle generation of the Chinese now in their 40's were all destroyed by the Cultural Revolution. The young people now are very talented and able, much more so than the Japanese, so Kenichi thinks.

Turning to bodily mutilation, we were told that the Japanese never had eunuchs and it was never imported into Japan although it was present in China, and they might have done so. This is another modification made by the Japanese on the Chinese system. They also imported the administrative system, but left out one of its central features, the examination system.

There is No circumcision, and indeed when described (which they hadn't heard of), Toshiko and Kenichi were amazed at the idea, and couldn't understand the reasons for it. The only sort of activity of this kind is that the top of the head was shaved for Samurai in a form of initiation at the age of 14-15, and there was a change of name at this age to one given by an important person. However, there is no body mutilation, nor cliterodectomy or infibulation for women.

9th August 1993

ISE

The day was drizzly, sometimes quite hard, but the warmth made it feel like a Turkish bath and despite the humidity, we never got very wet. As time was limited we didn't bother about Toba pearls but went straight to Naiku and the inner shrine of Ise. They are rebuilding the shrine. Every twenty years they rebuild, and a brand new cedar shrine stands next to the old one. It is due to replace it as home to the sun goddess, Amaterasu, in October. As we approached the shrine hundreds of white-clad pilgrims streamed across the bridge. This Kenichi said was unusual as most people are just tourists, not pilgrims. The bridge crosses the sacred river, Isuzagawa. One washes at the entrance to the shrine for purification, but at one point one also has to wash hands in the river. The shrine and other buildings are surrounded by trees, and forest spreads over the hill sides surrounding it. All these trees were planted after Ise was bombed during the war, and the main shrine at Naiku was destroyed. Hard to feel anything except pleasure at the simple style of the vast wooden buildings and the round supports of the 'torii'. As Isabella Bird remarked, there is nothing at the centre. All the buildings apart from the two granaries behind the main shrine and the shrine itself are empty, but Shintoism is about placating powerful gods of sun, earth, water, etc., and somehow it seems appropriate that one doesn't presume to interpret the meaning of their power.

We went on to the museum of the shrine where the sacred objects from past rebuilding are kept - the sword, bows, armour, etc. New sacred objects are made at each rebuilding, and the old ones used to be destroyed, but now they are kept here. Then as time was limited we went to the outer shrine at Geku. This is a smaller version of the inner shrine but built for the "bailiff" or "land agent" (Kenichi's description) of the sun goddess. As this was not bombed the trees are much thicker and the whole place is darker and more mysterious. As we walked from the main shrine to smaller ones for the earth and wind gods we saw a heron standing in a pond, quite still. Even when we walked back passed the spot it was there still and somehow it was the perfect image of Japan, a washed, grey print.



Pilgrims coming over the bridge at Ise shrine



Hot meals for taking on the train



Alan, Toshiko and Ai on the Shinkansen

NOTES

Meanings associated with the sounds of the names of other countries: America = "the rice country"; Germany = "the lonely, or independent country"; Holland = "the gorgeous country"; England = "the excellent, or wise country"; France = "the Buddhist country"; China = "the centre country".

The word Nihon was the name used by the Japanese for Japan from the middle of the Edo period. Before that, a whole lot of names were used including "The Imperial Dynasty". The inflated the status of the words used for Japan to try to counteract the influence and power of China. "We knew implicitly that we were inferior to China, so we explicitly tried to inflate our own position".

Alan noticed that on our whole trip, everything was done punctiliously, efficiently, and without wasting time. Even when eating one ate quickly, methodically, then moved on to the next thing. Even the luxuriant hot bath didn't go on for terribly long.

Some thoughts on Ise - the Goddess mediates through the sister of the Emperor to the Emperor. Toshiko and Kenichi didn't feel anything particular at the shrine, no spiritual feeling. They agreed that the present Emperor is a god in one sense according to the logic of Shinto, though nobody really believes he is. They insisted that this was not illogical.

When the Prince becomes Emperor, the sword is symbolically used to commit self-sacrifice, to kill the human man so that he becomes a God.

Special craft protection by the Tenno (Emperor's family) from the C17 for a limited number of people involved in certain crafts - carpenters, weavers, bridge-builders, sword makers, etc. (Eg. 'Mi-a daiku' = shrine carpenter.) This patronage occurred before the proper market system started. These persons contributed things free to the royal family - An extension of "By Appointment..." in England.

Some further thoughts on Ise: originally music for the Emperor was of Chinese origin (heard in Ise Museum). Reconstruction of the shrine showed there were walls within walls within walls - Four walls in all. One is not allowed into the shrine at Ise. In the middle was the Goddesses treasure. There were gates within each layer. No one is allowed into the centre, and nobody knows what is there. It's

believed that the ancestor of the Emperor lives in the centre, and hence only the Emperor can enter. No one knows where the mirror is or whether there is a mirror. Probably it's in the treasure house.

It is believed that the shrine was originally built by the daughter of an Emperor who decided to make the shrine here. According to the mythology, this occurred some 2000 years ago, but was actually in the year 609 A.D. Noticed bows in the Ise Museum had the famous hand protectors that the Japanese introduced.

The pilgrimage to Ise was very popular for a long time. For example, during 50 days in 1705, something like 3.5 million pilgrims came to the shrine. In Ise museum saw some linen cloth used for writing on.

The armour in the museum was very sophisticated. The joints on the hands and legs, for instance, were very intricate so that people could move easily within them. We saw the gun-resistant armour which was developed in the C16 as a protection against Portuguese guns.

We saw a globe of 1690 which was quite accurate. There was an astronomer named Shunkei at this time who tried to correct the Tokugawa map of the sky. He was in fact the most famous of the astronomers and was an adopted member of the family.

Saw some mirrors though they didn't appear to be real mirrors. The original was in a Buddhist temple in Kyoto (?) - the body of the Sun Goddess - made in 1290 - mixture of Buddhist body and Goddess of the Sun.

In the Civil War period - the late Muromachi - the Buddhists campaigned to collect money for the shrine and were quite successful. The most important aspect of the shrine is the culture and growth of rice - the shrine controlled agriculture. The Outer shrine (Gegu) is dedicated to Toyouke-no-okimi, the "bursar" to the Sun Goddess (divinity of rice and harvests). This is an especial shrine for entrepreneurs, for those who are starting a new business.

It appears that the shrines are actually empty. Someone did look inside in the early Meiji period and found nothing there. [Very similar to Quaker emptiness].

There is a strong southern influence (ie. Pacific Islands) on the architecture of the shrines.

Occasionally people go to the shrines for cures, but only very few. Kenichi thought that only 0.001% of people went for specific curing. They don't really go for religious reasons either. Kenichi thought that Shinto was just a custom or convention and he indicated the visitors wandering round the shrine and said they had no religious knowledge or feeling.

Kenichi mentioned improved guns; text-books on agriculture which were developed and re-exported to China when China fell behind Japan; the 'bushido' ethic; flower arranging; the Daimyo system (organisational) - otherwise he could think of nothing.

Males and females are like the tea cups we have - different shapes and sizes, not identical. A Chinese word is used for identity in mathematics - ie. gathering together in one group, not the Western sense, but in the Meiji period it took the second meaning of equivalence. People do have the idea of identical shapes.

Kenichi said that twins weren't usually killed, though Toshiko has read that if twins were born to a Samurai family, one was sent away for adoption. Twins are distinguished by birth order into older and younger. The older son would be kept and the younger sent for adoption. Twins are neither killed nor made special. Kenichi thought that twin births were less frequent in Japan than in the West. They couldn't think of any stories about twins in Japanese classics, and this was confirmed by Subaru. Lower Samurai class became spies for the Government, disguised as traders or sweet-sellers, and sold their information to the Daimyo. Ninja's family wanted to gather twins, etc. for this work.

The word for infanticide is 'inabiki' which means to weed out. If a child is defective it is easily killed. If the child is perfect the parents should be satisfied. They thought that Japan still had heavy discrimination against the crippled and deformed. Parents would try to hide them from the public. Thalidomide children, however, were not killed. Nowadays the Japanese do not practise infanticide. It only became a crime after the Meiji restoration. Before then, the parents had the right to kill their children.

From 1947 there was a new Civil Code which gives equal inheritance and succession rights and this is followed in ordinary families. Both males and females have the same rights, though there is often pressure put on girls to renounce their rights (cf. Toshiko). But perhaps in certain rural areas there is still the idea of primogeniture. People hardly ever make wills ('yuigon') in Japan. They are very uncommon. Kenichi and Toshiko probably won't make wills. In Japan the will usually has only

moralistic advise. It is not usually concerned with economic bequests. Its rather rare to divide between children by will though the will is sometimes used to name a successor, eg. to a shop, Kabuki, University Professorship. Thus a will is organisationally orientated, a matter of succession not inheritance. [Eg. Prof. Watanabe is Prof. Maruyama's successor. Maruyama has a kind of 'ie' or school.] It is impossible to disinherit children by will. Two-thirds of wealth are automatically passed on and only one-third is disposable. It's not socially respectable to make a will and is very rare.

Toshiko's mother has an ancestor tablet for her husband his mother. Tablets tend to be passed on to the eldest son. Perhaps Toshiko's brother will take it but such tablets are not necessarily kept - a form of structural amnesia. Kenichi's father has lost his own father's tablet. All he has is a photo. The ancestor tablets stand in a wooden shrine box and are given flowers, rice, sweets. Every day Toshiko's mother does this for her husband, but once a month (on the day of the death of her grandmother) she does this for her mother.

Kenichi likes irony. When the Japanese did Shakespeare's plays they appreciated the irony. Some Japanese authors use irony, eg. Endo and Kenko. Kenichi uses irony in the governing body meetings and this has led him to have enemies. But in Japanese politics, irony is not used as much as in England. There's no equivalent of Disraeli in Japan. It would have been impossible. Satire is possible in Japan. There are satirical pictures - eg. rabbit with frog - but not as much satire as in England. If one wrote down the sorts of things one writes in England then it would be the end of one's career. The Japanese are dominated by rightness, right, and rather pompous people. On the whole, the sense of humour in Japan is less developed than in England. The Japanese are rather serious people and have rather a literal humour.

I put my tea cup on the floor. Apparently this is very dirty and it shocked Kenichi when he first went to Oxford to find people putting their cups on the floor.

There was an argument between the children and their parents over ice cream, and Toshiko gave way to Yuri because she had actually promised her - a promise is a promise.

Kenichi said he had no expectations of his three daughters. This is unusual. Parents in general expect their daughters to look after them. Though the younger generation are beginning to change, there is a strong opinion still that it is natural for children to look after parents - this is a majority opinion. They asked their children at Alan's request, whether they would look after their parents. Ai said she might reluctantly accept from a sense of pressure - "very reluctantly". Yuri would not look after them. More than half the children probably feel responsibility to look after their parents.

We asked about visits to Shinto shrines. Does such a visit bring any tangible benefit - bring good fortune? People do buy charms to prevent traffic accidents, to pass exams, helping with incurable disease - a magical element. Otherwise, shrine visiting is just convention.

We discussed the use of masks. They are used in Noh drama, in village festivals to celebrate a good harvest, during shrine dances. There is a very humorous dance performed by villagers wearing exaggerated masks, though there is no equivalent to carnival. The Emperor and women were protected from view by screens. Noh masks are very delicate, more delicate some say than the human face. If the head is tilted upwards wearing a Noh mask, it expresses joy, if downwards, sadness. This, like the universal Noh voice, demands a lot from the audience who must read the moods in the mask and the voice.

The horse is the most important animal. There is no Japanese word for "pet", they use the English word. The Japanese do not need pets. Ai is lonely and the youngest, so she wants a pet. However, there is an idea that dogs and other animals should not be badly treated. For instance, of a woman who left her children at home alone it was said, "We don't even leave dogs alone for so long". Alan's comment on children as pets led to the response: "We never think of children on the same continuum as dogs". Dogs are not usually allowed into the house. They don't keep dogs in flats. Japanese never look at dogs as being like human beings. They are wild things. There is a basic distinction between humans and animals. There are lots of stories about snakes, wolves, and so on falling in love with humans and marrying them, but they always end tragically. Humans are two-legged, animals, four-legged - thus distinctly different. [Early Buddhism discouraged even the eating of meat and milk from animals to prevent tainting the human being].

There is no equivalent to R.S.P.C.A. in Japan, but there is very little cruelty either to animals or to children until recently. They had noticed in England that English dogs and cats seem to think of themselves as humans. Here dogs think of themselves as dogs, cats as cats. Impossible to bring foreign

dogs or cats to Japan as it would cause the animal great psychological stress as it would be demoted. Cats ('neko') are allowed in the house, but dogs aren't as a rule.

There is little body language in Japan, little eye contact and no physical contact. It's said, "The eye can speak as much as the mouth", hence you have to be careful with your eye. Today, ice cream sellers, for example, and other advertisers are using more eye contact as a result of Westernisation. "Recently we speak less to each other. When we are called we don't answer 'Yes'". In the past, people always responded when talked to. Now they don't so much.

There is more body language than there was in things like football, both from audience and players. Kenichi referred to this as the "Latinization of the Japanese mind". Karaoke was invented about 15 years ago, and now not shameful to expose yourself singing in this way.

The beckoning gesture was done with fingers pointing downwards rather than upwards as in England. They don't use hand movements to indicate "go away!" The head gestures for "yes" and "no" are the same. There is no gesture for "I don't know". No gesture for hitch-hiking, which is anyway very rare.

CHIBA

Caught the train to Nagoya, then the Shinkansen to Tokyo and a local train to Chiba. Arrived at Toshiko's mother's house (Mrs Sumie Kashiwagi) about 10.30pm. Odd to find ourselves walking down a quiet suburban street. The road where the house stands is not more than a lane. The house is large for Tokyo area, detached with two floors. We are sleeping in the equivalent of the English "front parlour" with tatami matting on the floor and the 'tokonoma'. The latter has a scroll but is filled with other items including a 'hibachi' and items for the tea ceremony. We hope that Toshiko's mother will do a tea ceremony for us with a friend. There is a pile of cushions in the room so this is the way the room is used for visitors. Toshiko's mother's room is next to ours, through a sliding screen.

When we arrived the girls went at once to the Buddhist shrine where the ancestor tablet of their grandfather stands, lit a joss stick and made a prayer. His photo stands on the shrine, a lacquered box with folding doors, where Toshiko's mother puts offerings of rice and other sweetmeats each day. It is as though his presence is still in the corner of the room.

We were all tired but the bath or shower is such an important part of Japanese life that we all had to take one, starting with Ai, though traditionally the head man should take it first followed by the other men, then the children and the wife last. Had a quick shower and went to sleep on the futons. Toshiko's mother constantly apologising for the size of house, inadequacy of this and that, etc. But everything is very pleasant and comfortable.

10th August 1993

Slept until 8.50am, so must have been tired but also hard to judge daylight as all light is blocked out by wooden shutters. Found Ai giving food to her grandfather's shrine. Had not noticed it before, but below the table in the area near the shrine is a square hole in the floor. One sits on a chair without legs on the edge of the hole with ones feet inside it. It is called 'hori kotase'. In the centre is an even deeper pit into which the 'hibachi' is put in winter. Kenichi said it is a very friendly place as people are close together and in winter, a rug hangs over the edge of the table to keep the heat in. Tatami rooms are called 'zashiki'. The raised platform is called 'fuzuma'. Had a traditional breakfast with 'natto' (sticky soya beans), a piece of smoked salmon, a bowl of rice, and green tea.

Toshiko had phoned her sister, Humiko, last night and she had agreed to take us to the National History Museum today. Humiko arrived at 11.00am but we were still eating breakfast so left a little later. She brought her younger son and left him with the girls who were not interested in going to the museum. Kenichi said that Toshiko and her sister were alike but didn't seem obviously so. Humiko is an architect, married to an architect, but she doesn't work except occasionally to help him. She seems less explosive than Toshiko, and more conventional.

The National Museum of Japanese History is at Sakura (funny how our lives are haunted by certain names), in the outer suburbs where Humiko lives. The massive structure was designed by her supervisor. It's very modern and impressive both outside and in the layout inside. We started at the beginnings of society in Japan. Alan was so interested that we had only reached the end of the Kamakura period after a day there. It is the most interesting museum on Japan from his point of view.

On the way back, Humiko took us via some Samurai houses which are now museums. Unfortunately, we were too late to go in but did walk around. They were built on stilts with the sort of design I would have liked to build, with a thatched roof and sliding doors. Day grey again and raining by lunchtime so we were not really keen to wander round other houses. Learnt that Koreans generally ran "Pachinko Parlours" and are in a certain amount of conflict with the Yakuza. The police are very heavy on the Koreans, but not on the Yakuza. Humiko said that Koreans think of children as treasures. She said she would not want to marry a Korean as their wives were not permitted to go out without permission. Bought some eels for supper in a special sauce - a delicacy of the area. Noticed that seat belts are not much used in cars, also children are not confined to the back seats.

Children all in the tatami room when we returned. Seemed quite happy. Toshiko made tea but her mother was already preparing small bowls of things for supper. Soon the women were cooking, children playing. So far, Subaru is not expected to do anything. The kitchen is very cluttered and the equipment doesn't seem enormously modern to our eyes, but everything comfortable and busy. We ate a huge meal of 'tempura', with prawns, sweet potatoes, okri, peppers, french beans, leaves said to be basil but looking like large nettles, all covered in batter - also added smoked eel, a sort of creme caramel without sugar, and rice.

Alan asked both Humiko and her mother what they found noteworthy or strange about England as both went there when Toshiko was in Oxford. Neither said anything out of the ordinary, so I assume, like us, they find things pretty similar to here.



Ai giving food to her grandfather's shrine

NOTES

We discussed the importance of comics. For tired people, it's an effort even to read a book by someone like Jeffrey Archer in Japanese, hence comics. There have been efforts to simplify written Japanese, but there is still a great gap between the oral and the literary language, thus a picture is worth a thousand words.

Noticed that Kenichi and Toshiko often used the word "perhaps". Japanese dislike forthright statements of fact.

We talked about Japanese history. The Ainu were still powerful in Japan up to the Kamakura period, and in pushing the frontier northwards there were battles with them. Ainu were still in the Kanto area, particularly in the Sendai region to the north. Heian Japan only controlled the area round Kyoto, then Heike controlled the southern Kyushu area. Thus a Chinese-influenced civilisation, much like the Roman Empire, grew up in this central area. It looked as though it was developing into a patrimonial state like Rome or China with traditional manors, etc.

Then there grew up in the Kanto area in the rich soils between the Japanese and the Ainu a "new form of civilisation", namely the Kamakura civilisation of the Samurai, a feudal society, which finally conquered the aristocratic civilisation of Kyoto. Thus, as in Europe, the barbarian feudal world conquered the "Romanized" civilised world, and as in Europe, the merging of these two patterns (as Bloch realised) made a new, and more powerful one. The tension between the two was the secret, as in Britain with its admixture of the Roman (writing, technology, Christianity, etc.) and the German (feudal, kingship) social structure. Just the same happened in Japan, and as in Europe (France), the Tokugawa started to take the system towards "caste", but it was too late as it was already, with the commercial and agricultural revolutions of the C12-C16, too developed to close down. Thus its history lies halfway between France and Germany on one hand and England on the other. There are elements of each, but it's definitely unlike China.

If feudalism is the outcome of cognatic kinship and conquest, then Japan has these two components. In the conquest aspect, one had a double process. Firstly, there was the gradual conquest of the Ainu by the Japanese, and they cleared the Ainu from Honshu. This was not completed until the late C19 as there was constant battling for supremacy and with Anglo-Saxons and Celts. This may have helped give the Japanese their dislike of foreigners and outsiders, and their obsession with ritual purity. Then there was a second internal conquest whereby the periphery (either the 'ie' [Murakami's thesis] or the whole Kanto area) reconquered the centre in the Kamakura period, thus avoiding the Chinese tendency towards absolutism.

We noticed that space was very carefully demarcated, whether in the four walls and accompanying gates of the Ise Shrine or in Toshiko's mother's house. The outside (shoes), the normal inside (slippers), the lavatory (other slippers), and the tatami areas (no slippers).

Kenichi said there was an English obsession with gardening. The Japanese were less obsessive than the English though even small flats have a potted plant. After the Second World War, people living in slum conditions had a pot - something natural in their artificial space. English gardening is well organised. It forces nature. The Japanese like to enjoy the four seasons, so the essence is to include the four seasons within your own space. In every 'haiku' or 'waka' it is essential to include a sense of season. There are distinct trees and flowers for each month.

An ordinary Japanese garden is wilder than an English garden. There is a tendency to put in rocks and trees rather than flowers. Each plant has its own meaning in the Japanese garden. In Toshiko's mother's garden there was no attempt to miniaturise. 'Bonsai' is for inside garden.

Kenichi is treated as an outsider, a guest, in Toshiko's mother's house. In theory he should eat in a separate place. 'Hori kotase' is the pit within the tatami area where one can eat. Only those who are of the same blood can eat in the kitchen, in theory. Kenichi is a borderline case, being a son-in-law and can informally eat there sometimes. We ate in the kitchen once or twice which Toshiko's mother was rather surprised at.

There was a change in the eating pattern sometime in the C15-C16 from two meals a day to three meals a day, based on the Korean pattern. The Japanese take a light lunch. When one lunches in China, it seems interminable - two hours or more. They have the same feeling as us when we see how important, and prolonged, lunch is in Southern Europe. Lunch is not a social occasion for the Japanese.

There is a Daoist saying that the important things are children (large number of), income and long life. For the Japanese, the most important thing is safety from accident to family members, and the continuity of an organisation. Toshiko's mother had no alternative aims to the Dao ones. Chinese gods only have meaning for New Year's Day, otherwise irrelevant. Japan's aim - calmness, not to be disturbed by outside catastrophe.

We talked about money. We were told that there is a shrine where one washes money to make it grow. In fact not many people use the shrine. Kenichi went and saw only one middle-aged woman washing a 10,000Y note in a plastic bag.

There are some entrepreneurial novels such as "The Devil for Gold", a Meiji novel - money as a means - failed love. Japanese are very economical, they do things in the most efficient way so there's no waste. There is concern to be careful about interest rates, and not risking one's money. Careful economic rationality.

When you meet Americans, then you find that America is a money-obsessed country. It is the only way they will respect you. "Here we don't say what we earn. If we did, we would be thought of as mean and cheap". It's bad form to talk about money. "When we recruit someone new to Hokkudai, the last thing we discuss is money. Here one does not negotiate about salary".

After death, Hirohito is a god so he has no name. The body of the Emperor dies, but his Tennoo soul moves on to the present Emperor. It takes at least half a year for the Tennoo spirit to move from one Emperor to the next. It's a complex matter with a series of rituals to take the soul from one to the next. It's difficult to put the soul into a new person. In the centre of the shrine at Ise there is probably a special room where this occurs. The Emperor is the chief Shinto priest, therefore it is very difficult to look after him as no one else can officiate. The Emperor must take a bath seven times a day. The bath symbolizes a rice field. The Tennoo (spirit of the Emperor) is in the earth, water, sunshine, not in the god. Thus he is an earthen fertility god. It's all to do with fertility magic. When an ordinary person dies, a Buddhist monk gives him a new name with which he will try to symbolise the life of the deceased.

We asked where the boundary of Asia is thought to be. They thought that Singapore was the boundary. That Burma, Thailand, Vietnam and China were in Asia, but not India. Many people think that Asia is synonymous with oriental. Oriental is larger than Asia. It does include India.

Humiko, Toshiko's sister, had never heard about walled cities in Japan, only castles with moats round them.

NOTES TAKEN IN THE NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM

Very detailed diaries kept. One written 1001 gave every movement of a court official. In the writing there was a mixture of the Chinese, Kanji, and Hiragana. Hiragana alone is too vague. Toshiko and Kenichi said that the Japanese kept Kanji as it was a shorthand. Just one character could summon up a whole idea which would take much more writing in Hiragana.

Illustrated Buddhist texts showing hell and damnation which were rather like Mediaeval European representations of hell.

Port tax account books showed the importance of coastal trade. Far more important than canals. Model of an Eastern manor which was much rougher than the Western one, with a moat and the appearance of a cruder life-style. More Germanic.

Samurai, unlike the aristocrats, were interested in agriculture and developed it. They were interested in getting the maximum out of their estates. Lots of manorial maps and court cases. Movable type was introduced early on in Japan, but later abandoned. The oldest printing in Japan was from 764.

Display of castle city with town under the castle, not within its walls. Also display of shrine city, with town in front of the gate of the shrine. Separation of the two - no sense of solidarity. Only Ise and Sakai had a feeling of autonomy. Sakai, for instance, had strong merchant organisations and they were international traders. This is the nearest Japan has to the city state.

Thousands more of them than aristocracy, and hence the epicentre of Japanese society moved much lower down the social hierarchy. They were a warrior-cultivator class attached to the common people, in fact rising up out of them. They developed the rice fields and new manor houses. They preferred to remain in the countryside until they were forced into the cities by the Tokugawa. An example was Yoritomo, founder of the Kamakura dynasty, who, when he won his final battle was expected to go to live in Kyoto and live like an aristocrat, but he preferred to remain in Kamakura. Other Samurai were the same. They remained in their manor houses.

The lower class of Samurai were called the 'Ya-ro' ('ya' = field, not Government or position, ie. not a bureaucrat; 'ro' = fighter, thus a "field warrior"). The social status of these people was quite low.

They lived on the margins of power, but touched on the changing and developing Japan, creating a different world from the previous town aristocracy. They depended on fighting and farming, and on themselves. Their mentality made it possible for the Kamakura Shogunate to win in the battles against the aristocracy.

Thus there developed a double power system of the Samurai and aristocrats in each area contending for power. In the end the Samurai won. [cf. Ishimoda Tadash "The Birth of the Mediaeval World" c1973]. There was a moving frontier between the Eastern Samurai and others to the South-West. The Heike controlled the Western sea coast. They were naval people. The Genji who had been ousted by the Heike, united the Eastern Samurai. Both these frontiers were growing in power with the development of agriculture. The Samurai tried to develop the new lands. Same process in Yoyoma area.

A new social organisation was built in the early Kamakura period, not based on real kinship but on strong ties of a "party" kind - 'to'. Each independent. Regiments based on this. When chief Samurai decided to fight, they would encourage others to follow them and they became the same 'to'. Those who didn't want to follow didn't. System of commendation, eg. Yoritomo gathered many 'to' round him. When he won he distributed governorships and land to those who had followed him. Thus the development of the mounted Samurai using bows and arrows. Horse-riding was the central feature of these warriors.

FURTHER NOTES

General observations at the end. Kenichi said, "You can climb up the ladder, but the people at the bottom can get off" - Kenichi's political position as top executive professor is as consensus-maker. In many ways he's very weak. "Japan is still very feudal".

Mrs Kashiwagi said that the things she remembered particularly about England were double-decker buses, parks, no police boxes. Humiko, Toshiko's sister, noted beautiful buildings and parks, curious birds in St. James' Park, car exhaust pollution, many people didn't know the way to the British Museum, Oxford beautiful and quiet, pretty curtains, Shetland sweaters, voltage high - hence water boils very fast. A friend of Kenichi's who went to England noticed that the birds were not afraid of people. Some Japanese eat small birds and Japanese birds are nervous and won't come near, unlike English birds.

Sparrows in Japan are the major enemy of rice farmers - different kind of sparrow. Not many people in Japan have bird table [though one on a balcony of the flats behind ours] but there is a new Association for Wild Birds which shows the growing interest in them. Some people who like plants don't like birds. Birds in Japan are part of nature and the outside world. Pests are tolerated. They thought of birds in England as pets. Japanese animals are game, "We have no pets except game. We still have a fear of poverty". No attitude to extinguish bears or whales.

11th August 1993

As we only did half the museum yesterday, decided to do the second half today. The children were with us so we went by train. After much rain in the night, it brightened up and by the time we left the sun was shining and it became hot. Seemed much further by three trains and a bus after being driven directly there yesterday. As we had started quite late we arrived at midday and then ate lunch at once. Hard as we'd had breakfast so late, but the children demanded it. We left the girls at the beginning and when they overtook us Toshiko arranged for Humiko to collect them and take them to her house.

The second part seemed even more interesting than yesterday and ended with folk festivals and beliefs in modern Japan. Both Toshiko and Kenichi discount these as irrelevant, but seems they have only recently declined in significance with the decline in rice cultivation. Noted that there was no mention at all of the Ainu, though the other marginal groups - Hinan, Eta and Burakamin were mentioned. Why? Kenichi thought it would open a can of worms and the Japanese are keen to keep that particular can closed.

One point which seems to parallel the English experience. In the Kamakura period the status and position of women was high. Marriage was matrilineal. Women were permitted to own land and property in their own right and to earn money by working. They could take village offices and even become village headman. There

was reputedly a woman millionaire. Women were not prevented from doing heavy work or even fighting in battle. Later the customs of the Samurai took hold and women's status dropped. Marriage became patrilineal. (Is this the time that primogeniture was introduced?). Adultery was prosecuted and public prostitution introduced.

In the later folk exhibits, noticed that in the larger village houses there are house shrines that look very much like the Gurung 'pwelu', with things placed in them for the same purpose - to worship the household god. It is a Shinto shrine and is called 'kami dana'.

Later, when the museum closed we walked up to the site of Sakura Castle just above the present museum. It burnt down last century when a workman left something burning inside. The indication is that it was wooden, and although at the top of a mound with good views all round, would not be defensible. Suggests that the Daimyo did not expect to be attacked. The layout of Nara and Kyoto also gives this impression very strongly - no walls or defence works.

Humiko collected us from the museum and took us to her house where the children were playing with their cousin, a boy of thirteen. They were playing computer games - Nintendo - and were completely absorbed, far more so than in the museum. They obviously like their cousin and the relationship is very relaxed between them. Humiko has just been on holiday with her family - ten days in Greece and Italy with 22 other Japanese on a package tour. The speed and range meant that they had only time to see the main sites anywhere - the Uffizi in Florence, the Parthenon in Athens, etc. This she said was quite a long holiday. The usual is only a week. She gave us tea in glasses she had bought in Venice that she was very proud of. We persuaded her to show us the house which she and her husband had designed and built in 1977. It occupies a corner site - a very small site - but they have managed to create quite an impressive entrance by angling it inwards. She apologised for the untidiness and refused to open one room as it was too messy. It was untidy and crowded. The two sons have western-style bedrooms upstairs but she and her husband sleep in the 'parlour' (like ours) downstairs on futon.

Her husband was not there. He has an office in Tokyo and leaves home at 9.00am (the more important you are, the later you arrive at work) and returns between 10-11pm. Then he eats, relaxes (watches TV and reads newspapers), baths, and gets to bed by 2.30am. He usually has only five hours sleep. Kenichi said that this is usual for any high-flyer (25 percent of the population) between 30-55 years of age. Humiko said that they say their only hope is retirement as they get burnt out and exhausted by the pace. So the fate of business and the country relies on people who are seriously overworked, while the worker (75 percent) have a comparatively lazy time without the burden of responsibility or decision making, and chronic over-manning. At fifty-five, for the top 25 percent, another, easier job is promised while also receiving a pension from the first job. At sixty one retires again and takes another job, also with a pension at the end. Even sixty-five need not be the end of work. Kenichi's father worked until he was seventy-six and earned much more than Kenichi - a person's salary rises inexorably with age. Humiko's husband works on Saturday too as his office is very busy. On Sunday, the only rest day, he and Humiko visit construction sites and plan buildings. They are building domestic housing now. Humiko said that work was their hobby, so she didn't object to using Sundays in this way at all. She plans the site area and her husband designs the building. Middle sized house sites are 100 sq.m. plus, and would cost 50 million yen with house (£310,00). This cost is too much for most Japanese to buy outright without a mortgage. There is a national mortgage organisation, the Public Residence Financing Association, that lends money at a low rate of interest, about 4.1 percent. This is public money and one can borrow a certain amount of that. To top up, one borrows from a bank or other financial institution but at a higher rate of interest. More money can be borrowed from the PRFA if you are housing an elderly relative. This reflects Government policy to encourage people to care for their parents.

Humiko also has three days skiing a year with the family, so they have thirteen days holiday in all per annum. This is more than most people get. An average "salary man" earns 7.5 million yen per annum - about £50,000. Architects would earn twice as much, about 12 million yen. When Humiko's husband worked for Mitsubishi Estates (one of the most prestigious building companies in Japan) he earned much more. He left when he was ordered to go to Osaka. He didn't want to leave Chiba where he was born and brought up, or leave his father who is a wealthy man through speculation. This latter fact allowed him to take the risk of leaving Mitsubishi and starting up on his own. Income tax in Japan is 25 percent. The house they are building

at present is for a young man of thirty, younger than average for purchasing a house, but they suspect he must have parents who will lend him the money.

We all went to a restaurant and then Humiko and her sons walked with us to the station. She is taking English lessons to improve her language and obviously liked trying it out on us. Noted that she corrected Toshiko several times which must have been irritating though both she and Kenichi commented on the quality of her English. On the way through a quiet middle-class suburb we passed what looked like a pretty empty open shop. At first I thought there were young taxi drivers inside waiting for custom. There were two young men there, one lying on a plastic sofa and the other lounging against a counter. However, Humiko said that it was a Yakuza office. I would have liked to photograph it but she and Toshiko feared that the men would not be pleased. So odd to see it in the middle of suburbia - quite openly. Humiko said she thought it might be a recruiting office but as the sort of man who might be encouraged to be a Yakuza recruit is not the usual middle-class son, seemed an odd place to have such an office.

A little further on there was a Pachinko parlour. The nearby residents had tried to stop it being built there but were unsuccessful. They thought it an unsuitable site as Pachinko players are not middle-class, on the whole, so would encourage undesirable elements to come there and lower the house values. At the station Alan noticed a 3000Y note hanging from the ticket machine - unclaimed change. The children grabbed it and would have liked to have kept it, but Humiko took it immediately to the ticket office and handed it in. There are hardly any burglaries in Sakura, but there have been some in Chiba. Toshiko said that the reason is that Chiba is more urbanised.



Overhanging monorail at Chiba

NOTES TAKEN AT THE MUSEUM

C13-C14 models of houses have lavatories - a shed in the yard.

We saw a model of village headman's house in C17, very large. Samurai used to visit them - not much gap between Samurai and village headmen. Headmen very powerful, in fact they were the

effective rulers of the countryside in the Edo period and would often control more than 25 villages. The village headman was the bridge between the Daimyo and the villagers. Their houses had stables.

There were massive number of private teachers in private schools to produce administrators.

Middle-level officials controlled all documentation. Document soaked society by C17, masses of different kinds of documents. Lots of measuring and counting. Massive administrative machine had been built up. Ordinary peasants had to be able to read and write

Although the Tokugawa shut off trade, Dutch, Chinese and Korean traders were still allowed in with special categories of commodities at Nagasaki.

In Japan there is no distinction between vermin and game. Fox-hunting the Japanese see as totally useless and strange. "A dog is a dog" it has its own nature and it is ridiculous treat it as anything but a dog. If one uses "pets" in a rough sense, the Japanese can make anything into a pet - a tiger, alligator, etc. - because they are all classed as animals.

One expects children to have a wildish nature. They will resist training, but gradually they become "domesticated". For instance, Yuri often bit Kenichi's father and other people, and this is seen as the wildness of nature which is gradually bent into shape, like plants, etc. "We think children are near to nature so we are very tolerant of them. We train them little by little". To teach them is the aim. They are very tolerant with the young and old, but not so tolerant of persons in between.

1441, Muromachi Shogun was assassinated as were all the Daimyo. There was a military vacuum round Kyoto. 30,000 peasants started a revolt and occupied the shrines. They were given remission of all debts. The organiser was a horse breeder and carrier. The "top peasants" were horse breeders and carriers with skill in organisation. They asked for one year's tax rebate. No mention of people being killed. They attacked some rice stores in the centre of Kyoto and even occupied the police station. Most peasant revolts were for tax reductions to deal with debt. The upper Samurai were trying to expel the Shogun and Daimyo and establish their own regime. Peasant revolt occurred in the important commercial and transport centres, in areas of money economy. The horse breeders and carriers tended to be the revolutionaries in the Civil War period.

Another exhibit was a large, prosperous house of 1464 - a middle-class farmer's house = 'myoshu' or 'nanushi' - village headman, the lowest level of administrator. They had a family name and right to wear a sword. There was one in each village - on a par with the lower Samurai.

Origin of village community organisations was to defend themselves during the Civil War. They wanted to collect money for themselves and set the level of taxes.

Large, metal-tipped hoes and more irrigation from late Kamakura. From C12, double cropping, and later triple cropping. Even the Chinese were impressed when they came on missions. Encouragement of small-scale farming. Ploughing with cow from C11-C12. Human excrement and fish meal used as fertiliser from later Kamakura.

Those who die will become either a god ('kami') or a Buddha. If people neglect them, these gods will become spirits or animals and harm people. They become like the devil. The masks symbolise the spirits - humans, gods, devils, animals. - folk-lore collection c1910 onwards.

FURTHER NOTES

There is a Japanese proverb - "At first sight the sophisticated (urban) looks best, but the unsophisticated (rural) will succeed better". From the Kamakura period, men in the East (unsophisticated) should meet women from the West (sophisticated). Sapporo is unsophisticated. The sophisticated means particularly Kyoto and some castle cities (eg. Mitsuura, Kamakura), also the ports (Nagasaki, Kobe, etc.). 'Nakape' = countryman. Synonymous with energetic, strong, greedy, selfish, money-oriented, without pretensions, frank, straightforward, persistent, honest - a frequent word for a certain type of person, even from Tokyo. Tended to look down on them a little. No word suggesting "looking up" to townsmen, no equivalent to "bourgeois". The aristocrats were in Kyoto - an old phrase "Kyoto sparrow", meaning they were noisy and there were many of them. No proper distinction between town and country. Very delicate ranking in Kyoto of those allowed to enter the court or the residence area, etc. People of Edo and Kyoto have distinct dialects. Country Samurai were strong but not sophisticated. A city commoner would look down on them. Sendai was a very "country city" - very strong dialect. There was no square, no centre in Tokugawa cities.

Japanese chess is different from Western. Those pieces that have been taken can be used again - as in Japanese warfare - by one's opponent. Much more manipulative. There is a King, a General (gold, for attack), (silver, for defence), Knight, Cart = Castle, Bishop, Pawns (these move). One can put pieces back on the board again. There is no life/death extermination. Take opponents pieces and use them yourself. Any piece can be promoted to Gold General if they get to the top three squares of the enemy. Simplified version of Chinese chess.

We brought up the curious nature of the yakuza recruitment office we had seen. It is a legal organisation. Yakuza are in fact several different groups. In the strict sense they run legal businesses, dealing with parking control, nightclubs, security.

Mental illness. The hospital is an autonomous "kingdom" in Japan, as are Universities, courts, etc. They are professional, intellectual "kingdoms" and it's very difficult to get within them. The traditional way of treating mental illness is to try to segregate them. Parents try to hide children who are mentally ill so difficult to find out how they are treated. Patients are controlled. The numbers of crimes involving them are very low. They think that the percentage of mental illness is lower than in the West. The situation with regard to treatment has improved a lot recently. Kenichi's mother sometimes goes for psychiatric counselling. Alan asked how many people had breakdowns, to the extent of seeing a doctor among Kenichi's students and colleagues, or were on anti-depressants. Taking his friends (defined by the 200 New Year cards he sent), only one person had had a serious nervous breakdown, and he was Korean. In his family, in his mother's line there was a tendency to suicide. His great-grandfather committed 'seppuku'. His great aunt jumped into a pond as she was unhappily married to a money-lender in Nagoya - a forced marriage. Among his colleagues, one suffered from depression for six months, then recovered. Among his student contemporaries, one suffered from a serious disease contracted in the Philippines. Another had mental problems.

Kenichi didn't know the level of use of anti-depressant drugs in Japan, but he thought it was very low - perhaps 5 percent - and these pills were weak. No strong anti-depressant pills prescribed by doctors. Of the 140 or so students he'd had, only one had a problem - shoplifting. No mental breakdowns. Alcoholism rates are very low. Suicide rates also very low, despite the Samurai ethic. When using public transport in Tokyo, one might possibly see one or two persons a day who look strange, but not in Sapporo or Chiba. He thinks that women are drinking more, but are not alcoholics. He thinks that all rates, including suicide, are probably going down.

12th August 1993

Slept well and had a shower and hair wash. Did some washing too. Alan and Kenichi decided to go into Tokyo to look for books, but I decided to stay here and write up my notes which are beginning to overflow my notebook and my mind. Toshiko's mother is going to do the tea ceremony this afternoon but they will be back in time.

I went shopping with Toshiko. The suburbs could be in England. As the secondary roads are very small most of the traffic seems to pass on main roads. Cars must be parked around here but we see very few when we are walking. There are some blocks of flats but most houses are small on tiny plots. Odd to see the bordering fences within 6" of a house with a few plants squashed in between. Numbers of shops are shut up as this is August and the Bon holiday when many people go away. Owners don't try to keep the shops open as labour is short and it's not a busy time. Went to a supermarket and then a cake shop to buy cakes for the tea ceremony. Ai left us here to walk home on her own. Not something one would contemplate now in England. This area feels like the London suburbs of 1950-1960's with its narrow roads, lack of traffic, small houses, and relative peace and quiet. Very hot, but nice that the rain has now stopped. This is much more like the usual Tokyo summer weather.

In Mrs Kashiwagi's wedding photo, she is dressed in a kimono and is wearing an ornate wig ('katsura'). There is another wedding photo taken in 1950 where the bride is dressed in a white western-style gown showing the enormous change made by the American occupation. All Mrs Kashiwagi's photos were destroyed during the war. The few she has are copies she had collected from other family members.

Over lunch I asked her about her feelings she had of pre-war life to post-war life. She said that things had become progressively easier, but at the same time she regrets the modern world and the decline in the quality of

the countryside and the air. She dislikes the use of so much energy which she feels is unnecessary and is causing this decline. Toshiko said that her family gives her a feeling of security but she isn't influenced by the fact that her grandmother was of a Samurai family. I learnt that before the war people had servants but they disappeared soon after when inflation etc. debased the value of the yen and the old families were bankrupted.

After lunch, looking at more photographs, learnt something about death and funeral customs. There was a photograph of Toshiko's grandfather's funeral in 1938. Could be 1888 seeing the clothing and the coffin being carried in a palanquin. Prior to 1920, coffins were round boxes, rather like tall hat boxes, and the body was packed inside in a kneeling position with hands held in prayer. Long coffins with the body lying were only used by the rich. The body then as now was dressed in a white travelling kimono, straw shoes and a white bandana round the head with a large triangle in the middle of the forehead to show that the person is dead. Coins are placed with the body to pay the ferryman to cross the river to the land of the dead. Bodies are always cremated except in rural areas where they are sometimes buried. Toshiko's father bought a plot of land near Mount Fuji and his ashes have been buried there. His wife's ashes will go there to join him when she dies.

Learnt more about adoption, including couple adoption, by tracing what happened to Toshiko's grandmother's family. The family were 'maida hung', officials employed by a powerful Daimyo, by the name of Niwa. Of three sons, only the eldest kept the family name while the second son was adopted by the Naito family and the youngest son by the Morikawa family. The Morikawa family adopted the future wife of this youngest son at the same time. Possibly it was a condition of the adoption that he marry this girl. This is known as couple adoption, 'huku yosh' ('huku' = couple; 'yosh' = adopted child). Toshiko and her mother were unclear about why this double adoption was done and I wonder whether it would improve the position of the girl as once adopted, she couldn't be sent back to her own family. Toshiko's grandmother was the only child of this union and the family died out, not because she was a girl, but because no one wanted to look after the family grave as it was too far away. (Cf. Kenichi talks somewhere about transferring rice land by adopting the ancestors of a family that has died out.)

Toshiko's mother began preparing our room for the tea ceremony after lunch. The carpet was rolled up and our suitcases and clutter put in her bedroom. The 'hibachi' was taken from beside the 'tokonoma' and put on a heat-proof tray on the tatami. When her friend and teacher arrived, the powdered green tea was put through a special fine sieve. Even powdered tea will form into balls in the water if not sieved. It is smoothed over the mesh with a wide, flat spatula. In the 'tokonoma' and appropriate scroll ('kakejiku') for the season was hung. The legend read 'wa ke' which Toshiko translated as "Harmony and respect. Then you will be at peace". Two flowers were also put in the 'tokonoma'. They should be seasonal flowers of any colour but picked from the garden and not bought. Rikyu's legend on another 'kakejiku' was 'ichi go ichi e' which means that we have one chance to meet in life and that therefore we should concentrate on every part of this ceremony. Seemed rather appropriate for us, here in a strange house.

Both Mrs Kashiwagi and her friend changed into kimonos with obi and then the formal ceremony began. Firstly the room was purified with sandalwood taken from a 'kogo' (a round box) and put into the 'hibachi'. If the 'kogo' is placed in the 'tokonoma' then there is no formality with the burning of the incense, otherwise there is a longer, more formal ceremony of purification. The sound of the water boiling in the kettle is described as 'matzu kaze', "wind in the pine trees". The ideals behind the tea ceremony are based in nature, using natural things - bamboo ladle and whisk, tea bowls of crude clay and common garden flowers. Rikyu's contention was that even if you used humble utensils you can entertain guests from your heart.

Toshiko's mother and her friend learnt from different teachers. The former has not done the ceremony for 5-6 years though last year they did a very simple ceremony at a hospital for patients and nurses. The tea ceremony has become very international and there is growing interest..

If a man were to do the ceremony there would be a few differences. The fans they use are larger. A man puts the napkin in his belt whilst a woman puts it in the top of the 'obi'. Also the napkin for a man is larger. Men are supposed to take the top off the boiling water pot with their fingers while women do so with a napkin. A man and a woman can do the tea ceremony together whether or not husband and wife. In the tea house all status differences, including sex, become irrelevant. It can be done at any age. They had seen a tea master's son doing it at the age of three. For a formal ceremony a meal should be served first - rice, soup, a little fish, but simple.

At the end of the ceremony, the hostess removes the ladle and implements and bows, backing out of the room. Alan asked whether they believed that any god was present in the tea ceremony. They said they did not, but there is a special ceremony to give offerings to the ancestors though this is seldom done. The bow is not to a god. The bow to the 'tokonoma' is a bow to art. Alan asked what was the pleasure they got from doing the ceremony. They said, to forget everything and to make you empty. It is a form of meditation without god.

Clearly the women love these minute ceremonial details and strive to get them right. During the ceremony one should only talk about the things inside the tea room - the equipment, tea bowls, scroll in the 'tokonoma' etc. If there is an interruption - 'phone call, for instance - the ceremony should later be continued from the point of interruption. There is no special occasion when the tea ceremony should be done. Among the artifacts is a tobacco pipe with a very small bowl - about .24" in diameter. The stem of a tea ceremony pipe is about 7" long. An ordinary pipe has a stem 1' long. It only holds tiny amounts of tobacco. Like the saki cup, it is filled little and often

There should never be quarrels in a tea house. The tea master should have the presence to keep the peace though he and the guest are considered as equals. Men were supposed to take off their swords before entering the tea room. For a Samurai this was very hard. During the civil war, the tea ceremony was a place for enemies to meet and for negotiations. Anyone could be invited as a guest - Burakumin, Hinan, European, etc. There is no payment involved, just reciprocity, though guests sometimes bring gifts. Teachers are sometimes paid as thanks for the lesson.

Toshiko translated and took photos using up the rest of the film. Toshiko's mother's friend was very jolly and not the slightest bit formidable. She just bustled about trying to get things ready and directing us so that we should do things properly. Toshiko's mother acted as tea mistress the second time when Toshiko and the friend were guests. The whole atmosphere was relaxed and pleasurable, not inhibiting.

Afterwards, Toshiko's mother showed me how to tie an 'obi' and then showed me a range of kimono, obi and coats ('howri' - short; 'michi uki' - overcoat). She wears Western dress only in summer. The rest of the year she wears kimono. Both women looked very elegant - far more so than in Western dress. Kimonos suit their small frames and elongate them. For working, women wear 'mompe' - a sort of trouser suit, usually made from old kimonos. It was working-class wear but became popular with everyone during the war. A Japanese apron is like a smock with sleeves and open at the back. A woman wearing a kimono holds up her sleeves with a ribbon called a 'taski' which criss-crosses her back. Samurai women used to do this when using the woman's sword, 'naginata', which has a very long handle and short blade. It is used like a stave though the blade has one sharp edge and a point at the end. For informal wear, the obi has just a bow at the back and is narrower. A saying from the Edo period: "You should pay 1 ryo for a kimono but 3 ryo for an obi". Thus the obi is more important as you can make an old kimono look good with a good obi. The word for sophisticated is 'iki'. Kimono are stored folded and flat and wrapped in good paper. Toshiko's mother offered to give me an obi but I felt diffident about taking one and refused.

They asked me what I would wear on formal occasions and how often I would wear such things. We talked about similarities between Japan and England with flower arranging and tea. I asked which country they felt most affinity with. They said China and Korea as all use the same written characters and many items such as tea, tea bowls, etc. In a superior tea ceremony there are bowls and other items with Chinese names.

At 8.15pm. Kenichi called us for supper. He, Alan and the girls had had their supper and we sat in the 'hori kotatsu' and continued our chat. Toshiko's mother asked me if Alan would be angry if I chatted like this for hours. I said he would not be so now as I was filling my notebook, but wouldn't be too pleased in general. Toshiko said that Kenichi wouldn't mind at all. It later transpired that they had expected the friend to leave and that was probably why we ate so late. However, she apparently didn't want to go as she has an invalid husband at home and she rarely has the chance to go out.

The questions came mainly from them - about old age, family matters, bringing up children, inheritance by women, daughters-in-law, and such like. Toshiko's mother said she preferred her daughter-in-law to her daughters. Toshiko refused to translate this at first - obviously stung though didn't want to show it. Kenichi later said that Toshiko put her mother down on seven occasions with "its none of your business", so perhaps her mother had been irritated too. Kenichi implied that Toshiko was always edgy with her mother but listening to

them chat in her mother's room after everyone else was in bed doesn't give that impression. Perhaps Kenichi would like to believe it to be the case.

Alan and Kenichi came back from visiting Tokyo bookshops just before the tea ceremony was prepared. Alan had much enjoyed the bookshops and spent about £1,165 on books, most of which have been left to be sent to Hokkaido by post. We have arranged the next days. Tomorrow we visit Kamakura, Saturday, Nikko, then on Monday return to Sapporo after a meeting between Alan and Prof. Watanabe of Tokyo University.

The girls didn't stir from their comic books all day except for Yuri and Ai coming to the shops with us. Odd to see how inactive they are, never going into the garden or playing together. They seem strangely uncurious, not only in the museum but also when odd things happen in the house like the tea ceremony which they have never witnessed. We note that they all - adults and children alike - seem to need less sleep than we did if we are to judge this by the time they go to bed and get up, even on holiday.



The tea ceremony

NOTES

We were introduced to the ideas of a distinguished political scientist, Professor Watanabe. He put forward the argument that the Tokugawa Shogunate didn't accept Chinese-style Confucianism. Highly modified Confucianism was accepted. Sorai changed the old-style Confucianism into a new one (cf. Maruyama). Watanabe compared Chinese and Japanese Confucianism (he reads both). Sorai was quite near to Chinese orthodoxy. Others represent another school. From very early on, the vocabulary of Confucius was used, but the contents were modified, in every case. Likewise, Christianity and Buddhism were modified by the Japanese. The reception of Confucianism by the Tokugawa was the most systematic.

Japanese love of nature. Wild nature is a threat. We believe nature cannot be fully controlled by man. There is an artistic feeling for nature. Simplicity is appreciated, but they also like newness and modernity. Hence the vogue for post-modernity. In the case of Chinese cooking, if you can taste the ingredients it's a bad thing - everything should taste the same, in a highly processed form. The Japanese like freshness, etc. 'sushi'. When it was introduced - "these fish are fresh" was the great cry. Food of each season is appreciated at the right time, hence one doesn't store or freeze food in Japan as the seasons are quite distinct and there is different food for each. Houses are basically wooden - "fresh

timber is comfortable for us". They replace old wood. Clothes need also to be replaced because they rot in the humidity. Decorative clothes are uncomfortable, something simple is preferred. Cycle of constant change all the time. Love of nature comes from this tendency towards freshness.

I asked what moved the Japanese to ecstasy. Open air, doing nothing, sitting on a beach, the public bath. Also: the sea-shore at Toba - sea and rocks - fresh air. River in the mountains - big waterfalls. In front of wild nature you feel yourself very small. Big waterfalls thought of as a sacred place similar to pilgrimages. In deep woods. Ecstasy. Flower, moon, snow - typical motifs in poetry. The moon - simple, moderate, not harmful, and everyone can see and can share it. Snow - in the South, very light, very artistic and delicate. Flowers - different flowers symbolize each season. Bird song - evocative (cf. 'Pillow Book'). Japanese believe everything is impermanent and is always changing - "the full moon is waning".

We discussed the irregularity of Japanese art. In flower arrangement (ikebana) perfect symmetry is not good. It suggests completeness. One needs to leave something to the imagination. One can only imagine the perfect thing, not find it in the real world.

We discussed the attitude to the past. Japan is full of tradition, but is not traditionalist. If one tries to fix something permanently its thought of as unnatural. If there were jewels in a Japanese palace they wouldn't be shown off like the Crown Jewels in London.

Western thinkers who are widely influential in Japan include Edmund Burke, who has many admirers in Japan. Even left-wingers admire him for his evolutionary view of law and politics. Another is Max Weber. The Japanese love Weber. Weber is now part of Japanese culture.

We discussed the Japanese love of delicacy. When compared with China - we like smooth new timber, if not smooth then not comfortable to the touch - we feel Chinese timber is too rough. We don't worry about symmetry. But if 99 percent is smooth and 1 percent rough, then you can appreciate the smoothness more. Japanese like silence. Basho's 'haiku' talks of a tiny sound when a frog drops into a pond and highlights the silence. Artificially added roughness is important. With flower arrangements, they must not be "too complete". Need something incomplete which inspires the imagination to complete it and gives it a dynamic. Art is always moving towards completion. The frog jumps into the pond making a sound, and this is moving towards a much deeper sound.

I asked if there was a concept of absolute, total, evil. No. There is no absolute right or wrong. No sense of absolutes - good, beauty, etc. No absolute ruler. No transcending authority, no such ideology.

Kenichi thought the concept of Cold War, "evil empire", absolute nonsense. Capitalism and Communism as opposed systems is stupid. Some people really believed in all that nonsense, but its unimaginable for him. In 1840's there was a slogan "Foreign people are devils", and there was a similar fear at the end of the war, but there is no real sense of absolute hatred. cf. Endo - Fuzzy vagueness of Japan - the subtle ability to modify Christianity and take away its absolutes.

A colleague who is a converted Christian is quite inflexible and absolute, believing in a transcending God. Quite a lot of Japanese Christians are quite authoritarian by Japanese standards, but when one of them talked to the Japanese scholar James McMullen about his beliefs, McMullen said that he wasn't a Christian at all, he believed in something quite different from the Christianity of the West. Very religious but not Christian. There had been the same modification of Christianity as Confucianism. Thus, there is no belief in an absolute God. Lots of Communists had connections with Government and later converted to L.D.P. Japanese Communists were not isolated. Japanese Communism is highly accommodating. One couldn't imagine something like McCarthyism in Japan. Much subtler group pressures are brought to bear on individuals. One marginalizes people instead. Communists are on the inside not the outside.

We talked about treason. The sense of this is much lower than in the West. A particular case - a Stalinist spy, Zorgei, a fellow Japanese intellectual, was hanged. But there was no feeling of betrayal.

We discussed publishing. Publishers small; bookshops small and sell more magazines than books. The number of bookstores is constantly decreasing. Kiosks, TV corporations, newspapers and stores are selling books. Many bookshops sell CDs and rent videos. The book culture and accumulation of libraries is dying out. Building up a library is difficult because of the lack of space.

We discussed bribery and gifts. It is part of social etiquette to send a present to someone. Booksellers send cake boxes to librarians hoping they will order some of their books, or might take them out to dinner. Likewise, in architecture, but larger sums of money are paid by architects (private). All this is accepted as normal - but not in business. There is a manual which Kenichi was

shown of the social conventions given to M.I.T.I. officials. They are trained on how far to go, but the boundary is difficult. There is very little scandal in M.I.T.I./Finance, more in Education/Health, always in Construction. M.I.T.I./Finance officials are of a much higher standard. In M.I.T.I. there are constant movements of staff, and no fixed clients. But business is business, therefore "payments" are permissible. Likewise in private universities where studentships are sold, even in good universities like Keio and Waseda. National Universities do not sell studentships. If it were found to be doing so, the President would be sacked. The system is so rigid that it is impossible to help someone to enter a National University.

We discussed various aspects of the tea ceremony. Tea was widespread in Muromachi period. There was a tea ceremony for leaf tea before that. No sign of the tea ceremony in the Heian period. Possibly begun in the Kamakura period. Fighting Samurai would meet in a hut in temple precincts - a sanctuary - and negotiate a peace. Afterwards, this became a tea-room. Highly Samurai- orientated. The spirituality is very puritan - perhaps the go-between would be a priest. They served something. If they drank 'sake' it was much more meaningful and implied a contract - linked to Shintoism, eg. at marriage, husband and wife drank 'sake'. Tea more neutral, "dry". Both parties have no reason to refuse it and there is no commitment. It opens up a process but is not the sign of ending or settling something as drinking 'sake' would be.

There was some similarity with English middle-class, Victorian, tea was similarly formal - meeting of strangers over tea.

The Mongolians use Buddhism to relax themselves. The same with Samurai after Tokugawa - suddenly became peaceful and calm, no need for their fighting skills. Relaxation through the tea ceremony, flower arranging, fencing as an art, Noh, poetry - also judo, (introduced after the Meiji restoration). Had to find a serious job for these serious people - needed more widespread, extended social relationships to control them. Alan: "Men are never less harmfully engaged than in the pursuit of tea" - "Tea, tea, rather than war, war".

We discussed loneliness. There is no sense of alone or loneliness in Japan. Japanese people who live alone don't feel lonely. Kenichi is incomplete when alone; as an individual you are complete and as married couple you are completed - contradiction? In our society we transcend ourselves through God. In Japan individualism is very difficult because there is no transcendent God. There's always a binary relationship for us between a person and God or person and spouse. Without God this is impossible in Japan. Samurai try to achieve this through their own continuing efforts.

13th August 1993

KAMAKURA

Kamakura. The girls have gone to the seaside so we four went together. A lovely day and a very easy journey direct from Chiba. We stopped at Kita-Kamakura - the north station - and went first to the Engaku-ji Temple. Perversely, I think I enjoyed this more than any subsequent temple, most particularly the garden where the mausoleum of Tokimune Hojo stands. It was exquisite, ringed with sheer cliffs covered with huge trees - a natural amphitheatre. Toshiko pointed out a bush called 'hagi' which is one associated with the Genji and Japanese gardens which has a small, pink, sweet-pea-like flower. We walked up to a lone bell standing on a site overlooking houses now, but presumably once a beautiful site.

We looked down on the Toke-ji, once a convent built by the wife of Tokimune Hojo in the fourteenth century. The convent became a refuge for women and the Tokimune Hojo's wife would give divorces to women who stayed there and worked for three years. She was a powerful woman and no mere husband could gainsay her. The laws concerning divorce were written and documents survive describing it in detail. This means of divorce was abolished during the Meiji period.

We went to lunch after this at the smartest restaurant in Kamakura called "Hachinoki", a particular sort of bonsai tree connected with a story about Ojo Kakuri, a Prime Minister of the Kamakura period. He travelled in disguise throughout the country gathering information. One snowy evening he looked for shelter and all he could find was a poor hut belonging to a Samurai who had fallen on hard times. The Samurai lodged him and during the evening told him that he only had his armour, sword, horse and a small bonsai, and the spirit to fight for his

master. As the evening wore on it got colder and colder, and wood was scarce. In the end, to heat his guest the Samurai cut up the bonsai and burnt it. Up to this point Ojo had not revealed his identity. Next morning he told his host who he was and subsequently sent him a huge gift. This restaurant gave us an almost perfect picture of a Japanese meal. Beautiful to look at and full of exciting flavours though this was styled monks' food and totally vegetarian.

Kamakura was Kenichi's home for a number of years so he knows it well as acted as guide chivying us along to complete his tour. Next we went to the most famous temple - the Kencho-ji. Here Kenichi has been sent to try to master the art of Zen contemplation, but without success. He recalled sitting in the 'Hojo' with a monk watching, and getting tapped on the shoulder twice, then on the neck for not clearing his mind. We walked round on the verandah of the 'Hojo' to admire the garden. Lovely to feel wood under the feet as shoes have to be removed here.

We walked up the hill along a track on the rim circling the north of Kamakura. Alan has been arguing since the museum that there is a defensive wall there, but Kenichi and Toshiko disagree. Much friendly bantering but each stuck to his position. Lovely walking through trees along a path which afforded dramatic views over dense foliage to the sea. The way up had been passed bronze images of demons. The shrines we went to afterwards were not so perfect. I agree with Toshiko that temples are much better. Went to Kamakura-gu Shrine, the Hachiman-gu Shrine, then a quick train trip to the Daibutso - the great stone Buddha. Arrived too late to get into the temple, but did see it through the gate. Lovely sight in the twilight with trees surrounding it - vast and splendid.

Bought Toshiko's mother a wooden lacquered tea container and spoon for the tea ceremony. (We were later told that these items have to be given names so we chose to call them 'koto' after Toshiko's instrument). Ate at another expensive restaurant, with sushi, then back by train to Chiba.

On our way to our evening meal we saw a man in front of his fish shop light a small fire on the pavement. He lit a joss stick from it and put it into a pot on a little tray with other items from the usual home shrine. This, Toshiko said, was to bring down his ancestors' spirits. It is the first day of the Bon festival. I asked if her mother or Kenichi's did anything like this. They said neither did (though later Toshiko found that her mother did this in July at an earlier festival for ancestors. Odd how little she seems to know of what her mother does do). All Bon is now for most people a holiday - a time for families to get together.

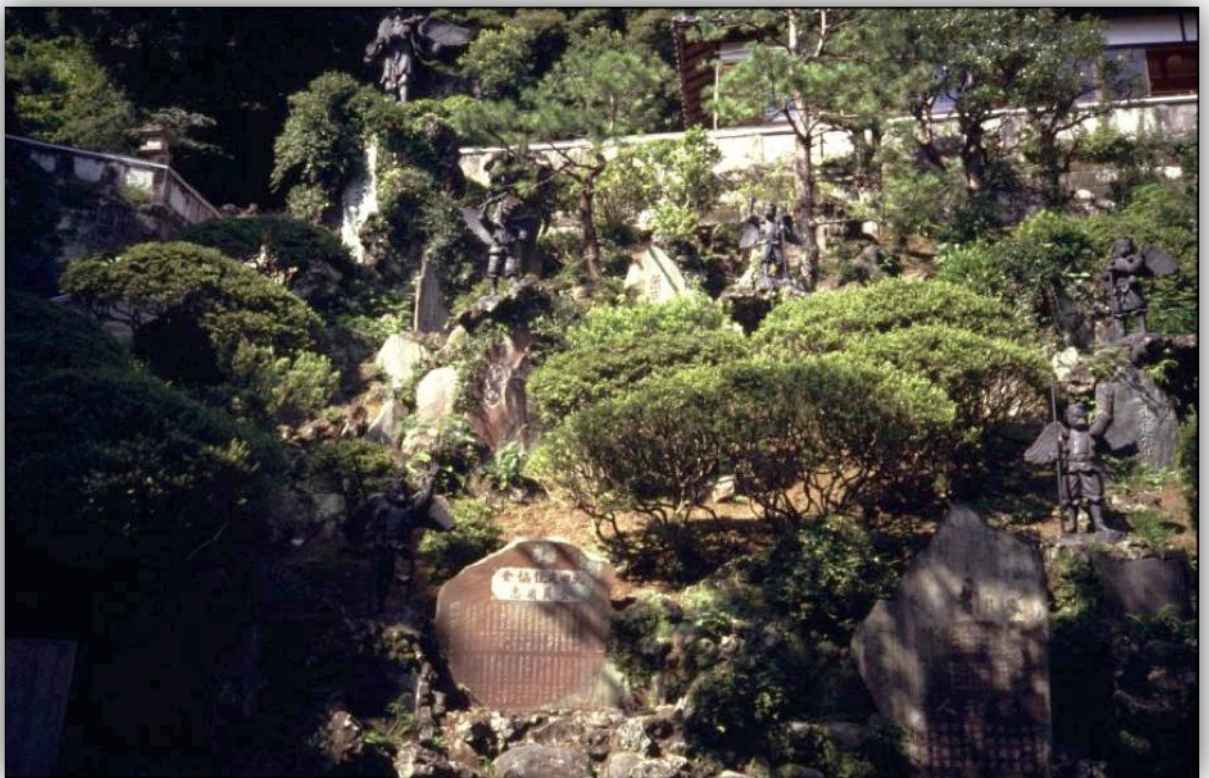
Kenichi and Toshiko may be exceptional but there seems to be little feeling between siblings. Though Humiko and Toshiko like to see each other there is no emotion at meeting. Toshiko has not seen her brother. Kenichi's parents live in Tokyo but he has not seen them. This may be because they have us to impede them, but my guess is that family relations are pretty fragmentary.



Engaku-ji Temple Kamakura



Lunch in Hachinoki Restaurant



Kencho-ji Temple garden from the 'Hojo'



Traditional house



Kamakura-gu Shrine



Man lighting small fire to bring back ancestors at Bon festival

NOTES

We discussed the pachinko, or pin-ball salon, phenomenon. The Japanese like the atmosphere. Music - eg. Japanese Royal Navy march. Appears to have developed in the urban areas after 1910. Idea not to make a fortune, just killing time. Makes you think nothing - sort of secular Zen concentration. Computer games are for children, Pachinko for adults. Pachinko - chance, repetition, noise.

We talked of play. In Japan one traditionally plays in groups outside. Very rare to play inside the house. Not much difference in play of girls and boys.

I told them that canal and river fishing was the most popular hobby in England. Not much in Japan though it's beginning to increase. People would do it if the sun shone and they had new equipment. [Saw fishermen sitting under umbrellas from train].

They were surprised by the English love of walking in strong winds. They think English nature is mild and therefore not threatening. They would feel that adverts with hair blowing in the wind is battling with nature. No feeling of romanticism in Japan. Human relations are romantic, but not nature. People prefer a quiet sea. The most romantic scene for the Japanese are pine trees fringing the sea. "We are absorbed into the thing itself. If I see something else, eg. girl's face, it breaks everything. If we see cherry blossom, we are the cherry blossom. We are part of the landscape and nature. We lose out separateness if we become ecstatic enough to become a part of nature". [Sounds very Wordsworthian: Alan]. The Japanese cut out a small part of the natural world and concentrate on it, whereas the Chinese find the whole landscape important. "Romantic" - an imported idea. (cf. Tanizaki)

We talked of transcendence. The attempt to transcend this world should be within yourself because you can't trust in God or religion. Kenichi disappointed to find God in Yeats or Donne - they are cheating, using an unfair trump card - "you shouldn't depend on God as last resort but rely on own skills".

I asked how the Japanese try to understand the world. I was told its unanswerable. It needs no answer. We have no world view. With all human effort there must be some unanswerable questions. We are very small and nature will overwhelm us in the end. In fact 99.9 percent of things we can't answer.

I asked Kenichi what he thought was the greatest invention of the twentieth century. Kenichi thought the theory of relativity. Godel - some theories cannot be proved right or wrong. The absence of absolute space and many questions that can't be answered. Einstein is common-sense for the Japanese. Of course relativity is right. Godel is startling. Japanese lack the sense of God, so had a lack of absolutes. Nichiren tried to make one god - cf. Kenko. No systematisers in Japan. In the West you believe there must be an answer and this allows you to concentrate on trying to find it. Japan lacks systematic laws. They are all partial and provisional - techniques to solve particular problems. [Alan: may explain absence of science].

I told them of the popularity of boats, caravans and second homes in England. Not yet popular in Japan. Camping is starting to become more popular. Some persons have a flat in the city, etc. but second home syndrome is not common.

I asked about hunting and gathering of fish and birds. In Japan we don't eat everything in the countryside. We have an idea that nature must be preserved. If there is a bad harvest, then one begins to eat such things, but not in normal years. The Daimyo wanted wild animals to be caught by their hawks and therefore protected them. [Similarity with English gentry]. Game is private property. Daimyo did prohibit the killing of certain animals. Vermin = "public"; game = "private". Carp and river fish also reserved for Daimyo.

We discussed other things. For example, the Japanese prefer goddesses (Buddhist ones in Kamakura, eg. Kannon). Likewise, Japanese Christians prefer the Virgin Mary.

"The Japanese eat things by eye".

We talked of divorce. It is now easy; no significant differences in class. The reason for divorce is often the overworking of the salary-man. Divorce started to increase 5-6 years ago. A certain number in M.I.T.I, etc. In general, though, not much divorce.

We talked adoption in the past. The bond between parents and children is much stronger than marriage, so adoption strengthens marriage. No sense of incest in cases of adoption if there is no blood relationship. Want very strong bond with couple. The mother-in-law becomes the mother, and it's impossible to get divorced.

We talked about clubs. There are a number of different kinds of clubs - Sumo, chess, "go", etc. People are elected to them. Nothing equivalent to the English clubs, eg. Athenaeum, etc. though there are clubs for graduates of major public and private universities. There is a sort of equivalent of the British Academy called the Dakshing, but its controlled by bureaucrats not by academics and some eminent people don't like to join it.

We talked about epidemics. From the Civil War period to the Edo period - smallpox killed 100,000. TB was a serious threat until recently in 1950's. Hygiene situation in Japan is better, but water used to be contaminated and the situation was bad. In the Meiji period, there were some cholera epidemics which spread from the South via to ports in 1870's/1880's. Leprosy serious during Edo period. Syphilis - not much known about it. Aids - slowly increasing - 300-400, HIV positive - 10,000.

We asked about the low birthrate. It is not easy to raise children because of small houses, few places to play, difficult to get them into good schools. People think it "rather a tiresome job". Not used to having no children - still some pressure to have at least one child.

We talked about fires for the ancestors. Mrs Kashiwagi did an ancestor fire at the July Bon. Usually the first son had to worship his ancestors. Her husband was a second son thus he had no shrine. Rites differ from one sect to another. Her husband was a Shingon Buddhist. She expects her son to take over the shrine, though it would be quite possible for one of her daughters to do so.

We discussed lawyers. There are not so many lawyers or accountants but huge number of ex-Government officials willing to advise companies. The regulations are so complex that it is necessary to have an ex-official to help.

I asked who they considered to be their ancestors. Both the living and the dead are ancestors. Toshiko said of her mother's mother. "I feel she is not exactly an ancestor, because I knew her well". Ancestors are vague people, eg. her mother's father. "I don't use the word ancestor because I know the

exact relationship". All relatives through both sexes are equally ancestors, but the trunk line most important. When a farmer is forced to sell the family property say they are sorry for their ancestors. Not all ancestors, but specifically the trunk line. Nowadays children use the word 'senso' (ancestor - 'sen' = a head; in front. 'so' - origin to express the generation gap. They use this about the living to suggest they are "out of date" - rather similar to "fossils" - people of 60+ are "fossils". Gravestones are often collective - "all the ancestors of X family".

There is a strong sense of relatives. Sense of family - the 'ie' - is important. Now members of the nuclear 'ie'. Kenichi believes he is a member of the 'ie' of political scientists, and also of his supervisor (very tough) who his head of a 'ie'. His supervisor has 16 Japanese, 2 Korean, 1 Chinese in his 'ie'. Toshiko should be a "daughter-in-law" to the supervisor according to the Professor's wife, but refused. It is a sort of quasi- organisation. This Professor has much more influence on Kenichi than his own father - "Father in Nerima". His collected works will be the ancestor shrine.

One sometimes threatens one's children: "You will be punished by God in heaven", but never by ancestors. If one experiences a series of unlucky events and visits a fortune teller, it may be diagnosed as an ancestor, and one is advised to treat ancestors properly and do a Buddhist rite. Neither Toshiko nor Kenichi have been to a fortune teller, but Kenichi's mother did go to one to try to prevent their marriage - a kind of witch. Kenichi's parents did not come to the wedding. The first time they met Toshiko was in Oxford just after Subaru was born. There is still much tension between Toshiko and her mother in law. Toshiko is hurt that her mother-in-law has never apologised for her behaviour. [Alan: Dynamics of the Japanese family look very familiar from the West].

I asked them about the concept of sin. They thought it similar to crime. If you do something wrong, God might punish you. Never been punished by God - children don't fear punishment for sin - no sense of punishment for a sin in the past (eg. parents' generation). "Sin is a word we cannot understand completely". Buddhist monks tried to persuade people to believe in hell. Some people reacted to Hiroshima bombing as a kind of punishment. From Kamakura period to Civil War (similar to Thirty Years War in Europe) - a real hell, so much more persuasive. During the Tokugawa period, hell disappeared - much more focused on this world. Little sense of original sin, except perhaps in relation to handicap or atomic bomb victims. People on the whole in Japan are really happy.

14th August 1993

We went on an excursion to Nikko today. Rained again in the night and very dull when we left, so decided not to try to stay overnight there but to do a day trip only. The route is again to central Tokyo, then out to the north.

I sat with Toshiko on the train and my notes on our discussion are as follows. Surnames: introduced during Meiji period. Previously, a person's birthplace was tagged onto his name - Sapporo no Kenichi, for example. In the eighteenth century, Ogiu Sorai, a Confucian scholar, suggested that when a person moved his name should be removed from the temple in his birthplace and the nearest temple to his new abode alerted. ('Shumon ninbetsu cho' - 'shumon' = Buddhist sect; 'ninbetsu' = recognise; 'cho' = is not). Thus the Government had knowledge of a person's movement. The 'Shumon' was used to suppress Christians during the Edo period as anyone not in the 'Shumon' was deemed to be a Christian. It also indicated Hinan, Eta and Burakamen so was thought of as a discriminatory document. Prior to the 'Shumon' the Government census from the eighth century was the 'Koseki'. With the Meiji, there was a return to the 'koseki', but mainly as a tax document and different in nature from the earlier manifestation. Even today, when a person moves house he must go immediately to the local Government office to register his family. Only after this can his children be allocated to a school. There is no choice over which school in the public system. It is also necessary for documents such as driving licence or passport. This is known as the Register of Residence and differs from the 'Koseki' which is a register of origin.

Compulsory schooling is from 7-15 though most children attend nursery school before this. Most schools are public schools though many people would like to send their children to private schools. These are not very expensive, just few in number. Cramming and extra classes are expensive. At this point, Toshiko was told by the man sitting next to her to stop talking as he wanted to sleep. Despite her irritation, she complied. Over the gangway were several Indians or Bangladeshis also going to Nikko.

NIKKO

The journey took quite a long time so we had lunch on arrival, after which we went to the first shrine - the Daiyuin. Nikko is much more forested than Kamakura and has magnificent tall cedar trees in abundance. These make it dark and green, but the shrines are mostly covered in red lacquer and have elaborate coloured carvings and ornament, much of Chinese inspiration. This means that the shrines are not swamped by nature, but are magnificent gems within it.

One moves directly without seeming to go through any boundary to the Futuara Shrine. There we saw some 'kagura' dancing. There were people - men and women - dressed in Shinto robes. Men in light blue-green, women in scarlet skirts, with white shirts. Men and women were manning ticket booths, shops, gates, and even within the shrines themselves there were people who we thought were preaching, but were in fact encouraging tourists to buy. At the Daiyuin, for instance, one young man earnestly requested that people buy beans of the type that the founder had eaten. He died aged 108, so the implication was that if you ate the beans, you will have a long life too. As an added bonus he was offering to show any purchasers an inner room, not open to the public at large.

The last and most magnificent shrine is the Toshogu. One thing we noticed over and over again was the overlap between Buddhist and Shinto. We saw a Shinto Shrine with a large Buddhist altar, with a smaller Shinto Shrine in a corner. The last shrine of all has a huge Buddhist Temple within it, built very tall with three gold Buddhas. (See guide book for fuller description. I note that the price of entry has gone up hugely since it was published in 1981. Then 230Y, now over 1300Y. Kenichi said this is quite wrong. It was always more expensive than 230Y. He said that Nikko was a tourist resort from its inception).

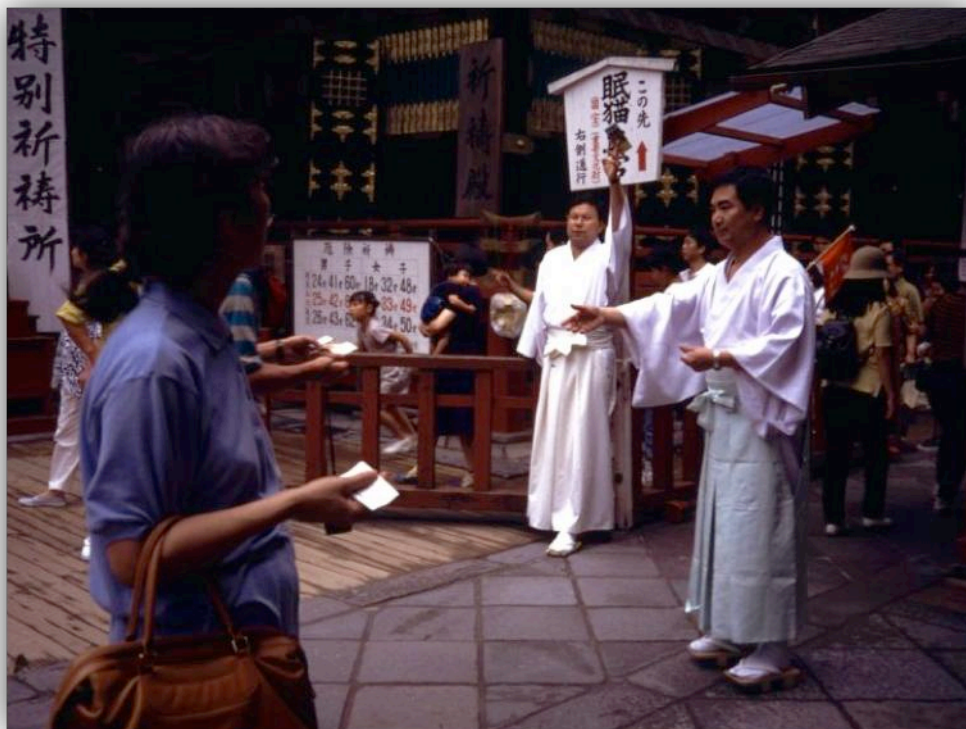
On our way back we stopped in Tokyo to change trains and had a meal. After the meal we walked to the Sensoji Temple on the edge of the Yosuwarara area (prostitute zone). This temple was on the edge of Edo, on the route to Nikko, and revellers were encouraged to take tours to Nikko. It was a three day walk, but there were lots of inns on the route. This route was one of the most prosperous. Thus tourism has an ancient heritage and visiting Nikko was only for tourist purposes. The central Tokyo temple is massive and covered with red lacquer. There are small, long, straight roads full of shops leading towards it, and very large lanterns hang from it. Back by 10.30pm.



Daiyuin (Taiyu-in) Temple



Toshogu Shrine



Toshogu Shrine



Toshogu Shrine



Nineteenth century shop

NOTES

We talked about the rise of the Samurai. Kyoto aristocrats had their own manor houses. The Samurai of Kamakura competed with them. They persuaded people not to pay taxes to the aristocrats so the aristocratic revenues shrank. The Kyoto government could extort little direct tax - it did so through the manors. Kamakura Shogunate transferred their power to the lower level - much more flexible. They had more military man-power to collect taxes, and hence gradually eroded the tax base of the aristocracy. There were many law cases as the aristocrats tried to preserve their manor houses from the Samurai. In many areas the Samurai tax was much lighter - Samurai were much nearer to the peasantry and could understand them. So the Samurai replaced the aristocrats. This happened gradually from the late Heian period. These were "native Samurai", those with no experience of living in Kyoto.

The word samurai comes from the verb "to serve" - an aristocrat as bodyguard, servant, or as police. The "native Samurai" were local strong men, minor gentry, whose rise reflected their growing strength. Ordinary people did not choose to serve an aristocrat or a Samurai. There were so few aristocrats and they moved so often, so they lost out to the increasing number of Samurai. (There were c100 Samurai for every aristocrat). The Samurai were multi-layered. At the top, near-aristocratic, then three or so layers of Samurai, then village headmen, still with autonomous authority, though the Samurai tried to incorporate the headmen of villages. Everyone has some flexibility as to who they should pay. Samurai government was heavily dependent on the voluntary participation of the lower Samurai and the headmen, hence the stress on their virtue. Lower level people had some room for manoeuvre between opposing aristocrats and Samurai.

Movement of the capital city. Originally thought it inefficient to move the capital so frequently - Nara to Kyoto to Kamakura to Kyoto - but the movement of the capital creates a sense of social mobility and flexibility. When the Muromachi moved the capital back to Kyoto there was a powerful rice-Shogunate in the eastern area in various huge residences controlled by three powerful Daimyo. Kanto was the main battlefield for the various Daimyo.

We discussed concepts of the afterlife. Japan and China are very this-world directed - Japan has been so since the Sengoku (C16). Nobody thinks about heaven and hell. "When I first saw Christian pictures I was surprised by the high proportion of religious pictures". Edo pictures - tiny proportion on heaven, hell or other religious subjects. No 'haiku' on heaven and hell - they are this-worldly. Some 'waka' in the Heian period deal with heaven, hell and god. In Edo period, some monks wrote tales, but ordinary novels are much more this-worldly. Maybe music is a little more religious. There are some Buddhist songs to celebrate Buddha. Ghosts suddenly appeared, but there is little interest as to where they came from (ie. whether they are in some sort of supernatural dimension).

We discussed spirits. It is assumed that there is some sort of spiritual continuity in 'ie' succession. In Japan you cannot see the spirits though people in Edo period believed in the existence of spirits, eg. in some old pond - like Ariel - spirits of mountains or lakes. These sometimes support or punish people, but they live in this world, not another world. They are just invisible or difficult to see. Spirits are like breath.

We talked about the soul. ('tamishii' or 're-kong'. 're' = spirits; 'kong' = soul) Goes somewhere after death. Buddhist classics explain it goes to the next generation - eg. from Toshiko's mother to Ai - within the 'ie' system the soul may go to another generation. "Soul" is a sort of description to organise the group. In order to explain spirit or soul consistently, may need a picture of another world, but it's not so clear. People only have a marginal attention to that other world, no solid system of ideas or metaphysics. The metaphysics within Buddhism are not well organised to stimulate systematic thought. This explains why Buddhist monasteries do not lead to the development of thought - of Galileo, Newton, etc. Here spirits and souls are rather separate from God. Saints are just saints. Nationalists failed in attempt to create a systematic theology in terms of Shintoism on the basis of the classics.

I asked about the quality of Japanese thought. The Japanese have quick minds but are never persistent enough to create a unified theory like Aristotle. Hence no proper science. The Japanese are mainly "foxes" - including Fukuzawa. The "hedgehog" is a rare species in Japan (eg. Subaru).

I asked whether the Japanese are religious and was told that many Japanese are conscientious and quite superstitious, but not religious.

I asked about shamanism. They said formal shamanism was quite marginal. In the late C4, Queen Himiko was a shaman. No one on this train [on journey to Nikko] would have been to a shaman. In some TV programmes or in yellow pages there were references to shaman - speaking in tongues, talking to dead relatives, etc. There are fortune-tellers. Young people queue up to ask for things. Lost things.

I asked if there is much interest in astrology? No - well, yes. In comic magazines there is a section on astrology. Some yellow newspapers may have - tabloids. Yuri likes astrology - just like water - fascinating - hobby. Some distinguish on the basis of blood types. All Japanese slightly superstitious. Their loyalty to the Emperor is the same slight, marginal one. In critical moments its important. The English Royal Family are much more active and influential than the Emperor. People pay little attention to the Emperor.

I put forward my view on the functions of Shintoism, Confucianism & Buddhism. Kenichi agreed with Alan's view on the limited role of each. Buddhism is used at death, only for one day. Shintoism at the New year - the Japanese are pious Shintoists for one day and neo-Confucianists all the time. There is very small number of shrines for Confucian saints. In some High Schools they learn some of the Chinese Confucian classics but they don't think of them as religious, only as classics, similar to the Genji. They think of them as rather pompous and boring, but necessary since it's easier to get a high mark on Confucianism in the entrance exams. Some parts of Confucianism are absorbed into family life - ethics, etiquette, greetings, etc.

We discussed education and Confucianism. In the late Edo period there was educational fever among the merchants, peasants and Samurai. If it had been Confucian, then it ought to have been Samurai alone, but in fact it affected all groups, thus the origins were elsewhere. Confucianism was quite anti-commercial. In central China where Confucianism strong, capitalism did not appear. It only on the margins. Hence "Confucian capitalism" is a typical fallacy. (There is a review of Bellah by Maruyama which is quite good - learn something about Parsons and Weber from it).

I asked if there was widespread ritual. In school - 10 minutes of ritual, though this appears to be instruction concerning the allocation of duties, formal behaviour, etc. We saw a tiny bit of ritual in Kamakura where a fishmonger was doing a little rite. The boundary of formalised custom and ritual is not clear. "Here there is no other world and so I cannot imagine another world fused together by human behaviour" (the basis of ritual). Asked if it is ritual when you buy a plate - try to persuade the gods to pay - no fusion of this world. Just hope that something good will happen - no automatic button to press. "We would think it arrogant if God could be forced". He disliked Emperor Go-Daigo for this reason. He tried to put pressure on God. He tried to use magic - he prayed for 21 days to kill the Shogun. Sacrificed himself in special hardship. Self-sacrifice is a way to force God: "My mother loved tea. If she gave up drinking it (self-sacrifice), then forced God". Systematised self-sacrifice quite common in Japan. One might go to shrine 1000 times, then desires might be fulfilled. Only the Emperor can press an automatic button because he is God - magical power.

I asked about God. For the Japanese, God is not far away - not outside, half inside. You, by your own training can become god-like. You become highly respected, but you have no supernatural power - very reserved, limited. "We lacked the process of the concentration into one God. Until the Heian period everything (ponds, trees, etc.) filled with God - 'kami'.

We briefly discussed abortion and miscarriage. It costs 10,000Y for a tablet for an aborted baby - prayers said for it in shrine. On tablet were family and personal names and the tablets were displayed for the soul of the lost infant.

I was curious about the a Shinto shrine with a Buddhist temple within in. In the Buddhist temple, in one corner, was a Shinto shrine. In another temple there was a Shinto priest with Buddhist gong, selling soap. Similar mixture in companies - selling, guiding, teaching - all in the same way. The same young priest was also trying to sell beans. The purchasers would be shown a special part of the temple. Kenichi was amazed at the brazen entrepreneurial activity.

Absolutism. Ieyasu and his Chinese-style shrines are the nearest the Japanese ever came to absolutism. Because of the Daiyuin and Toshogu, many Westerners have mistakenly thought that China and Japan were very similar.

Tokugawa Ieyasu: "Human life is just short walk with a heavy burden to a far destination. Don't hurry".

Kenichi's reaction to the Nikko shrines was that they were too decorative, too heavy, not Japanese - makes one tired and oppressed the senses.

We discussed concubines. Until the Heian period, in aristocratic circles, husbands visited wives. They lived separately. From C8 men wrote poems to one wife, but also had concubines. Samurai also had lots of concubines. Their status was different to that of wives. Their children do not inherit, but might be adopted if the husband and wife had no children. Few references to divorce in early literature. Concubinage was a sign of status. Concubines live separately.

We talked about contraception and children. There is still abortion on a widespread scale. The pill is still not widely used. One of the factors is that it is in the interest of doctors and medical companies. People use condoms, coil, rhythm method - "People are quite skilful". "We think that taking medicine destroys the natural balance of the body". "We don't really mind about having further children" - easy going - "We don't really think of not having children" - "Will of heaven" - fatalistic attitude. One gets pregnant first and then thinks what one's going to do about it later - post- facto contraception. No permission by husband is needed to get contraceptives. Very few people have vasectomies or are sterilised.

I asked what the economic obligations outside the family were. We would take brother's children if the brother and wife died. Only a few relatives are important. In general, uncles, aunts and cousins not important. They might just hear if they died. If they lived nearby then there would be some relationship, if not, then nothing. One would only go to the funeral of an uncle or aunt if one had known them well, not all. Same with cousins. If one was very close, one would go to their funerals. Kenichi recounted how upset his father and mother were to be visited suddenly by distant cousins. They had to be found a place to stay. They had come from Osaka "to let us share a glorious moment" - their daughter had got a university place. The only communication until then had been a card at New Year.

I asked to whom Kenichi and Toshiko sent New Year's greeting cards. They send about 200 greeting's cards. 500 is large, 200-300 is normal. They send about 150 to friends. Kenichi sends none to non-Hokkudai colleagues (this is rather unusual). They send about 15 "to our teachers". Send to relatives but not parents or siblings. Toshiko sends them to her mother's sister and mother's two brothers. Number rather reduced when they went to Oxford. Toshiko doesn't send them to uncles and aunts on her father's side as she doesn't know them well. Relations with cousins were quite close when they lived in Tokyo, but less so when they moved to Sapporo. Closer to cousins on her mother's side but not on father's. Kenichi had close ties with his mother's brother and sister and they were kind to them during the early years of their marriage when they were not supported by Kenichi's parents. He is close to their children, so sends cards to cousins on this side. There is a tendency to matrilineal bias. "The family is mother's property. Officially it is father's, but in fact mother's". Kenichi said he hadn't seen his father's brother for 25 years - probably won't go to his funeral unless his father specifically wanted him too - "We will send money"

I asked about cousin marriage. Cousins allowed to marry - both patrilineal and parallel. Cousins are 4th relatives after parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles whom you can't marry. Preference for not marrying first cousins because of genetic effects. Otherwise no distinction on mother's or father's side.

We discussed marriage. Fewer and fewer women marry in Japan. Japanese men are becoming increasingly unattractive for Japanese women. Women have high expectations of a husband - should be tall, high wages, good education. These three conditions can't often be filled so women don't marry. Miserable life for an unmarried man. A sort of individualistic tendency. An alternative tendency is parental pressure on women. More and more young women continue to live with parents as life is so comfortable for them to stay at home. In Sapporo, at an Educational College, one sees mothers waiting for their daughters in their large cars at the end of the day. These daughters would have previously married, but are now living at home in luxury, as a sort of pet. This is a typical upper middle-class college for women. The daughters are protected from men at this stage so they can get better matches later.

Has there ever been slavery? In Yayoi period - C4 possibly, though a bit different from China. After the Nara period there is no slavery.

Marriage and relationships. Kenichi and Toshiko feel they are "strangers" to each other. Toshiko: "I am I and he is he". Kenichi: "We are separate". Both said they felt that the relationship to their

children is stronger than their relationship to each other. If a tidal wave came in they would rush to save the children. Ai is the most "decent" person. Kenichi: "Yuri is more interesting than Toshiko. She pays no attention to me (therefore she has to be wooed) whereas Toshiko is a kind of captive" - "Blood is thicker than water". Asked whom they would take to a desert island - "children of course" - "the wife is a stranger" "children is blood". Both Toshiko and Kenichi fully understood and sympathised with this view. "Our duty to children is much heavier than to spouse. They had no choice. We chose a spouse - voluntary - bond therefore much lighter. Kenichi: "The most impressive moment in my life was when Subaru was born" - "Throughout my life I have to do something for this small creature who has come as the result of my responsibility". There is an unlimited responsibility to a child but only a limited responsibility to Toshiko.

Parental responsibility. If Subaru had a special reason for being elsewhere, they would move. Toshiko: "We put the obligation of parents first" - "Subaru, Yuri and Ai are part of me in so far as they want to be". Kenichi: "They are a part of us". Toshiko demurred. When pregnant, she felt her baby would be a "stranger" - doesn't know whether she is exceptional but thinks it's probably uncommon. Kenichi thinks he is rather exceptional in his strength of feeling for his children.

We discussed Fukuzawa. Toshiko said he know about Britain. At first she thought Fukuzawa modelled himself on Britain. He borrowed the structure of thinking from Confucianism, but the inner, emotional dynamics are different.

We talked more about the husband-wife relationship. "When the children leave home we are liberated from our obligation", but retain a bond with each other. Toshiko of Kenichi: "He is a kind of colleague in the family. A co-worker. We share the hardship of bringing up the children". There is a feeling of "sympathy" which Adam Smith describes as existing between husband and wife. They thought Dick and Dorothy were "too close - sticky". They even went to the lavatory at the same time. "If I die, Toshiko will start again. She is Mrs Storry always". Japanese marriage is a matter of accumulated shared feeling and experiences. Children are not the elements needed to make marriage - they are accidents. "We are co-workers so we should find a good co-worker to face life with". Japanese feel they should not exaggerate the importance of the relationship between husband and wife. It is only one relationship among many. Toshiko: "If we hadn't had children it wouldn't matter". Kenichi: "I would be a bit lonely". "To have children is only part of our life. We have a sort of vision of the sort of society we would like to make. The children are just one part of this". [Japanese marriage is task-oriented, Western marriage, being-oriented].

We asked about their feelings of Japan now. All brakes have been removed - ideal capitalism left in command - a past-oriented society has changed to a present-oriented one. Japanese word for "crisis" ('kiki') combines two Chinese characters meaning "threat or danger" with "possibility of change". In Japan a very few people are working very hard, the rest are "resting". Industry distributes very well - most work hard and others pretend to work. Whereas in banks and civil service a tiny number work and gradually the number of irrelevant people increases.

We talked about ceremonies of death. On 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, 33rd, 37th, 50th, 100th year there should be ceremonies at grave (in practice subtract one year from all but the first). There are too many so many are skipped. One would go to grave if possible for 1st, 3rd, and 7th anniversaries. Toshiko's father's grave (he was cremated and ashes only there) is near Mount Fuji. Her mother took a lantern and lit it this year in July Bon. Supposedly the dead spirit comes down and is led back to the house from there. There is a 7th day anniversary, then various multiples - 2x7, 3x7, 4x7, 5x7, days are important, and 7x7 (49th day) is particularly important. Usually, the last anniversary that people celebrate is the 33rd. By then, most people who knew the deceased are dead.

15th August 1993

Slept late. Didn't get up until 8.45am. and had a leisurely breakfast - possible only without the children here. Our last couple of days without them have been very intensive, not only from the looking but also from the learning point of view. Our voices have been overworked but it's been thoroughly stimulating. Today is the anniversary of the surrender in 1945 but it's also the Sunday in Bon, so is a day for families to meet. Toshiko's sister-in-law and her daughter arrived about midday, but before this her mother had given me a choice of Japanese shoes ('geta'). All were lacquered except one which was an ordinary pair made of paulownia

wood. I chose them. She also gave me a folder for keeping papers for doing the tea ceremony with, and a fork for the cake. Then, to our embarrassment, Toshiko's sister-in-law gave Alan stamps to commemorate the wedding of the Crown Prince and gave me a handkerchief and fan which were quite beautiful. She is a much more typical Japanese wife than either Toshiko or Humiko, and donned her apron at once and started to prepare food.

Toshiko got out her 'koto' which is stored in the 'tokonoma' and started to tune it by inserting little mounts under each string so that each was correctly tuned - a variant on violin pegs. She then played a tune that I know from a record of 'koto' music that I once had, about cherry blossoms. Although she has not played for twenty years, and Kenichi has never heard her play, she managed pretty well, and even ended by singing a little in the Japanese traditional style - half-way between Gurung singing and ours. I had worries in the back of my mind that I still needed to pack our large case to send it ahead, so wasn't quite in the contemplative mood to really absorb it. Did pack in time to get it to the shop before the dead-line. Very heavy with books, so glad we didn't decide to keep it.

Had lunch of cold noodles and then a number of special little dishes appeared from time to time. In the morning, Toshiko's mother had cooked special rice in the old style, steaming it in a sieve above boiling water with red beans in it to give it a pinkish colour. The rice was then put in a round cypress-wood box ('handai'), bound with copper rings. This absorbs the excess moisture but also keeps the rice warm.

The girls, apart from Subaru, came back about 4.00pm. They'd travelled by train with their cousins and very full of beans. The rest - Humiko, her husband, Toshiko's brother and Subaru - came about an hour later. As soon as the children arrived, they went to their grandfather's shrine and lit incense. Noticed that special cookies were first given to the shrine. At one point, Toshiko left the table and lit a joss stick and prayed for a few minutes. In the meantime, Toshiko's mother had gathered items together for a barbecue in the garden. She heated the charcoal in a saucepan with a perforated bottom over the gas stove so that the charcoal lit without needing paraffin or firelighter. Piles of skewered chicken lay all over the kitchen table with vegetables to be cooked. Though humid and cloudy with rain threatening, cooking started and we moved into the garden, despite the mosquitoes, and had a very pleasant evening.

When the children came out, some stayed and we had a "seminar". Alan tested opinions on such things as levels of crime, optimism or pessimism about the future, etc. Then they asked us questions. The ten-year old daughter of Toshiko's brother, Tomako, asked us our impressions of UNICEF as she had recently been told about giving money for children in other countries. Kenichi reminded us that Japan has no OXFAM. No culture of giving to charities, so this is a new development which he welcomes. We were also asked about Western attitudes to Japanese killing of whales. Alan tried to explain our objections on the basis of ranking of animals into intelligent and less intelligent, but they were not satisfied with this explanation. It transpired that none of them wanted to kill whales, but they objected to Western insistence that Japan should comply, and the racist tone of some of the rhetoric against them.

Interesting to see how the children's views were listened to seriously. Subaru seemed to be making sage-like remarks which did seem to be pertinent when Kenichi translated them. Noted earlier that the children played together in a very relaxed way. Ayako put her hand on her 15 year old cousin's leg. An action that no English teenagers would dream of doing. Apparently, sexual activity doesn't begin until about 20 - much older than in England. Also, sexuality as such is much less important. Ayako had dyed her hair recently and caused her mother and grandmother to be angry but she protested that it hadn't been her idea, but her hairdresser had suggested it. The experience was not pleasurable to her. She angered her family. Her friends mistook her for a boy who had dyed his hair similarly, whom she didn't like, and after two months she dyed it black again. The tale of the hair rumbled on to the great amusement of everyone, throughout the day.

After a prolonged supper, we came into the house again and were shown a Japanese game where one had to recognise the second part of one of a hundred 'waka' poems written up to the thirteenth century, which any well-educated Japanese child should know. Toshiko's mother read the start of the verse and cards with the next lines were spread over the floor. Players picked them up when they saw a match. Lastly, we all played a sort of snap using the same cards. Before they left, Humiko's sons lit incense for their grandfather's shrine. Others had done so throughout the day. Even Humiko's husband had done so though he is not a member of the family. So ended

our last day with Toshiko's mother. We have learnt an enormous amount and enjoyed the experience of living within a Japanese family immensely.



Alan wearing 'yakuta' looking out onto the garden from our room



Toshiko giving offerings to her father's shrine



Kenichi and Alan sitting round the 'hori kotatsu'



Geta



Mrs Kashiwagi cooking special rice



Toshiko playing the 'koto'



Ancestor posts to direct ancestors to the Bon celebration



Toshiko cooking barbequed chicken, Alan taking notes



Family group in garden with Alan

NOTES

I asked where the spirit of the dead person had gone. Mrs Kashiwagi didn't know. She asked the priest who answered, "He exists wherever you pray" (the implication being that he will no longer exist when she forgets him or dies, thus the spirit has no separate existence). She felt when she led the spirit home that he was actually coming. She felt the spirit must be at Mount Fuji. She felt uneasy. She believes that as her husband, he protects her and the house. After 33 years, the spirits go to heaven. The floating spirits are only for protecting people, no possibility that they will punish people. Her father "does some part-time jobs for her" (ie. her father's spirit still has some influence). There is an idea that the spirits are always there and watching. "The ancestors' floating spirits are hiding behind grasses and ready to protect you". If she didn't have a shrine for her husband, his spirit would be free from the duty to protect her. This may be a sales gimmick of ancestor shrine salesmen who give out rumours that you might be punished if you don't have a good one. She stressed that this was not an "ancestor" shrine but a "husband" shrine. It's for a particular person, not a general category of ancestors. She thinks of ancestors as those whom she had known personally - to her grandfather. A grave is for "general ancestors".

Parents are protective spirits though Toshiko doesn't believe that her father's spirit is protecting her. Spirits of close relatives are important. Buddhist monks now sell names for the dead - if you pay more, you get more precious characters. [These are put on a stone tablet which stands in the ancestor shrine]. Other names are put in the shrine on wooden markers. In Mrs Kashiwagi's shrine there are markers for her father and father's two brothers. There were four blank markers as well. She doesn't believe that their spirits are here since "it must be the first son's job" to look after them. Off the record, she said that she kept her husband's parents' markers reluctantly. In an earthquake, people should take the tablets (at the risk of their own life) before escaping, but she frankly felt it is doubtful that it is of any value. It's just a tablet. She'd didn't really believe in the Buddhist rites. Survival is much more important and therefore she would advocate just running out of the house.

Only on a particular day did her husband's parents' spirits have any meaning for her - on their birthday. She obviously did feel that her husband was there as she showed Alan's name card to the shrine. She feels that perhaps his spirit is still there. She said that her grandmother used to pray before her husband's shrine for a long time each day and to his spirit. Shrines like this would also be bought for a wife if she died first.

We talked of burials and ancestor shrines. Second and third sons are often buried in a separate graveyard, away from the stem ancestor. Kenichi will have to buy a grave for his father - a second son - because Kenichi's mother would not like to be buried in the family grave.

Always in the case of remarriage, the shrine to the first partner will be kept by the widow or widower. So a woman may find herself living with a shrine to her husband's first wife.

Toshiko's mother said she would not like to be buried in the grave of her husband's father, mixed up with people she does not know. Selling grave plots is now a very lucrative business.

Toshiko's great-grandparents had two daughters (Toshiko's grandmother was the younger) and a son. The daughters went out to marry. Their only son died, so they had no heir. They adopted the son of their elder daughter. This son also died, so there was no one to look after their grave. Toshiko's grandmother took over the care of the grave, but she died three years ago. Now no one looks after it. However, they can't destroy it so it remains in a state of suspension. Toshiko's mother and other relatives feel some responsibility for it but it's a long way away.

I asked why there was a custom of adopting a married couple. Toshiko's mother said that she doesn't really know the reason, but there are some examples of this, even today. If a child is adopted at very young age then the bond can be formed, but if one adopts an adult then it's more difficult to form a bond. It's difficult to become a parent and a parent-in-law in a short time, so by adoption of a partner for the adopted, one doubles the strength of the bond. In the recent Civil Code, if a son is adopted, his bride must be adopted too, even if they were engaged at adoption. Thus one has to do joint adoption. There are a number of cases where only the name of a person is adopted, but the adoptee doesn't live with the adopters. Thus an adoption of rights.

An only daughter who marries out might put have a shrine for her own relatives as she would be the only person to respect them. People adopt in order to keep the shrine going.

I asked more about adoption. Previously, in the Meiji Civil Code, through the contract of adoption the child would have the status of a legal son or daughter. You can adopt a person of any nationality and that person can become a Japanese citizen. The contract of adoption is just a matter of registration. The conditions are:

1. Both parties have a will to adopt. (It would be illegal to adopt a girl to make her a prostitute against her will).
2. Adoptive parents should be adult.
3. If a person is over 15 years then they can express themselves, if under 15 their guardian can do so. If a person is under 15 the permission of the Family Court must be given.
4. You cannot adopt a person older than yourself. Neither can you adopt your direct related ancestors - your mother, father, etc. You can adopt your brother or sister (if younger) and this does happen.
5. If you adopt a married man or woman you have to adopt his or her spouse as well.
6. Both parents have to adopt at the same time. Not possible for one parent alone to adopt. Just after the date of the contract, the adopted child has the legal status of a blood child and would be treated in exactly the same way.

I asked about concepts of property. There is a distinction made in Japanese law between movable (house) and immovable (land) property. It is possible to separate the house from the land and sell or buy one or the other. Common to sell the right to build upon the land - "above the land rights" - as a way of getting money. Roughly, these are sold at 50-70 percent of the land value. After thirty years - very elaborate rules on how this should be assessed - who is protected, the house owner or land owner. About one tenth of the Civil code is devoted to this - a vast topic - different from French law. There is a right of the house-owner to extend the contract after 30 years but the landowner has the right to raise the rent also. Vast amount of litigation about this. Also possible to have a lease of part or whole. Impossible, though, to own the house and lease away the land though possible to lease the land on which your house stands from the owner. Many foreigners find this difficult. Its related to the fact that a Japanese house is movable - its seen as a temporary, surface feature - impermanent, made of wood, etc. People sticking to possession of land - creates a market in things above the land - develop a synthesis of marketing and stability of possession. Fishing rights dealt with similarly. A stranger could come in, paying money for a right above the land, without effecting the stability of the community. (cf. Maine on fragmentation of rights).

Use in Japan created rights - very important part of the land law, full of specialists on this subject.

We talked about the traditional musical instrument, the koto. Both men and women play - came from China in the early Nara period. Developed some differences, including the repertoire. The music called 'Gagaku' - ancient Chinese temple music introduced into Japan around 600 A.D. At the end of the Muromachi a Buddhist priest composed some music for the 'koto'. His teaching developed into a school in C17 - foundations of modern 'koto' - further schools end of C18 - Yamada, etc. Often the best 'koto' players are blind.

Heian aristocracy noted playing 'koto' (or 'biwa') as one of the necessary accomplishments, along with 'waka' and Chinese poems. No magic or ritual associated with it. 'Koto' playing became very widespread throughout the population during the Edo period.

We talked about numbers. Toshiko said "We prefer odd numbers". 'Koto' can have more strings (than Toshiko's), but always an odd number. Numbers 5 and 7 thought good. With gifts, give an odd number.

We talked about the modern fashion of dyeing hair. Ayako had dyed her hair. Mother angry with her and said ancestors would weep. Gave up after two months - she decided it was not very nice. She is music student at University. Her mother is a music teacher at her old school, and was particularly upset that her daughter's action would affect the junior students.

We discussed blindness. There was a guild ('za') of blind people from the Nara period. They were involved in massaging, acupuncture, and some Chinese medicine, and as musicians and singers. From the Muromachi, the right to collect certain taxes at weddings, funerals, etc. was given to this group so it became very rich. The top persons became money-lenders. They were protected by the Shoguns. After the Meiji restoration, this organisation was destroyed. The taxes they collected were not only from the common people but from the aristocracy and Samurai as well. No similar counterpart to the

blind person's guild with any other handicaps. In every large town there was a branch of this guild. (Kenichi found this information in an encyclopaedia. It surprised him.)

We discussed culture and food. In Japan, the cultural elements were more important than food itself. The display is more important than the food (as in our meal in Kamakura). The food is often simple. When the light is off, Japanese food has nothing special about it. This is the reverse of Indian food.

I asked about ritual cursing. One can curse to abuse someone, but not in the deeper sense. There is a word, but it has no mystical overtones. Children have no sense of cursing. No father's curse or mother's curse. No direct curses. One can pray to God to kill the enemy. Toshiko's mother knew of no cursing. No automatically dangerous curse in Japan. Sense of betrayal, heresy, ex-communication is not understandable. Cannot understand ex-communication by the Papacy. Since there is no one true faith there can be no heresy. Disobedience is the worst case.

I asked about betrayal and loyalty. Real betrayal between master and servant - worst case, when servant did his duty and the master didn't respond properly. The servant tried to teach the master thus the relationship reversed. In this case the servant committed suicide. If an inferior killed a superior, the punishment was worse. If a servant killed his master he would become the master, and the punishment more severe. In England, if the master behaved in an un-masterly way the servant could leave. In Japan, the servant has the final duty to teach his master, then to die. Very typical of Samurai - embarrassing to master, but servant deserves to die.

We discussed prophecy. Japan inspired by prophesies of Nostradamus. Appropriate for a nation living on the top of a volcano, but there is a belief that if you are good enough you will be able to avoid the end of the world.

We talked of the tradition of killing petitioners. Even if the petition was just, the petitioner was killed - an Edo tradition. They try to judge properly, but revolt is revolt and the leader is punished to discourage revolt. They prefer stability and order, justice comes second, as with the 47 Ronin. Although they were right in their protest, they were ordered to commit suicide. To commit suicide here is the perfect ending. "Even for us now it is difficult to understand".

We noted the work pattern of Toshiko's brother. Goes to work at 6.30am., back by 7.00pm. Used to be 10pm. He used to work over 2000 hours a year, now it's been decreased. This is due to a combination of recession and American pressure. He said he would like to retire and concentrate on his hobby - electronics.

What is a typical Japanese? Toshiko had described her brother as typically Japanese. His wife is very obedient and respects her husband. The husband works hard. He doesn't talk much. It was an arranged marriage. The wife manages all the household money. She decided which schools the children should go to. They live in the house where she was born. Wife had a part-time job as a music teacher in a college of art. When the children are older she would like to do more of this.

The secret economy of pachinko. Officially the prizes are only chocolates and souvenirs, but in practice one can get money by selling the prizes.

We discussed crime and why it was infrequent in Japan. "My view is that all members of the middle-class are detectives". In Japan the police are secretive, as are hospitals and tax offices, etc. Humiko said that "If you have a criminal in your family, the whole family is disgraced - unable to marry, get a job. The sister of a murderer would be in a terrible position if anyone heard about it. This is a deterrent". There is lots of shoplifting but it's not usually prosecuted, just an informal criminal record. Toshiko: "We like to restrain ourselves and not stray away from the centre". Education reinforces this by stressing that one should not get out of line. There is fear of/for relatives, rather than a fear of sanctions. General deterrence are not effective, but mediated through human relations - school teachers, relatives, etc. are effective. The police depend on this.

We discussed civil litigation, e.g. boundary disputes with neighbours. There was a case in this family. Toshiko's mother tried to negotiate first - they asked a lawyer friend. Neighbours refused to compromise so they went to court. The case took ten years, the loser (the neighbour) paying the costs. The lawyer earned about a million yen ten years ago. Now it would cost about five million yen. All very unpleasant. Later the lawyer heard from the highest court where it had been appealed. The High Court judge said that such a trivial matter should not have been appealed there.

The absence of lawyers is important. There would be twice as many cases probably if there were more lawyers and if they were cheaper. Lawyer's fees are very high. Neither Humiko nor her husband

(as architects) are involved in litigation, nor have they undertaken any. Her husband thought mediation preferable - reciprocity.

Toshiko's mother said that in the last five years there have been very few cases of theft. She has lived here 25 years and had two very minor burglaries. Otherwise, she only knows of one other in the next house. Masako (Toshiko's sister-in-law) said they had lived for 20 years in their house and been burgled once 15 years ago. This year, in the Spring, two houses near were burgled, otherwise know of no other cases.

We talked about children. Children in England and Japan are not different, but the schools are. Ayako was at a special Arts High School where the atmosphere was free, but in general schools try to mould them and distort them. They believed that if the end result was the same, the strict system in Japan is unnecessary - leads to uniformity, conformity, stylisation - the same mould of student. The system in Japan was better for the average and less average student, but not for the bright child. Subaru: Children in England respect their teachers more than in Japan. Qualifications of teachers have dropped relative to other professions in Japan, hence parents often better qualified than the teachers.

We discussed divorce. Humiko thought that husbands and wives must have the same objects in life. Divorce made the father into a non-relative (children stay with mothers, on the whole) yet the children would be of his blood line and would have strong feelings. Divorce thus very destructive.

We talked about the parent-child relationship. Mrs Kashiwagi: " Parent-child relationship is just for this world. Husband-wife relationship for this and the next world - children will go away" - to warn parents that they cannot keep children. The old pre-war Constitution included an obligation to look after parents. Now the obligation is merely to be "friendly" otherwise nothing. Architects now often asked to plan house divisions for aged parents.

We asked about the threat of the yakuza. Humiko's husband was the only one of the group who thought the Yakuza threat was increasing. He said they make legal companies and become lawyers and politicians. This tendency is increasing. The companies have names like "Stogie". These are old names - they are general purpose companies and deal with all sorts of things. They used not to beat or threaten ordinary people, now they do. A "violent group" law was enacted last year, but one year is too short a time to have much effect. They organise fair tents and they travel all over Japan, with centre in company's office. Even the bosses of many large companies in Japan can become Yakuza, though not the very biggest or most traditional companies such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sony, etc. But the Recruit scandal revealed that they and Saguwa had been taken over by them. Local level politicians are often associated. In Chiba Prefecture "Hamako" (nick-name) is a Yakuza and a local politician. At this election he didn't stand, but his son did.

We observed a card game the children were playing. "Hyakunin Ishu" - 100 poems - which involves remembering 100 poems, or 'waka' from early Japanese classical literature (pre 1300). One has to recognise the pattern of a poem. First part is read out and one has to find the next part of the same poem on one of many cards laid out. On the reverse side is picture of the poet. One need a combination of classical knowledge and speed of thought. An example:

The whole sky If you look
back at it

There is a moon, at
the edge of it
That is rising
At Mount Mikasa

We noticed that 21/100 top poets were women. The top three literary figures in the Heian period were women - novelists, essayists, etc.

We discussed the concept of volunteering. In Japan a volunteer is a paid worker - no word for voluntary, doing something for charity. In Japan, volunteer means "with good will" or "part time".

We talked about age. Toshiko's mother (in her late 70s or early 80s) is quite independent. Her generation survived the war and rebuilt modern Japan. She doesn't trust her daughters and grandchildren. She is much more able to manage and plan than her children. That generation, Kenichi said, had a very long life. This year, life expectancy for men had remained static at 76 but women's life expectancy still rising - now 82. They experienced huge changes in the Meiji period. It

was a very special generation. The next generation are the baby-boomers. Toshiko's mother judged that on the whole, the post-war changes were good. She understood the value of democracy and liberalism. The next generation, however, take these things for granted. In the post-war period it was women who were the catalyst for change.

We talked about Pearl Harbour. The majority feel the attack on Pearl Harbour was an attempt to break out of a ring. No moral responsibility to America, just a power game. The admirals admitted that the naval war was lost in 1943, but there was a mystical Samurai belief in superiority.

We talked about politics after the war. There was six years of internal revolution after the war. The trial of war criminals differed from the Nuremberg trials. Economic development would have happened anyway, but it would have occurred much more slowly without U.S. assistance.

There might be a trade zone in the future, but not a coalition with China. Japan will become the first trading partner. Relations are returning to normal. "It's a Kingdom here" - America, China are "sister republics".

16th August 1993

Back to Sapporo, but first Alan, Kenichi and I went to Tokyo University (Tokudai - Japanese use shortened form taking first part of Tokyo and combining it with 'dai' from university - similarly, Hokkudai). Met Prof. Watanabe. He is small, speaks English well and appears to have a very good, clear mind. Had a most stimulating talk with him, first on Confucianism and then on Japan's economic miracle.

Confucianism very different between Japan and China. Social structure so different. Confucianism had to be changed to fit Japan. Confucian rituals not introduced. Japan a very secular society. Founders of Tokugawa needed Confucianism - needed to be taught to govern but wanted a religion which was not superior to the rulers. "Tenshoku" - heaven's vocation - description of 'jon'. Everyone supposed to have role assigned by heaven or nature. Needed secular advice on how to manage family business - these taught in form of family ethics. Confucianism most suitable for this.

Sarah's notes: Kyokun - Miscellaneous Book for Lessons. Way of teaching good behaviour eg. not to drink, or womanise, to work hard, etc. Much read. Confucianism - no other world or afterlife. You have to live here and make the best of it. Encouraged not to lend money to Daimyo as they probably won't repay, therefore household will suffer. Filial piety - to do your own family business well. To live life well have to be filial to ancestors and loyal to your descendants.

Sarah's notes: Daimyo schools for Samurai, for training in bureaucracy as well as soldiering. Shown plan of pre-Meiji school. There are four buildings. For archery, swordsmanship, spearmanship, etc. and for bureaucracy and literature.

Sarah's notes: Chinese Confucianism: "Mandate of Heaven". 'Ten' = heaven - can be translated as "nature". Human, civilised - ruler supposed to be the most civilised and to be a model, thus leader called "son of heaven". 'Kakume' = revolution - change of mandate when one group fell and another took over. Translated to Japan, Samurai's most important job was to fight for his Daimyo, not to defend the people. In the Chinese system, if the "son of Heaven" was a tyrant and was working against the people, he could be overthrown. 'Tennoo' - not working for the people. The Emperor was the real "son of Heaven", the Shogun, the adopted son - the latter could be overthrown. Japan had no examination system - governed by warrior class. Prof. Watanabe agreed that it cannot be called a Confucian society.

He took us to lunch where he hardly ate anything as he was answering Alan's questions most of the time. Sad to have to end our discussion but had to get to Hanada Airport to catch the Sapporo plane. Now in the air, just approaching Chitose. Left drizzle in Tokyo, but sun shining here.



Waterway viewed from train

.CONVERSATION WITH PROFESSOR WATANABE

We mainly talked about Confucianism, on which he was a leading expert. The Tokugawa period was different. During C17 Confucianism was gradually accepted by the richer merchants, peasant farmers and Samurai. But in order to accept foreign doctrines they had to be changed because of the differences in social structure and culture of Japan. The differences between China and Japan were so vast that they had to adapt it. The doctrines were changed. Confucianism includes rituals and directions on how to conduct ceremonies. The rituals were not introduced. A few fundamentalists tried to do so but they were rather exceptional and were often criticised.

The Samurai, rich merchants and farmers needed Confucianism to justify their activities. The Tokugawa Shogunate was a secular power and did not recognise any religion which asserted superiority. The Samurai during the long, peaceful period needed a new identity and role specification, and advice on how to govern people in a peaceful time. Thus Confucianism was useful for the Samurai. Some rich merchants and farmers likes Confucianism because all jobs/trades done by families and the families existed to provide a structure and organisation. 'Tenshoku' - "heaven's vocation" description used of a job. Everyone supposed to have one. In order to fulfil their calling they wanted secular advice on how to manage their business. They needed management skills. These were taught in a form of family ethics. Confucianism had the best things to offer, the best advice on family ethics.

Japanized Confucianism was useful for those who wanted to make their business prosper. There is a large literature published on this, eg. "Important things. How to do business" (1810), with pictures. The earliest ones were from C17. Also simpler ones for children, and moral texts, for example, on the dangers of drink and the value of hard work. Re-investment was not easy at that time; frugality stressed; abstaining from lending money to feudal lords; with rice - be watchful of the weather, etc. Typical Confucian themes: loyalty, filial piety, sincerity. Meaning of filial piety was very different from that in China, because of adoption. Filial piety really meant loyalty to one's household/business.

Many opinions about the relation of Confucianism and money making, including those of Ronald Dore. He didn't agree with the link. Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia had all be successful without Confucianism. The only real correlation seems to be that Catholicism is disastrous (Philippines)

Not necessarily true that Confucianism was anti-moneymaking. Very secular thought - no after-life. It is acceptable that one lives in a proper way. Being rich is not necessarily bad (neutral). In

Confucianism, some parts were favourable, some anti-moneymaking, like Christianity. You can use parts of it to suit your own purposes. The anti-merchant element of Confucianism was ignored by Japanese merchants because being filial to your ancestors was to do your own family business industriously and systematically, and to live a life of loyalty to them.

Being loyal to one's lord meant being a warrior in wartime, a bureaucrat in peace-time. From late C18 local lords built institutions (domain schools) to train Samurai to be bureaucrats. "School for Literature and Military Progress". Textbooks on filial piety mixed with Western gunnery (cf. similar to English Public Schools). Aim to combine bureaucrat and warrior. Standing (or sitting) army and bureaucracy rolled into one. There was no enemy to fight. True that loyalty was emphasised among the Samurai. "To serve"- Chinese word 'ten', better translated as nature rather than heaven.

Civilisation is the basis of the difference between humans and animals. Nature ordered us to be civilised. We are living in nature and with the help of nature, in harmony with nature. But some people act in an uncivilised way so we need a model or a leader to show us how a civilised life should be led. That is the ruler. The ruler should be the most civilised person in the world, the most virtuous person, who is respected by the people. It's only natural to respect this person. He is called "the son of heaven". All virtuous people are supposed to follow this most virtuous person - the representation of heaven's will. When people follow such a virtuous person it is the will of both man and nature. Every dynasty was legitimised as "the son of heaven". As long as subjects followed him, he had the mandate of heaven. When subjects do not follow him, heaven's mandate is withdrawn from him. This is a crucial part of Confucian political theory.

In Japan, who was the son of heaven? Also, is it ethically correct to justify regicide for the benefit of the people as Confucianism implied. In the warrior's ethic the most important thing was to fight for the lord, not for the people. The theory of change of the "mandate of heaven" was mostly rejected. The virtue of benevolence was related to this. The ruler governs the people for the benefit of the people, it's a mission assigned by heaven. Thus if a ruler becomes a tyrant he can be overthrown. Every Chinese dynasty could not deny this right. However, the Japanese 'Tenno' (Emperor) was the only 'Tenno' - not legitimised by the "mandate of heaven" - they were the real sons of heaven. The logic of the virtue of benevolence was hard to accept in some senses here as one had to recourse against it. The relation of 'Tenno' and Shogun was also problematic. The Emperor was the real son of heaven, the Shogun an adopted son.

Japan didn't have Civil Examination system. It was governed by an hereditary warrior class. Japanized doctrines. "You cannot call it a Confucian society".

Some aspects of Confucianism worked very well for appreciating Western values, eg. 'koh' public realm. To do business in a way in accordance to the public good. Eg. Parliament thought it a good idea to institutionalise Confucian values. "Private virtue and public benefits". Much similarity between the republican tradition, virtue of citizenship to the republic - that is what nature assigns to you. You could find this. There were textbooks of natural theology which were very acceptable to Japanese intellectuals. Generalised altruism. During the Tokugawa period, everyone lived for their family, but people imagined society as a pile of family or corporation "pipes" which moved through time. Each had a past and future of variable length, and the present cut through all these pipes at a certain point in time. Each family business considered "heaven's (nature's) calling". If you worked hard you would benefit not only yourself and family but the whole of society. There was no contradiction. Even merchants and farmers are vassals of the lords. Thus believed that private and public benefit are supposed to coincide.

We then discussed other topics. The first was when I asked what were the central features necessary for economic development? Watanabe thought this would never have occurred however long in China and Japan. It would have been a miracle if it had done. Mathematics was quite well developed, but a performing art similar to flower arranging. Teacher - master mathematician. Questions were posted up on the entrances to shrines - performing art lead by hereditary leaders 'iemoto' - a family business - 'iemoto' in mathematics. All to do with puzzles and had no relationship to practical matters, no relationship to physics, it was just a matter of fun. "You had to make the meal, starting from scratch. We had a model".

After Meiji. Started again the traditions of competition, of rising up. Each family was very sensitive to its place in the society - more open competition - so to do their business even more frugally and systematically was the aim. In the 'Rescript of Education' (1892), the Emperor said be frugal, be

industrious, be filial to the ancestors, and then the country will prosper. All this helped economic development. The new situation was called 'jiyuu' - freedom. Hereditary system was denounced - emancipation or liberation. The "pipe" (see above) were very flexible. Now even second or third children could get a new family business, house, etc. Only one son could marry during the Tokugawa period - called 'yakkai' (burden) - other younger children studied Confucianism. They weren't servants to the eldest son. Now they could set up branch houses. At the top of the competitive system was the Emperor. This competition led to accelerated social change in Japan. In China there was a constant division of families. Some became bureaucrats, others other things - like a stream, rather than the solid "pipe" of Japan.

We discussed the social structure. Especially character of the ruling class. Didn't have a civil examination system, thus in Japan it was alright for Samurai to learn from the West - to learn from your enemy. The Chinese were proud of their civilisation. They admitted that barbarians sometimes were civilised, but the Chinese gentlemen were superior. In Japan, if a Samurai was defeated that was the end. The Tokugawa knew they couldn't win, hence the compromise with the West. New Government at Meiji restoration dedicated to greater centralisation, learning from the West, and politics according to public opinion. After conscription introduced, "every Japanese became a Samurai".

We discussed adoption. In Japan there was widespread adoption. "Blood relationship is not the most important thing in the Japanese family" - as long as you keep on doing the family business - "everyone existed for the family business". Family defined by its function. It could serve for the whole world, society. Eg. Pottery - keep going. The Function defined the family. In England free testation (wills) whereas this was very constrained in Japan. The term primogeniture doesn't cover the wider functions of the system in Japan which is really about succession as well. He wondered whether the 'ie' appeared first and generated primogeniture or the other way round.

In relation to succession, one person was the head of the family. The head can retire and pass on the role to the next - like a corporation. This couldn't happen in China. Retirement system. Sometimes a family disappears for 100 years, then someone might remember its illustrious past, and a Samurai would be ordered to rebuild the house and look after the family ancestor tablets. Called "the revival of a house". The new family might have no relationship with the old family in terms of blood, but it becomes the same. It takes over the ancestors of the old family and changes its name. Does the same job, etc. The house, in other words, is an invisible "pipe" that is cut. The house, the 'ie', is a bundle of rights, duties and obligations. "Ancestors are not a matter of blood relationships, but are the family". "Blood is not the cement of the family". The social function is the important thing.

We discussed the different social functions of parts of the society. The "pipe" image of society was made during the Tokugawa period. Each Samurai was assigned a role in the Government. The Samurai lived in cities and towns. At harvest-time, the village headman was sent a letter asking for a certain amount of rice. Each family then had to contribute a certain amount of rice. The lord had records (census twice a year) of what types of family there were in the village and what it produced. He would know when the family couldn't go on through lack of family members. However the land had to be cultivated and if there were no natural heirs, adoption was used so that cultivation could continue. Adoption suitable for rice cultivation and keeps the number of cultivators steady. If there are too many people, everyone becomes poor. Likewise, if there are too few, the burden falls on everyone. Being a farmer becomes a sort of right and obligation at the same time - 'hokshyo-kabu' = right/duty

'Kabu' Roots in a forest, stump of tree. If you cut down a tree, the tree grows again from the stump. Implication is that only a certain number of trees can be planted in a certain period. Also means stocks, shares. Thus stock holders. The Japanese village becomes a sort of company with shareholders, therefore it cannot afford to lose one element. (Cf. Burma - "Factory without chimneys"). All this gives an idea of greater continuity than there really is because people are adopted in. After the Tokugawa came to power there was a limiting of social mobility - the clue is the idea of share-holding. Was this new? Succession not inheritance is what happens.

Here the interview ended, and we had a further discussion with Kenichi and Toshiko. We talked about academic appointments. Kenichi said that he decided last month to adopt a man from Keio as his successor. His colleague said, "He is quite good but not your successor". "My successor may be decided communally". The Department is a 'mura'. The younger generation were

upset at his choice. The man is 33-34. People are putting pressure on him to have a new colleague in his field but he wanted someone from outside, not within. Trying to import new blood - from Keio.

Toshiko said, "I felt very equal until I graduated from University. Then we feel inequality when we want to get a job. Until then you can work hard and get high marks, you can do what you like. At this point, however, there is gender discrimination". During the Kamakura period, women's status was very high. They could work, hold property, take office - below the level of the Samurai. However, the ideology of the Samurai became the prevailing ideology. Fukuzawa was attacking this ideology (of male superiority). However, he knew that below the level of Samurai things were different. Toshiko hopes to use a set of letters at Ise showing the relationships of parents to children and grandchildren. These are early letters and they show a very warm relationship, in fact warmer than the present. "Children are a kind of treasure which are given from heaven". Equal warmth to both sons and daughters. The first son is the child that will succeed so they have to pay special attention to him.

I asked them about the honour and shame complex. This seems to be completely absent. Sexuality is not so important in Japan. Not much stressed in dress, etc. Example, a woman singer of pop songs went to America and told there to be more sexy. If a woman's honour is threatened there is no concept of male protection of it.

I asked about puberty rituals. Sometimes mothers cooked red rice (celebration rice, cooked with beans) for their daughters at first menstruation. Otherwise nothing.

I asked about the menopause. They don't think of life in stages but as a natural process. They think of menopause as very natural. Nothing in particular happens - not associated with breakdowns.

We discussed male-female relations. Girls are now becoming stronger and stronger and more positive, while boys are becoming weaker. In Junior High school, at the meeting to decide who would be class chairman, most of the members were girls. Girls have ideas of what should be done, boys are only concerned with working hard. Girls think they are superior and that the boys are fools.

The starting point for both Nikko and Kamakura is the geisha area of Tokyo. Used to take two or three days to walk to Nikko.

We had a discussion about the subject of Toshiko's Ph.D., Fukuzawa Yukichi. Toshiko previously thought that the Confucian and Japanese influences were the same. Fukuzawa criticised Confucian and Japanese thought from the viewpoint of the West. In fact, she has decided that the structure of his thinking is based on original Japanese ideas. His basic idea of human beings is very similar to the Japanese one. His ideas are based on his own understanding of the original classical thinkers. He believed that there must be the progress of reason and virtue in human societies. He criticised the situation of reason from Western thought, and the situation of virtue by Chinese classics, and thought that there is the potential for right reason and right virtue in the Japanese situation. His framework is based on Chinese classics - he is a Chinese classical thinker. The family becomes the core of Japan which is the base for the society, especially the relationship of parent-child, husband-wife - a model of human relationships for society. He thought that Western countries were more civilised than Japan, but could be improved on.

SAPPORO

17th August 1993

Woke latish and after household chores, like washing, went to the dept. Alan found a large box of books from Tuttle outside Kenichi's room, though not Kenichi. He appeared later and said the books from Kitazawa and our case were in an office downstairs. I spent much of the day looking at and listing the books. Odd to have such a quiet, orderly day after all our journeying. Kenichi admitted to being pretty tired. Toshiko came later in the afternoon and offered to take our case back, emptied of books. So, back to the routine we established in the first week here - the reading through a backlog of newspapers left in our absence, and our cup of 'saki' each night after a nearly alcohol-free week.

18th August 1993

Spent another day in the dept. Spent the morning on language and bought a better dictionary at lunchtime to help me. Don't expect to get enormously far, but am enjoying teasing out the structure. My new dictionary had the hiragana and kanji as well as roman Japanese, so I'm occasionally casting glances at that too. Started Brian Moeran's book based on his fieldwork diaries. Finding it most absorbing and evocative. He manages to get across the strong feeling for the place and people - disguised, though I think it's in Kyushu - but it's not a diary of introspection on his own feelings, and the narrative is extremely rich. Admire his long quoted pieces. Wonder if he used a tape-recorder or had just elaborated the gist of conversations into speech form. Its clarity appears to me to be a model of what good anthropology should be. Most enjoyable for us both to be able to immerse ourselves in this sort of work. Our day ended with Alan's usual curried something, sake, chocolate biscuit, newspapers, and reading again. Saw little of anyone except in the co-op. No Kenichi, no Toshiko, though I think I saw her car outside when we went out to get food. Only people we talked to were two South Korean meteorologists, here for a month like us.

19th August 1993

Much like yesterday, though we got to the dept. a little earlier. I worked on charting Japanese verbs to try to clarify conjugations. They are complicated by the fact that there are plain and polite forms of every one. However, it is pleasing to be able to spend time at it. Makes me realise how fragmented and busy we are at home. Concentration of this sort I only find possible when away from home.

Toshiko had left a note on our door when we arrived, and we met for lunch. Kenichi is head of the Department of International Relations, and reorganisation is making his life very difficult at present with almost continuous meetings. He didn't join us for lunch, nor did we see him. We had been talking about Fukuzawa and Earl Kinmonth's article suggesting that Fukuzawa was just a reactionary with regard to women. Toshiko defended him, saying he used a lot of irony, saying the opposite of what he really meant, and this makes it difficult. A non-Japanese, particularly an American, could well be unaware of this.

However, we quizzed her on some aspects of women's roles as her feminism seems to be at odds with her's and Kenichi's comments on children, and the fact that they wouldn't mind if they had another child. I would have thought that Toshiko, having just got her Ph.D., would now want to concentrate on making a career unhampered by another child, but she said that another one would make no difference.

Also, Japanese women see themselves as managers of the house, and as Prof. Watanabe said, the 'ie' is a business. Thus they feel the role of housewife is important and always have done. In the past it was a full-time job, now they have more time for themselves for personal development. Women after the war tried to compete with men and live like them. Toshiko's generation refuses to compete. They have chosen a different way as they dislike the structure that men have to work within. They feel that their personal development can spread into other, positive things like involvement with co-operative movements, environmental groups, and consumer groups. Thus they involve themselves in things that they feel will improve the quality of life. They would like to encourage men to work fewer hours and have extra time to spend with the family, or doing things within the community. Toshiko is really rather pleased about the rising Yen and the possibility that Japan will have to pull back into recession. If the economy is flourishing, all effort is spent on work. If not, perhaps people will find time to live a little. In the past a woman's life was as wife, mother, grandmother. Now it is wife, mother, for oneself, for self-development - both for enjoyment and improvement - then grandmother. Women can do this as in Japan a man can provide enough for a household without the wife working, and there is something of the same feeling of failure felt in the English middle-classes in the past, if women have to work.

Walked back through a small park which has become our route to the Co-op. Young people gather together, working at this time, but later in the day one often sees them with a portable 'hibachi' cooking a meal to eat together. An afternoon on Moeran's "Orubo Diary". Alan finished sifting through the periodicals and has prepared much xeroxing, but didn't ask me to do any today. Ice cream, then home. Found a note under the door apologising for the fridge, which is useless due to the freezer door on top not shutting and there being no way to

isolate it from the fridge below. Also hoping that the new kettle and the repair to the linoleum are satisfactory, and wishing us a happy time here. A charming note.

Have noticed that men are putting up scaffolding on the old office building below Alan's room in the dept. Have a rather strange feeling when I look at the workmen. They wear baggy trousers or jodhpur-like things, stuck into long black 'tabi' that come to just below the knee. The split toes make them look half-man, half-bird, but also remind me of photographs of Japanese soldiers during the second world war. A rather gloomy reminder of the other side of Japan.

20th August 1993

The only thing that spoils this flat (apart from the fridge not working), is the constant roar from the road. There is a rough garden with tall trees shielding us for some 50 yards, but the noise is endless. Even two layers of glass and curtains only diminish it a little. When we were here in 1990, there was a green field at the back. Now this has been built on and a nine storey block stands in front of us where the field once was with rows of similar blocks behind. The road to our right has been improved and widened, and traffic lights set at the end to cope with the increase in use. Toshiko said when we first arrived that they had tried to buy a flat in one of those blocks but so many people wanted them that the council had held a ballot, and they were unlucky.

Spent the morning again on Japanese - this time on numbers. The system most generally used is Chinese, and very like Gurung, so not too difficult. Toshiko came up before lunch with a xerox of an article on Fukuzawa, and I encouraged her to elaborate on the discussion we'd been having yesterday on women's roles. I asked her to chart her life since graduating. She became a civil servant at twenty-two in the Tokyo Municipal Government. This was by examination and she was "an upper-class servant" with a career structure, but in practice all she did was clerical work and serving tea. At twenty-five and a half she married and came to England. Subaru was born in Oxford when she was twenty-seven. Motherhood occupied her entirely until twenty-nine and a half when she took the exam to do a graduate course at Hokkudai. Her M.A. was completed at thirty-two and a half and Doctorate course ended at thirty-five and a half. At thirty-six she became a research assistant. Persons who show promise but have yet to finish their thesis are usually appointed as research assistants. This is done by recommendation and by submission of a short article, and is salaried work. She got her Ph.D. at forty and hoped to become an assistant professor at another college, but one of her mentor's has died and another is ineffectual so when this present extension as research assistant ends she may have no job. Thus, most of her adult life has been as wife and mother with M.A. and Ph.D. research.

She made the rather odd statement that she felt nurseries were the best places for children to be cared for, for the sake of both mothers and children, as the assistants were "experts". She and her friends would ask the assistants to advise them on problems they had with childrearing, and parents would talk with each other to pool expertise and worries. Seems very unlike England where parents are loath to admit they have any problems with their children, and think that parents are the best people to care for children. Toshiko said that this feeling is more pronounced now that many young parents live far from their own parents. Where once a daughter could rely on motherly advice, now there was no one to help. On work, she said that women chose to stay at home as work in a commercial concern was deemed stressful - intolerable was the word she used. On the prospect of having no academic job in future she said she'd be disappointed, but not "desperate". She talked about getting involved in politics, but then admitted she wouldn't do so as Kenichi wouldn't like it. He considers all politicians corrupt.

She confirmed what we had suspected from talking with Kenichi, that all university jobs in the National Universities at least, were filled by connections. Kenichi is trying to fill a couple of posts and he asked Prof. Watanabe to recommend one of his students. This he did, and Kenichi approached the man but he was not willing to come to Hokkaido. We learnt that during our meeting in Tokyo, Kenichi told Watanabe that this had not proved successful and Watanabe recommended another student, this time a woman. Kenichi is going to approach her. There is a strong link with Todai (Tokyo University). Many professors will come to Hokkaido, for instance, and then go back to Tokyo. Kenichi has been asked, but prefers to stay here, away from his parents and his "father in Nerima".

Finished Moeran's book this afternoon. Felt the melancholy ending as it echoes our own feelings at leaving Thak, but much worse for him as he got so much more involved in his village and for so much longer than us.

21st August 1993

Interesting to see how we adapt our eating habits when away from England. Here we drink coffee only when provided at a meal, or cold coffee from the machine, otherwise we drink Japanese tea. I have been looking at the guide for occupants of these flats for foreign scholars. We are in flat 304, on the third floor. It is the third most expensive, the cheapest being a single room at 170Y a day, and the most expensive, a family flat at 1,150Y per day. Ours costs 670Y per day (by this book. In fact the price has gone up slightly and is now 735Y per day, 21,951Y per month. £1 = c150Y). Very cheap by Japanese standards, and very comfortable with washing machine, dryer, good beds and storage space, comfortable chairs, good oven, etc.

As we are cooking a meal for the Nakamuras tomorrow night we had to go out and purchase food. In fact, we got what we could at the convenience shop round the corner to save us from having to carry too much. We walked along the slightly quieter street running parallel to the busy road in front of our house until we came to the main entrance to Hokudai, then came back through the University by our usual walk. Bought cakes and a few more vegetables on our way. There are occasional wooden shops with steeply sloping tin roofs with battens across to hold the snow but beside them are the tall concrete offices and flats that are fast replacing them.

Stopped to eat ice-cream from our favourite machine in front of the Co-op, then sat for a while on the grass in front of the old grey clapperboard building that was the original centre of the University, watching people. There was a group of young men and women rehearsing a play. Numbers of couples sitting together on the grass, and one couple lying together. A young man quietly strumming a guitar and singing Beatles' songs "soto voce" next to us. Behind us, the bust of Clarke, the founder where groups of people were endlessly photographing each other. Are they old boys returning to show their children or just tourists wanting to mark that they have been here, as though they are unsure of their identity unless they appear in a photograph? Stopped by a large lily pond and saw a couple of golden and one huge dark carp, almost invisible in the water. Then home.



Old Hokudai building

22nd August 1993

Have been thinking about our caravan replacement⁹. Realise that it would not be sensible to try to make a replica Japanese house, but could do something that takes aspects of their style and make something pleasant. Very dull day with a little rain. Alan cooked two curries in the afternoon - chicken and fish - to take to the Nakamuras for supper.

We took a short walk towards the north at the back of our flats. The land had been field in 1990. Now it is covered with what appears to be the largest and highest blocks of flats, three of them, that we can see. Seems strange, when Hokkaido is still so empty to have to begin building nine-storey blocks, but it may be that building beyond the present area would be more expensive in necessary transport and infrastructure. These flats were built by the city council for sale. Kenichi said that about half the residents are University people as it's so convenient for them. He and Toshiko have looked at a couple that have come up for sale recently. Toshiko liked one, but the children didn't want to move. Also, Kenichi's parents are thinking that if they move, this block would suit them, and as Kenichi implied, this would make life very difficult.

When Kenichi originally announced that he was to marry Toshiko, his mother tried to stop the marriage. She went to a fortune-teller cum witch who was prepared to do some sort of divination, but needed to know Toshiko's birthday. They had not met Toshiko or her parents, but found a likely number in the 'phone book, and Kenichi's father was made to telephone them in the middle of the night to ask for Toshiko's date of birth. Her parents didn't give it to him.

At the Nakamuras this evening, the other dinner guest was Toshiko's Ph.D. supervisor, Prof. Matzuzawa. He is an expert on Fukuzawa. We started by talking about the Ainu, and Alan mentioned how strange it was that there is no reference to them at all in the National History Museum at Sakura. Prof. Matzuzawa said that another British scholar had made just the same point to him. He said that the Museum at Sapporo had been redone so that Ainu are reflected. Apparently there is a conference of so-called fourth world people in Nibutani at present. Wonder if the other groups are as tiny as the Ainu. Must be even fewer pure Ainu now than the c350 that were alive in 1990.

Talked about Carmen Blacker. He approved of her work. Then about Robert Chambers. 'Papers for the People' was translated and published in Japan in 1870s by the Ministry of Education. It went into ten editions as the "English Encyclopaedia". Alan asked how important a figure was Chambers in Japanese development. Prof. Matzuzawa said that though the circulation and influence was enormous initially, this declined as Japanese readers graduated to the classical works. Also, many American school text-books were being published in translation at the same time, and the work of Samuel Smiles, which was also very influential.

Prof. Matzuzawa asked Alan what the response to his work had been in Japan. Alan had no idea, but Toshiko instanced a current review of Emanuel Todd's book on European kinship and said the reviews for Alan's books were similar - very stimulating and inspiring, but not sure if they were true or not. Prof. M. spent his first trip to England in Sheffield in 1971-2 during the miners' strike, and had a chance to see that the miners were rather like Japanese peasants - there was no ideology. As a Marxist, this particularly struck him.

Alan mentioned our particular problem in understanding what Japanese society was like in the past. He has been reading books which suggest a country of comparable wealth to England, but I am reading a series of reminiscences of people in their late seventies and eighties in a town not far from Tokyo, there the descriptions of life reveal something quite unlike anything in England into quality of poverty (Saga 'Memories of Silk and Straw'). Prof. Matzuzawa said that recently, Japanese historians have adopted a new approach and argue that from the Tokugawa period onward, Japan was a place of wealth, peace and culture - something equivalent to the Western Renaissance in quality. This revision supersedes the previous view put forward by Marxist historians which emphasised poverty, particularly among peasants. The Marxists had revised an earlier approach which was similar to the current one. He said that he felt the current approach was not supported by sufficient evidence. He felt general wealth had increased throughout the Meiji period and Japanese rice production had increased, but distribution of wealth varied.

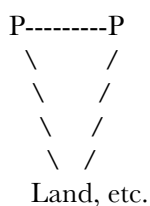
⁹ In the field behind our house. It became a reality in 1994. .

He came from a rural background. As a schoolboy he was sent to help farmers during the war to swell a labour force whose members had been cut by military service. He lived twenty miles from Nikko, but has never been there. Life on the farms was very similar to that of Russian peasants at that time. Kenichi, who has seen such farms in Russia, agreed. Prof. Matzuzawa made field surveys in the 1950s and '60s and found great differences in wealth between landlords and tenant farmers. After the 1960s and the period of rapid economic growth, the emphasis was on cooperation rather than dispute between landowners and farmers. He agreed with Alan that the factors in the standard of living debate in England, that industrialisation brought a drop in standards before they started to rise again, could well be a factor in Japan, but the worst period was the 1930s' depression that hit world trade, not only Japan. It would seem therefore that the difference between the middle class and poor was far greater than in England, and that the really poor were at a level far lower than England.

The girls, as usual, shut themselves away. They didn't greet Prof. Matzuzawa or us, just continued their games. Today they were playing a computer game. All are fascinated by computers. Toshiko said that in England there were computers in the classrooms, but no great rush to use them. Subaru said this was because English children have so much more to do - playing outside, for instance. Alan recalled the when American (or English) children are punished they are not allowed out, when Japanese children are punished they aren't allowed in. Prof. Matzuzawa left about 9.30pm. We left soon after 10.00pm. Kenichi has wired up the T.V. in our flat so now we can use it.

NOTES

We discussed the work of Hamuguchi. His article on Japan as contextualists, and his attack on methodological individualism is well taken. It confirms further my hunch that we are dealing with a "relational" civilisation and not an "individualistic" one. He develops this in relation to interpersonal relations, but one could apply the idea further in relation to: Religion - which is social rather than individualistic. Even Zen is the negation of the individual. Crime - which is controlled by inter-dependencies Property - which is contextual rather than individual, ie. the absolute private ownership of England is absent, but neither is it collective or communal, nor owned by village, lord, or whatever. It is in a sense held floating as truly (as Marx saw it) a relation of many persons in a thing. In a way, the "fetishization" of property and apparent exclusion of others rights in a thing had never occurred and it was truly:



This is an odd, in between, system - very feudal - needs looking into. Similar or dissimilar to England?

23rd August 1993

Raining heavily when we woke, but it had improved by the time we'd had breakfast so we left for the dept. in a window between showers. Spent the morning on language again. Would like to finish the first run-through, but it takes time to absorb anything. Had lunch with Toshiko and a young man who shares her room and is doing a Ph.D. in civil law. He found it quite difficult to converse in English, but we did confirm things we already knew about law, mainly the Japanese dislike of litigation. Judges do not like having to judge cases and will often send them back for agreements to be worked out between parties. It would seem that lawyers are most often engaged in this, rather than pleading in court. There are community-type law surgeries funded by the council, he thinks, where lawyers meet clients and between them try to reach agreement with their opponents' lawyers, whom they may well know.

At the lift to our floor we met with a French man who is to lecture on land law in France. His sponsor introduced him to Alan, and Toshiko and the Japanese with us had the amusing spectacle of neither being able to speak the other's language but for a smattering. We mentioned that we had anticipated that the Japanese would have to translate for us.

Am reading a book on peasant uprisings in Japan. Rather ponderous introduction, and I found that the first story, of Sodoro, was told better in Mitford's 'Tales of Old Japan'. Kenichi appeared to say money for Alan had arrived. It was rather less than he'd hoped - 678,000Y at 150Y to £ = £4520.

NOTES

We ended by discussing law in Japan. There are less civil cases than in the West. Many alternative methods. "Judges do not like judging". It takes much longer to judge in Japan. Even if the process was speeded up, he thought there would probably be less people using the courts than in the West - less individualistic. In many cases each party asks for a lawyer. The lawyers are familiar with each other, speak to each other and make a settlement. This keeps costs low. Normally the lawyer takes the initiative and persuades his client. This happens in the case of traffic accidents or industrial injury. There are Centres employing lawyers to work out settlements in such cases. These are subsidised by insurance companies, etc. In neighbour disputes, usually people don't refuse a request to try to sort problem out informally - "Going to the court is against our morality". A lot of people in Japan feel this (even in a case where child drowned through neighbour's irresponsibility. People were angry when mother took the neighbour to court). Cf. proximate cause in Anglo-American law - individualism. Here "I am my brother's keeper".

24th August 1993

Read an interesting account of a juvenile case in the 'Japan Times' this morning. A boy who had been bullied and seriously beaten up had been found in a gym cupboard rolled in a mat, upside down. He died later. Though the assailants admitted their guilt in bullying, they didn't go as far as the final act and the judge found them innocent as there was not enough evidence to convict them. He refused to take the word of other boys that the assailants were in the room. Struck by the reluctance judges seem to show in finding guilt, and that they are "found innocent" - ie. no shadow of doubt. Our "not guilty" doesn't absolutely exonerate a defendant, and the Scottish "not proven" shows a residue of doubt even more clearly. Toshiko said that in the Japanese press the reason for the judge "finding innocent" was that the police had kept the boys confined, without parents or guardians, or lawyer, and extracted confessions. This has a very long history in Japan, but people are becoming unhappy with police power and the fact that they can put pressure on a suspect to confess.

Had lunch with Toshiko and a lady who will be going off to Edinburgh next April to do a taught M.A. in philosophy of the Scottish enlightenment. Discussed the above case with Toshiko then she said, "You really obey the law, we don't. 'The law is one thing, but reality is another', is the attitude". Thus, no principles. She mentioned that Mormons had come to their house. She was amazed how well they spoke Japanese. They offered to teach children English, free. So that's how they are getting converts in modern Japan, finding the one thing that parents might well agree to.

Read Alan's piece on law that he wrote for Sienna. Very good. I can now appreciate it much more as I've been reading relevant books during the last weeks, and it states the position very clearly. Alan still working in the library. Hopes to finish tomorrow morning. He found a book with a passage that might interest Toshiko. The Chinese also translated Chambers' works at the same time as the Japanese. She wondered if they had translated from the Japanese translation into Chinese as this is the usual way. The Japanese are happy to construct new words and concepts whereas the Chinese language is much more rigid. Thus Japan could be seen as a bridge between the West and China as far as translation goes. However, the Chambers' works seem to have been read aloud and written down from this reading, by an Englishman?

Toshiko and Kenichi are now looking out for people whom we should meet. People with the sort of expertise they know we would like to tap, so tomorrow and Friday there are two more lined up.

25th August 1993

Did another small wash before we left. The washing machine is very simple and only takes about 15 minutes to do lightly soiled clothes. Also, washing powder doesn't need hot water. How efficient! Spent the morning again on language. My hope that somehow I could complete the course while in Japan looks unlikely. I finished lesson 28 today, but it took two hours at least to do carefully. All I'm attempting to do is analyse the words - verbs, tenses, etc., and meanings, and not attempting to memorise great chunks. However, a little does get stuck, I'm pleased to say.

As Prof. Matzumura, a sociologist of law, was coming at 1.00pm., we bought buns today and ate in the room. His English is not as good as Kenichi's but luckily the latter was there to help him so we had a useful session. He said that the crime rate had risen just after the war (not surprising), then dropped and remained rather low and steady. He thinks it may now be on the increase, though this is based on questionable statistics. He agreed that measuring the number of unreported crimes was a problem. No large-scale study of victimisation has as yet been carried out in Japan. On petty theft, it would appear that shoplifting is rarely prosecuted unless it is noted as a repeated offence. He reckoned that store detectives would only involve the police in some 5 percent of incidents. The action most usually taken by the store would be to take back the goods, then for the culprit to write a letter apologising (probably in most grovelling terms) which he'd sign. If there was an employer, the company might be told, or if the culprit was a child, the parents. He had no idea of how much a store like Mizukoshi lost every year through shoplifting, nor did he know whether they published figures, but he guessed the loss might be 5-10 percent. Shoplifting would be rated as a "less serious" crime, as with us, by Japan has no concept of "less serious". The only punishment for theft is imprisonment, which can be suspended, but must relate to "serious" crime. There are no fines for theft. These are only used in cases of assault and receiving stolen goods.

Alan asked him why he thought crime rates were low in Japan. He gave a threefold answer. 1. Uniqueness of Japan - social organisation, community based control, "shame" - 25 per cent. 2. Quality of criminal justice system - police = high level of information and arrests, gun control, drugs control - 40 per cent. 3. Economic condition - high level of education - 35 per cent. We were surprised by his percentages of importance, but as a lawyer he would be likely to mark (2) high, whereas an anthropologist would say (1) much more significant, and would mark (3) pretty low (cf. USA). He agreed that vandalism was low. Alan remarked that vending machines of the type we see in every street would be the object of vandalism in England, especially note Kenichi with cans of beer and saki in them.

On violence, Kenichi thought there was no rape, but Prof. M. thought there was more than was reported. He thought that Japan might have as much as half the English figure. Rape within marriage is possible in Japanese law. Rape is most often committed by an acquaintance of the victim, as in England, but "shame" makes it difficult for a woman to admit she's been attacked. He thought there was little sexual abuse of children, but incest is not a crime in Japan unless the daughter (it's usually father-daughter) is under 14. Kenichi said there is not even a taboo, it's just improper behaviour. Brother-sister incest would be stopped by angry parents, but not as common anyway as father-daughter (a problem with Confucianism and its emphasis on obedience to father?)

Prof. M. said that in the early Meiji period when there was a large influx of people into Tokyo, crime rates rose. Then there was vandalism. In Hokkaido now, divorce rates are high and it's widely thought that the police are less efficient here than elsewhere in Japan. The average person's attitude to the police is ambivalent. They suspect them of some bribery, and even rape and burglary have been known to have been committed by policemen. The aim of the police is to extract confessions and they use sophisticated methods (not torture!) to do this. They also have to provide evidence of the crime. In cases of confession this is only one part of the evidence. The prosecution must give evidence of the crime, and witness statements supporting them must be lodged. These are all written. The judge could deal with this sort (ie. guilty plea) in a couple of days, one for hearing evidence, another for sentencing which the judge will mull over in the interim, presumably basing sentence on the written documents submitted at the trial. For a not-guilty plea, a case can take as much as five years to come to a conclusion if it is a serious case. So there are similarities, but many more differences with our system. Of course, the whole layer of magistrates' courts is non-existent, so they are dealing with the equivalent of the three percent

that go to our Crown Court and above. I wonder how this distorts the figures, but Alan seems to think the crime rate is really much lower than in England, and looking about me and reading the newspaper seems to support this.

Did some xeroxing for Alan and read a little more on peasant revolts - then home. Yesterday we ordered flowers to be delivered to Toshiko's mother to thank her for having us. On the way back from the flower shop, Toshiko admitted that Japanese rarely invite foreigners to their homes, let alone have them to stay. There has been some correspondence in the Japanese press over this with people admitting that they would be ashamed to bring foreigners to their small, poky houses - but also there is an element of the house being a very private place, as Alan said. Toshiko said that she and Kenichi were not like other Japanese as they did have people to their house, though space made it impossible for people to stay. She said her mother was amazed that we put out our bedding and put it away in the morning ourselves. A Japanese housewife would expect to wait on a visitor completely. However, our visit was surprisingly easy for her, and Toshiko said she enjoyed it. Toshiko also said that it was partly because we were so accommodating that everything went well, which was nice of her.

26th August 1993

Very warm in the night and found it difficult to sleep. Hot and sunny today. Very unusual for this time of year, we were told, but this has been a bad summer. Japan Times article on the rice harvest suggests it will be the second worst since the war as the rice hasn't yet flowered. The thorny topic of rice imports will have to be faced and the Japanese insistence that their own rice is special, which has infuriated the U.S.A., will have to be rethought. Worked again on language. I'm getting through the lessons very slowly now but analysing much more than I did.

We got buns for lunch as a student of Kenichi's wanted to talk with Alan. He came at 1.00pm. Hisayuki Takasugi by name, and interested in the work of Morganthau and amateurism. He's a great reader of Sherlock Holmes stories. The Japanese respect professionalism and not amateurism, but he thinks that amateurism is important. The Japanese are too obedient and he believes that Japanese politics could be refreshed through amateurism, by which I take him to mean new blood. We had some talk on Mrs Thatcher's policies and the attempts to undermine the concept of society. He admitted that "society" means little to the Japanese, I suspect because their ties are closer to the family and work, in small groups, but there is no linking of groups into anything larger. Alan described why he thought Christianity, especially Protestantism, was the key to amateurism, and pointed to the spin-offs in all areas of our life - economics, the law, and of course Parliament.

Kenichi came in just as we were thinking of leaving and said he'd been reading up on the 'ie'. He brought two volumes of the Japanese equivalent to Encyclopaedia Britannica and gave us his thoughts on the four stages of 'ie' development.

1. Pre-Heian. 'Ie' not important. 'Uji' - ancestor linked (religious). Building with moat called 'yake' - large, next generation succeeded to it. 'Ie' just meant husband/wife, parent/child relation.
2. End of Heian - Kamakura. Strong sense that 'ie' inherited - basic Samurai phenomena. 'Ie' had four aspects:
 - (a) Husband/wife/children/grandchildren, sometimes servants.
 - (b) 'Ie' owned by (a).
 - (c) Agent for economic activity - Samurai unit for fighting - unit for agriculture.
 - (d) 'Ie' accepted as public unit for government - social and legal. At this time system of inheritance was some kind of primogeniture - 'Soryo' system. Before that, property rights divided - wife, sons, daughters all had rights. Now the 'Soryo' was the head of the 'ie'. He would appoint one of his sons as successor and retire from the 'soryo-ship'. He could not sell or start another business. New 'Soryo' would inherit major share of the 'ie' while other sons and daughters might get a small amount from their father. Incompetent 'Soryo' could be pushed out by sons (un-Confucian). The Samurai circled their residences with walls and inside the walls was called 'ie'. Thus building starts to be called 'ie'. At this stage thought that each 'ie' tried to map genealogy - neglect branches - one trunk line. Before this, as daughters and wives could inherit there was no need for genealogy. This extended down to village headmen during the Murumachi and Sengaku period. In 'Soryo' system, other sons called 'soshi' sons - ie. illegitimate (same word used for sons by concubines). Still, 'soshi' could be directed

by 'Soryo' as fighting unit. 'Soryo' system started by top Samurai and then in Murumachi period, adopted by upper farming families. In the later Murumachi and Sengoku period, merchants and craftsmen adopted it.

3. Tokugawa. Both social and physical mobility stopped. Daimyo then did census though had previously (in Sengoku) tried to do it. Hideyoshi encouraged full documentation of all people and land. Then 'Kabu' (stump) system. Mobility limited - no possibility of moving or taking on new land. Then Samurai taxed 'ie'. 'Kabu' = stock..limited. eg. stock in a village company. Stranger could buy or inherit - adoption. In early Edo, people tended to adopt near bloodline, later Edo adopted no-blood, stranger, "functional" one. Succession unstable in 'ie' system. Throughout lower classes, families are nuclear. Daimyo needed heir, so many wives. If Daimyo had no son, family would die out and land, etc. confiscated. Not allowed to adopt except later by Shogun's favour. So Daimyo system vulnerable. Hence in Tokugawa period, the framework of farming system started for mass of peasants.

4. 'Ie' system and primogeniture formally abolished with the Meiji. Partible inheritance is in Showa civil code.

Kenichi said that the Japanese have exaggerated the importance of the 'ie' - group orientation. He thought this was due to Meiji intellectuals stressing a system they didn't like. However, the principles of 'ie' system do extend to business and academia. Very kind of him to bother as he's extremely busy with department work.

Left at 6.35pm. and pretty dark when we arrived back. Found that a new fridge had been delivered, and there was a note under the door apologising for not telling us before when it would arrive. Thought we noticed four Nepali boys today. Looked unsure of themselves and unlike the Japanese. I looked hard at them and I think they were disquieted, but didn't try to speak. Interesting if they were. Went to see Ainu library this afternoon. Sad.

NOTES

Kenichi's thoughts on history of the family in Japan:

Pre-Heian

Human relations of husband and wife - not so important as 'uji'. 'Uji' - shared ancestors. 'Ie' not the word for a the building. Building with a moat round it is called 'yake'. The 'yake' is passed on from generation to generation. The 'ie' is thought to pass on. The law of Nara/Heian tried to tax the 'ie' as a unit, but this tax system was not strong enough to create the feeling of 'ie'.

End of Heian - C11-C12

'Gogunshow' a family history, the feeling that 'ie' should be inter-generational. Basically a Samurai phenomenon. Four aspects:

- a) Husband-wife, children and grandchildren, sometimes including servants and workers - combination of people.
- b) 'Ie' is the owner of land, rice fields, buildings, etc. No individual property rights.
- c) Basic unit of enterprise or social activity - for the Samurai, fighting - and for management of the estate.
- d) Accepted as a public unit for government - legal function. Established in the Kamakura period. At the same time, the system of inheritance was changed to a kind of primogeniture. The 'so-ryo' ('so' = authorised, legitimised; 'ryo' = property) system. In ancient Japan the property rights rather divided, but in the establishment of this system, the 'so-ryo' (house chief) will appoint one of his sons as the manager of his house-system. The father will retire, and the new 'so-ryo' will inherit the core or major part of the property. The other children to have marginal property. Then the Samurai circled their own residence with a wall - those inside the wall = 'ie' - so the building starts to be called 'ie'. At this stage each 'ie' tried to create the genealogy of their family. They cut off the branches and emphasised the trunk - one straight line - cutting off women, etc. This 'ie' system gradually extended to the lower Samurai and the village heads in the Muromachi and Sengoku periods. 'Ie' is much smaller than 'uji'. It became the unit of fighting which was its main function, qv. Ishimoda Tadashi - on origins of the Kamakura.

Tokugawa period

Mobility of farmers and Samurai was stopped - rigid classification, etc. Registration system, etc. after Hideyoshi who did one on a national scale. Very detailed census concerning the quality and nature of the land.

'Kabu' = "stump" and "share" . A key term. Land for villagers is limited, start to open up new lands, but then reach limits. Village head tried to allocate rice tax to all important 'ie'. 'Ie' is thought of as a unit of government. 'Kabu' (meaning stock-holder) system spread over the whole of Japan. The number of 'kabu' was limited - the owner had a social role. 'Kabu' is thought of as something one could buy, etc. There had been 'kabu' before the Tokugawa, but it now became widespread. (cf. Watanabe). A stranger can buy and inherit the 'kabu'. In the early Edo period, people tended to adopt relatives, but in the later Tokugawa, people started to adopt strangers. Thus one moved from real blood-relatives to quasi-kinship. Throughout the period, among the commoners, no big family - it was mainly nuclear. The Daimyo were the exceptions - they needed many "wives". If a Daimyo had no son then the Shogun could confiscate their land.

The Kamakura 'ie' and the Tokugawa 'ie' had some continuity at the farmer level. The 'ie' started at the farmer level. It continued 2.5 centuries. Watanabe was reluctant to accept 'so-ryo' as a system of primogeniture because one would give something would give something to daughters. 'So-ryo' was not the owner. He couldn't sell. A Samurai couldn't sell and start again as a merchant. Later every 'kabu' could sell. 'Kabu' and 'ie' are very different things. In a village there might be 100 'kabu' but a much larger number of families. Only the major 'ie' had a 'kabu'. In the early Kamakura period the property was divided, but those who inherited the core parts were the 'so-ryo' - not necessarily the first son. Parallel to the Shogun - find a distant blood relation. 'So-shi' sons = illegitimate sons, or sons by a concubine. These sons were subject to the authority of the 'so-ryo'. The 'so-ryo' is the commander in the battle-field, etc. Top Samurai used this system in the early Kamakura, then it gradually dropped down to the upper farming families.

The aristocratic Samurai (Genji/Heike) established the 'ie' system in the early Kamakura. It extended to farmers, craftsmen, and merchants in the Muromachi period. "Management units" became a central feature of Japanese society before the Tokugawa.

Meiji period

The 'ie' system was formally abolished after the Meiji restoration. Meiji maintained primogeniture, but the later Showa Civil Code allowed division of property. Basic structure of 'ie' system codified in the Meiji code. Therefore the Meiji intellectuals had a great antipathy to the feeling of conformity of the 'ie'. Intellectuals attacked "groupism", etc. Influenced current attitude to this. They created a myth that the Japanese are group-oriented. Principle of the 'ie' system was extended to the business system and the academic world. (The younger generation decide who should be the department head, the 'so-ryo'. Kenichi is the "third son" - there is a sense of inequality). "Manager". Inheritance of manager system - you have to retire when you become incompetent - often there is a coup d'etat and manager forced into retirement. The Kamakura 'so-ryo' could be toppled by sons or branch families, or sidelined. Thus the succession is quite dangerous for the 'ie' system. Other sons or branches might revolt.

Sources of information

Based on 'Encyclopedia Heibonsha' published 1985 (equivalent to 'Encycl. Britannica'). Authors: Takashi Yoshida (ancient); Akio Yoshie (Medieval); Kota Kodama (Tokugawa). Also a number of other sources. The 'ie' system was thoroughly researched in the 1950's and 1960's cf. Miamo Motaji - a study of a small island between Japan and Korea - very early 'kabu' - Tokugawa. Kenichi was critical of Murakami's 'ie' as civilization thesis. Probably an over-simplification. Since then there has been a change in historiography. Murakami is a populariser, not an authority. Likewise John Whitney Hall. He's not very highly thought of. There are many thousands of local studies and it would take years to survey all of the material.

27th August 1993

What strange weather. Raining when we woke and very sultry all day with heavy cloud. Yet another typhoon is approaching and is due to hit the Tokyo area tonight. Managed to finish lesson 29 today, so have finished the first tape. I do feel this work has been worthwhile though I've not really got a useable smattering as yet. However, I am understanding the structure, and if I can find a Japanese student who would swap English conversation for a little Japanese once I finish the course, I might be encouraged to continue. I feel that we may

want to come back to Japan in a few years' time. Alan's interest hasn't waned and he has got masses of material now to absorb.

Yet more at lunchtime. We met Prof. Seguwa, a professor of civil law, with Kenichi and he talked first about land rights in Japan. Here, the lease of land is considered to be separate from the lease of a house on it, though this is not a uniform system and is declining now. However, in Tokyo before the war 83 percent of house leases were based on this (in Sapporo 90 percent). Now in Tokyo, only 15 percent are (in Sapporo 6 percent). He has found this type of split is common in the newer cities - hence Tokyo and Sapporo, but also Kobe and Yokohama. They appear to have developed on Daimyo lands. In Sapporo, all land was parcelled up by Government and given to settlers (Meiji 12) and thus equal. But by the end of the Meiji period, large landowners had bought up land and leased it rather than reselling it as land prices then were low. In old cities (Kyoto, etc.) land prices were high and profits also high. If you sold in new cities, profits were low, but leases ran at 20 percent of the land price in one year, so in five years the lease would have equalled the whole price of the land. Leaseholds continued up to the war as the Government was putting all available monies into munitions and set a high rate of interest for borrowers. This made it very difficult to buy housing and renting was the only other option. After the war the situation changed as interest rates were significantly lowered and a Government "Building Society" established to help with loans to purchase houses. Before the war, land tax (paid by owner) was low but it went up during the war. During the Meiji period it was 10 percent of rent received in Tokyo, now tax was levied at all in Sapporo. Now land tax in Tokyo is 50 percent of rent received. Thus it is now less profitable to be a landlord. In 1946-7 land reforms, tenant farmers were given their paddy fields and the landlords left with the residue and little compensation.

When we returned to the office, Alan asked questions on what ownership meant in Japan. On common land - Japanese had common ownership. Only people who lived in a village could have rights to commons (stinting animals ('maki') etc.). A newcomer had to be accepted first by the village and take part in village activities before he could be awarded rights in the common.

Alan's next question concerned the level of civil suits. He gave a figure of a tenth that in U.S.A. Seguwa mentioned the other mechanisms for dispute resolution, eg. 'National Centre for Everyday Life' deals with consumer protection. The 'Committee for the Settlement of Traffic Accidents' funded by the city council with the help of insurance companies, manned by lawyers, sort out matters of liability in traffic accidents. However, litigation is rising. For instance, more cases of medical malpractice are now taken to court. After the war, the cost of litigation was low and courts were swamped with cases, so the costs were increased and the lower pattern established. In explanation of this low level, Seguwa instanced high costs of litigation and cultural relations. Until recently, unimaginable that you might bring a case against a teacher or doctor, but now things are changing. There has been a shift in cultural attitudes of the young. In the mid-seventies, 94 percent of children went to High School and 34 percent went on to some form of college training. These people are well-educated and don't hesitate to say what they think. This attitude completely different from the past, influenced by Buddhism and the 'wheel of life' metaphor.

He described a lecture in anthropology by the first Japanese anthropologist of recent times (?), describing the waves of immigrants from the shores of S.E. Asia reflecting that "the self is what the others think of him" (the mirror). Both Prof. Seguwa and Kenichi said they didn't understand the word "kin" though they understood "relatives" as those family members that they know personally, ie. not dead ancestors. With reference to kin and neighbours, there is a proverb to the effect that one prefers a neighbour to a distant relative. For instance, one would arrange a neighbour's funeral over that of distant kin. If a neighbour's funeral was to be held at same time as a parent, the parent's would take precedence. A brother's would probably take precedence, but at grandfather and a neighbour would be equally important. "The brother is the start of the stranger", cousins are strangers. Prof. Seguwa said he came from a very traditional household in a traditional farming area. His parents tried to keep the family together and close, so he felt close to his brothers, but no joint finances, and, for instance, he wouldn't pay for a brother's children's school fees.

Finally, gave a picture of mediation at the local level. Each neighbourhood has a neighbourhood association - "Chonai kai". The older inhabitants would mediate disputes between neighbours. In the past, would also countersign deeds of sale of land to confirm that land was truly owned by the seller. With the "Chonai kai", households were divided into smaller groups of 7-20 called 'han'. The "Chonai kai" organization is post-Meiji

and exists now. They decide when village festivals should be held, and organize them. Evacuation during the war was organized by them. Everything of a community nature is done through them. The "Buraku" is the village equivalent - a grouping of 10-15 households, though less in mountainous regions.

Am beginning to pack books. Toshiko will bring in scales on Monday. Kenichi has booked our flight for Tuesday and arranged a hotel at Narita. He also confirmed our Sabena flight on Wednesday. Toshiko has also worked out trains to Otaru for us. They are extraordinarily helpful, though not overpowering - we've had plenty of time to ourselves to pursue our own interests. Each evening we've watched Samurai dramas. I try to catch words - at least one can follow most of the plot.

CONVERSATION WITH PROF. SEGUWA

Land reform: After very successful land reform of 1947 the differences in wealth and life-styles of town and country largely disappeared. The Meiji registration/tax system was centralized and only considered the land while local government taxed the houses. Subtenancy was possible of houses but not of land. During the Tokugawa period, a farmer could not sell the land. If he could not pay the tax, then a village committee would allocate the land to a new person. Fossilized communities as impossibility of sale made it impossible to move.

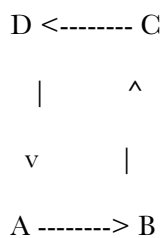
Village community: You have to wait to be accepted but when you are you have to participate in everything.

Land system: Very different in different areas of Japan - 2 country theory.

'Karma': How to get people to abandon their aims - acceptance through 'karma' - external pressure. Things are fixed by "connection of the people" - 'en' (relation, connection, affinity).

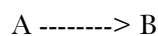
Benevolence: "Benevolence is not an advantage to others" - interpreted in different ways by generations:

Older generation's interpretation:



comes back as benefit

Present generation's interpretation:



creates inferiority - individualism "creates obligation"

28th August 1993

OTARU

Rained a lot during the night, and still doing so when we woke. Wondered if it was even sensible to go to Otaru, but the rain stopped again as yesterday, and we left here at 11.00am. to walk to the city centre. We wanted to look at a department store so went to "Seibu". As it is built of brick and has a rather whimsical look - wide, brick staircase with life-sized plaster dogs at intervals - its more attractive to us than "Sogo" nearby which is all glass and concrete. Bought some lacquer bowls we can give as gifts and had a light lunch there.

Had to go to the tourist information desk to sort out the train to Otaru, but wasn't difficult. Arrived there about 2.45pm. and walked down towards the port, looking for a glass exhibition. Found only glassware shops,

but walked up the "Wall Street" of Otaru passed the converted bank where we'd had tea three years ago, through a covered market, to a street full of Pachinko parlours. Took a look inside one. Every seat was occupied (as was the case in all parlours). The noise of metal balls bouncing on nails, machines whirring, and music, was absolutely deafening. The air was heavy with smoke, and the total atmosphere far more hell than heaven, and yet all these people can't keep away. Very puzzling. We were glad to get out and breathe comparatively fresh street air. Next we went into a junior version - a children's and young persons' games arcade where there were the sorts of games one might see at a fair in England. Grabbers where one tries to grip a toy, slots for coins which pile up and hopefully push other coins off into the winner's hands, but mainly computer games, all bashing and killing where one scores by despatching as many of the enemy as possible. Bought a pair of straw 'getu' called 'muragi' for our museum.

Met our contact, Prof. Hideki Funatsu of Otaru Business University, at 4.00pm. He was at the station with his wife and two children, but left them to shop and took us to a museum - in fact the Otaru branch office of Nippon Yusen Co., built in 1904. The building, with heavy woodwork and plush, reminded one of pictures of Russian buildings rather than something influenced by American design. Not surprising, as the link with Russia is much longer and deeper. Sakhalin, now part of Russia, was captured by the Japanese in the Russo-Japan war, and remained Japanese until it was taken back by Stalin at the end of World War II. Since the breakup of the U.S.S.R. there has been a flood of tourists from Sakhalin bringing crabs etc. to barter to pay for their trips. Next year there will be a ferry service.

Later, our host expounded his ideas concerning the four disputed islands, suggesting that the area should become a free trade area with no national trade barriers, and that the issue of ownership would then become irrelevant. He said it would be possible to link Sakhalin to Hokkaido by tunnel, while Sakhalin itself is linked to Russia by a secret tunnel built by Stalin for munition supplies. His vision is of driving from southern Japan right through Russia and Europe up to Edinburgh without crossing water. After Com. Perry's invasion, Japan opened two more ports apart from Nagasaki. One was Shimodo, the other Hakodate. The latter's trade was specifically the export of agricultural produce, mainly beans, but also rice. In time, Otaru grew and took over prominence. It had been the most likely town to be the capital of Hokkaido at one stage, but the hills surrounding it limit the possibility for expansion. Also, the "Cold War" cut off all its trade links so it has been in steady decline until now. However, we did notice that it looked busier than when we came three years ago, and Prof. Funatsu confirmed that it is hoping to develop important links with Russia - particularly, Vladivostok.

Otaru has charm still as it was relatively unscathed by the war and many old buildings remain. There has been a huge influx of tourists from Honshu wanting to see Japan as it was. It would appear that the first major settlement was of Samurai, disaffected by the Meiji reforms, who were effectively banished here. Prof. Funatsu said that his grandfather was just such a person, but he later said that his grandfather had to leave Ise, where he lived, because he divorced his wife. Prof. F. saw Hokkaido as an island of free thinkers when compared to the rest of Japan. Divorce rates were highest here and the normal Japanese notion that women should work at home and look after children was not strong here. Women have a higher status. However, we later talked with his wife who worked as an economist in the same university, but left after a miscarriage and has now been away from work for five years. She said it was impossible to get back into the same sort of job because of the "jobs for life" policy, which is the ideal.

Prof. F. said that people of Hokkaido had a republican mentality, but he was evasive about whether this affected their allegiance to the Emperor, or support for the War. However, there had been a six-month period during the Meiji era when an Ezo Republic was declared. Also, before the war, Otaru College refused to instigate military training, so there is evidence of liberal rebellion. This, he thought was the reason why Richard Story had such a favourable impression of the Japanese. In fact he was among aberrant Japanese.

Today, Otaru University of Commerce has changed completely from Story's day. It has been completely rebuilt and all the previous wooden buildings have gone. However, the site is the same, and it has spectacular views of the town and sea below. Most of its graduates go into business, usually through alumni connections. Male graduates, he said, got about ten offers of jobs, females found it much more difficult, despite his contention about female status here. It's a small National University of some 2,000 students.

We talked in Prof. Funatsu's office for some time and continued our discussion over supper. Then he took us to a well-known beauty spot - a car park on top of a very high hill overlooking the town - and finally we went to his house where we were given tea, cake and jelly, and were entertained by his delightful small son. We liked him. He was open, and his ideas and ideals were ones we could admire. He feels that with Japan's aging population and the inevitable decline in production due to saturated world markets and trade imbalances, the Government should encourage the improvement of the quality of life within Japan. Not necessarily more things, but access to more leisure pursuits - an opera house for Sapporo, for instance - and of course, more time. His office is twenty minutes' drive from home, and like Kenichi, his family is more important than anything else. He would find Tokyo University life, with so much travelling and so little time with his family, quite unacceptable.

He had an interesting idea about the way in which old people should be helped. His mother is a social worker who has seen how isolated many old people are. She thinks that the able elderly should be the ones to look after the less-able elderly. May, of course, be the only solution in Japan in future, as there will be no young persons - or not enough - to care for the elderly. He accepts entirely that the old pattern of eldest son's responsibility has broken down. He very kindly drove us back to Sapporo by 11.00pm. We hope that we shall see him again when he comes to England in November.

CONVERSATION WITH PROF. HIDEKI FUNATSU

We discussed the economic future of Japan. Our society is too much production orientated. People should now work less, enjoy more, import more. Japan must create a trade deficit. With the Cold War - there was a one-sided economy with U.S. - now we should import from developing countries. On a recent visit I saw that Seoul city life better than Tokyo life. Labour costs are now so high in Japan that people are making cars in Europe to sell in Japan.

Foreign access zones - Japanese have been supporting - there should be change - we should support foreign suppliers. Koreans export 90 percent - 'Made in Japan' - using Japanese image, not Japanese products - Statistics not exact. World economy integrated - national boundaries have no meaning. We are totally in transition from a producer to a consumer economy - hence I don't expect much growth.

There is a need to reduce prices in Japan - need more efficient distribution agents. Link with France - found companies less efficient than the French were - small firms much behind. Wine consumption is increasing - open up Japanese industries. Scotland and Hokkaido are very similar. There is a low population density in Otaru and Hokkaido - we will need to import agriculture - farmers only protecting their position. Most of the public have lost their confidence in the farmers - more than 50 percent of people say Japan should import rice. We cannot think only in terms of ourselves. We have to think about developing countries as well.

There is a huge educational gap between those before and after the war - the older generation going. Governor of Hokkaido is very young and able - the old seniority position is starting to go. In periods of boom (as in 1920s) liberalism flourished; in periods of recession (1930s) right-wing policies grew. In 1980s, from States to Japan, so it is the responsibility of Japan to keep the world markets open. "If things not that bad why do we need to change them?" (Japanese saying). The marginal propensity to consume is rising, and saving is decreasing. It is thought that there is no need to save. Younger generation do not save so much - they consume more. We need to build up social capital, for instance to build an opera house. In China, when they change the political system there is a considerable cost; there is an advantage in gradualism.

Hokkaido is a very different sort of place from rest of Japan. The separateness of Hokkaido is shown by the fact that there is (or was) a Japanese Embassy to Hokkaido. In Hokkaido there is much more equal opportunity - there is only a only a middle-class.

The secret of the Japanese economy is low spending on defence - less than one percent. Commitment to free trade - we use the world economic system - need external products - if protectionism emerges, very bad for us. Fair income distribution - 90 percent of people belong to the middle-class. The creation of the middle-class - it makes it easy for companies to sell to people. If diverse, then no conflict.

Hokkaido is a mixture of Western technology and Japanese civilisation - genuine modernisation in Hokkaido - a sort of U.S. of Japan. Ainu - Samurai. Hokkaido minister - similar to Scottish Office - funding from central Government.

He thought that the GNP in late sixteenth century, higher in Japan than England. Wage rate and exchange rates in 'English Factory in Japan' which suggests a standard of living higher in Japan than in England. Dutch East India Co. - trade through Nagasaki - China and Korea.

29th August 1993

The Nakamuras came about 1.30pm. There was a marathon race in Hokkaido today which went passed our flat, so we could see the earlier stages on T.V., then see the runners below. We did, in fact, only watch occasionally from the verandah. Only Subaru actually went down to the street. Marathons seem to be very popular in Japan. There are about thirteen each year in various towns. The route was lined with people, thinly at this point, but they all clapped each runner politely as they passed. None of the Nakamuras seemed very interested. Ai and Yuri just read the books they'd just got from the library.

We fed them cheese on toast with a tomato sauce underneath. They call this a 'pizza' here. Also salad. Toshiko had brought some biscuits made by Yuri and herself. The children sat around for a while but then went off home, and Alan took the opportunity to show his bundle of writings on Japan and offered to leave them with them. After some talk on the content, he broached the subject of collaboration. They both seem keen on a joint study to compare England and Japan, so we were able to talk with enthusiasm of further meetings. Feel this is a fitting end to our stay. We have learnt so much, but are aware that most has been mediated through them.

They left at 6.30pm., and we went for a walk. Not far, as we noticed that something was happening at the High School. We'd seen floats being carried out on Friday. Today seemed to be the end of a weekend of celebrations. There was a huge crowd dancing something like the 'Valita' - a slow, change-partner dance, or rather shuffle. An extremely long line snaked over the grass and they did this stately dance - boys with boys if they met only a boy - old with young. They ended with fireworks. We noticed in the near-darkness school bags and clothes scattered over the ground. Not something one would dare to do in England, but then none of this could happen there now. Both feeling rather tired and drained now we have mainly packing to do, but a couple of Samurai dramas today and tomorrow?

NOTES

Charity ('jizen') in Japanese means "noble throwing away - it is no longer yours". Different set of meanings to the word "public". No sense of "common unity" outside the small group, or outside Japan. Non-governmental charitable organisations are quite new in Japan.

Young businessmen's loyalty to their company is sinking. They have less share in the company.

In relation to friendship, it is a sort of investment in people which one might potentially utilise. Friends like "two melons". Japanese friendship is much more utilitarian - they don't want to lose their friendships and hence, can't move. Not as extreme as China when all friendships are intense.

I asked about amateurism. It is the opposite of professionalism. 'Do-lack' ('do' = way; 'lack' = lightweight). Merchants had a lot of hobbies - Confucian scholars - Edo novelists etc. had money and time. Japanese amateurism is rather marginal and un-institutionalized - In England anybody can become anything, but "we trust professionals". 'Michi' or 'do' = professionalism.

A throw-away remark by Toshiko: "Religion is one thing, reality is another".

On money lending, no outsiders were allowed into villages, hence professional money-lenders excluded. Separate worlds of villagers and craftsmen, etc.

On medicines, drug salesmen travelled around. They provided a box of medicine and families used what they needed from it. You paid only for what you used. This happened until recently. Nearly all households used the system. Stopped in 1960's. People probably paid in cash - long history of this.

30th August 1993

Alan did his last lot of xeroxing and I finished packing books, xeroxes and a few clothes and gifts in boxes for posting to England. Toshiko and Alan went to the post office with them. I estimated each box to be nearly top weight, so in total some 55kg. perhaps. The cost was about double our 'M' bag cost - about £155.

Only one of the persons who had asked to meet Alan turned up at lunch time - that was Prof. Shoji whom we apparently met in 1990, though I don't remember him. He had a signed copy of Alan's book on marriage, so proof that we had met. He was particularly useful on mediation. I had been reading an article by a Japanese judge beforehand which made me feel it was a superior system to ours as mediation was seen as a necessary first stage in any dispute. Only if this failed and one's opponent refused to discuss, or if the issue was one where litigation was seen as necessary, does one go to stage two, which is again out of court, but with lawyers trying conciliation. The third stage was litigation, but this is avoided if at all possible, with the active encouragement of judges, which seems to be the great difference. In England, so much money is tied up in litigation, so many people are making money from it, that the legal profession tends to obstruct any initiatives that try to encourage A.D.R. (alternative dispute resolution). Prof. Shoji gave a counter-argument. He feels that there are risks to mediation and would prefer that legal reasoning was brought in at an earlier stage. He was particularly concerned with inheritance disputes being dealt with by domestic courts where mediation was used to get agreement between parties. He thought such disputes should be dealt with in civil courts in the same way as any land dispute as the family power structure can affect the fairness of an agreement. He also thought that where there is a matter of principle at stake, mediation shouldn't be used as it doesn't try to distinguish right from wrong.

His English was a little tentative and he took time to say things which made our session with him longer than we'd expected. However, Alan got all he wanted xeroxed as I did that when he was posting the parcels. Our last task was to go to buy some chocolates for the Nakamuras to thank them for their kindnesses. Was thinking this morning how we have tended to work with people on projects as we've firstly wanted to work with those people, then decided to focus attention. This is true with the Nakamuras for without them patiently answering our questions, and explaining the intricacies of Japanese society, we would probably not have become so involved and excited by it. We now feel much more confidence in our understanding.

Alan gave Prof. Sagawa his piece on law to read last week. Today he returned it and said he agreed with Alan's assertions which strengthens the feeling that we are understanding something of Japan. Both feel we would like to come back to Sapporo sometime, that we've still much more to learn from being here, and we've found all sorts of pleasures, not least the food.

CONVERSATION WITH PROF. SHOJI

We discussed law. The basic premise of Japanese law - keep disputes/conflicts out of court. The English system is the opposite and attempts to bring all disputes into formal courts. Japanese have a tendency to organise geographical groups for dispute settlement

We discussed the difference of friendship in Japan and France. Here, students of a seminar have a reunion at the start and end of the year, have a meal together, etc. so that they can get to know each other and start to talk. They don't do this in France - tight friendships, so he felt very lonely - no local sense

A throw-away remark on toilets. The two world innovators - England - the water closet - retentive, individualists - Japan - the most advanced Asian type - communal, interrelated, re-cycling.

31st August 1993

It is sad to leave a place where one has happy experiences. We have both found our stay extremely stimulating, and Sapporo and the University, a nice environment. All sorts of things please us about Japan. Its efficiency and cleanliness are perhaps the most apparent, but the feeling of safety and of respect for their fellows gives it a gentleness which we have nearly lost in England. Makes one feel even more aggrieved by all that Thatcher did to destroy "society", and one feels so helpless to reverse the trends started by her. Interesting to see

two views on the economic plight of Japan. One, in 'Japan Times' noted that as only six percent of Japan's trade is export trade, and only two percent of that is to the U.S.A., it was not absolutely awful that the yen should rise against the dollar. 'Time Magazine', on the other hand, hinted that this was the beginning of the end for Japan, and that if the yen rose higher, the whole economy would collapse. Can't help feeling that there is much more to life than the economy. Japan's "society" is in a million ways stronger than that of the U.S.A., or us. The sort of terminal decline we are getting into with a huge gulf between "haves" and "have nots" will prove pretty impossible to alter, while economy is just a matter of balance. There always seems to be a bright and a gloomy side to whatever state it is in.

Toshiko came just as the men were reading the electricity, gas and water meters. That, cleaning and dry cleaning - washing of sheets and blankets - cost c15,000Y, more expensive than we'd anticipated. Shows that fuel bills are relatively high here as this is the normal rate. Toshiko took all the items of food we hadn't finished, and the T.V. which she's giving to a student. We lunched with Kenichi who was wearing a tie - the first time I've seen him in one - as he was interviewing potential students all day. Toshiko kindly came with us to the airport. Felt very sad to leave. They have been so kind.

Flight simple. We sat in the upper deck for the first time - much more cosy. Found, as ever, an efficient system for finding the coach to this hotel - The Narita Hotel Fujita - which looked a little like a large prison, but is quiet and very comfortable. We're testing everything and wondering whether to sit and watch a Samurai film and have food in our room, or to go to one of the four restaurants.

Perhaps, not surprisingly, we decided to stay here and to order a meal while watching the film. As it was an hour and a half special, Alan felt it was a perfect way to leave Japan. Later, we went to see the Japanese-style restaurant below. It was attractive - single storey with rocks, trees and water round. The only omission was fish in the pond. I sketched the roof as it might be adaptable for our building. Instead of the overhang being tile, it was wood - so lighter, but don't know how it would weather. Around the back of this hotel are dense, near tropical, woodland. Somehow incongruous to see this ultra-modern building with the wilderness just beside it. This hotel is far enough from the airport to hear no planes.

Writing about Japan

During the years 1994-6 my mind was much concerned with Japan and everything that we had learnt. Although we did not visit the country in this period. I was writing my longest and most complex book about Japan, which was published in 1997 as *The Savage Wars of Peace: England, Japan and the Malthusian Trap*. Towards the end of the work on this book I collected together the plans, diaries and drafts of the book and wrote an account which I provisionally titled 'The Autobiography of a Book', and later published in 2013 as *How a Book is Written*.



Visit to Japan in 1997

This was the longest visit we have made to Japan, lasting over three months, from 15th September to the 18th of December. Its length was due to the fact that I had been invited to be a Visiting Professor at the Department of Anthropology, Tokyo University. This was the top anthropology department in Japan and the Head of Department, Professor Takeo Funabiki was an old friend. He had done his Ph.D. in anthropology in the Department at Cambridge and had a house in Cambridge. He had originally hoped that Professor Marilyn Strathern, then William Wyse Professor at Cambridge, would accept the invitation. But she was too busy and suggested that with my Japanese interests I might be happy to be invited.

The special feature of this visit was not just the length of time we spent in Japan. We lived for the most part in a little, traditional-style Japanese house which Takeo had arranged for us, filled with traditional furniture kindly supplied by his wife, Coco. This was in a very characteristic Tokyo suburb, Mitakadai, on the Inokoshira line, only a few stations away from the Tokyo University campus at Komaba, where the Department of Anthropology was located. So, we were able to explore Japan by ourselves and to see many aspects of Japanese life at close quarters.

I was asked to give some lectures and hold some seminars, which gave me a chance to meet students and new scholars. We made new friends and especially Masako, the Ph.D. student Takeo had asked to be our assistant. We also spent a good deal of time again with Kenichi and Toshiko, both in Hokkaido and elsewhere in Japan. During the visit, Sarah went to visit her daughter and family in Australia for about ten days, so I was on my own. We were also visited by our close friends Gerry and Hilda Martin, who stayed with us for two weeks and with whom we explored old haunts, such as Kyoto, Nara and Osaka, and new places.

The whole three months took us to a new level of understanding of Japan, made much richer by what we had learnt over the previous seven years of visits and discussions and writing.

TOKYO

15th September 1997

Arrived at midday in drizzling rain. Met by Takeo in a large Mercedes. He took us to our sweet little quite old Japanese-style house at Mitakadai - no furniture and three rooms (and kitchen etc.), two of them with tatami matting. In a very pleasant residential area with lots of shops and restaurants where we had a late lunch. Initiated through endless written instructions into the mystery of garbage separation, and sorted ourselves out. Had a sleep and then woke again to study maps. As yet no sense of strangeness. Driving through central Tokyo and the appropriate holiday to celebrate "revered old people", we could have been in London. But good to be here with a Japanese bath and switches that are reverse to ours

16th September 1997

Drizzling still and a typhoon expected to hit Tokyo later this week. Woke in the middle of the night thinking the house was being broken into and I failed to sleep for some time - then slept until 10.30am. Quick breakfast and we went to find our nearest grocery store to buy food. Later found there was a largish supermarket across the road but did find essentials earlier. Went into the department - ten stops on the train, 200Y each way, and the stop is literally the gate to the university. Took our computers and papers. Irritated to find that the plug of the newer Toshiba was missing, but found it later among the video equipment.

Takeo has assigned Alan a research student - Masako - to look after us. She came back with us and found the supermarket, then explained the workings of the washing machine. She was impressed with the house. She thought it would cost about £250,000 which is mainly on account of the land it stands on. As yet, only the house gives us a sense of strangeness. The construction is too light and simple - a kit house if ever there was one. Odd to be living with screens and 'shoji' even if there is glass in the shoji rather than paper.

Note that everything is very expensive. Had to pay Takeo about £600 yesterday for setting up things like gas and electricity supplies. Coco (his wife) has supplied all sorts of nice things like a fridge and washing machine - both new - and some furniture and bedding. In fact, everything in the house must have been put here by her.

17th September 1997

Day blighted for me by a snorter of a cold - nose running like a stream and feeling feverish - compounded by a hot, moist day, now the rain has stopped. Masako came at 9.00am, ostensibly to open a bank account with Alan, but she had forgotten to bring the relevant papers, and he had left his seal in the department. She did explain further intricacies of the bath boiler which I'd battled with for half-an-hour last night, and also confirmed that the Hoover worked in the way I thought it should. Did get some aerogrammes from the post office and wrote to my mother this evening. It seems that phones would be public so not the sort of thing one speaks to my mother on.

Masako had just come over to do these few things and she returned home which is further down the line. Our fare to the dept. costs 200Y and hers is a further 340Y outwards. Not surprisingly she does not come in every day but uses a library nearer her home at another university. We went into the dept. Luckily the plug found for the newer Toshiba so I was able to do a reasonable stint. I think it will be a good place to work as so many of the usual distractions just aren't here. Alan spent the day sorting out Wrigley - xeroxing parts and cutting them up with new scissors he bought from the Co-op shop on campus. We found an ice-cream vending machine today. A treat yet to come.

18th September 1997

Feeling pretty groggy after a bad night so I stayed at home and read Alan's piece on Maitland between naps. A dull day which became very wet, heralding a typhoon which might hit Tokyo tomorrow. If it does we shall not be able to get out or go into the dept. as no trains will run. Since arriving here we have seen little but rain though it is not unpleasant. The house is nice to spend time in. The street surprisingly quiet and bicycles are more common than cars. There are no pavements but old people and children can walk with safety. It is as we found Chiba and it means that, despite the crowding, the quality of life outside the house, in the streets, access to nearby shops etc. is much better than in England, with our almost total reliance on the car. Moral: keep roads small so that not sensible to use a car except for specific deliveries. Alan went into the dept. and got the newer Toshiba onto the internet. Also got a cable for the zip drive. Takeo not there so no contract signing.

19th September 1997

My cold much better today and now, by evening, almost gone. The day started rainy with the typhoon passing to the south of Tokyo. Really violent rain, but the street drains are so efficient that the office workers only carried umbrellas - no gum boots, hardly a mackintosh, just the light suits and women's summer wear. By 8.15am. there is a steady stream of people going to the station - mostly walking, but some on bikes, and children going to school.

Masako came earlier than the time Alan had indicated. I saw her from the kitchen window and went to let her in, but she didn't come until I called. She would have lurked until the time Alan set. They left me and went to open a bank account and buy cushions for our table, and I read the rest of Maitland. A good chapter with much to say that is relevant and exciting. After finishing that I came down and set up the computer on the table

and improvised a seat from the stainless-steel washing-up bowl covered with a towel. This is the one way that a Japanese-style house is left wanting. Its not very comfortable to type sitting on the floor.

Luckily I didn't have to work for too long before Masako came back to the house, when the gas company came to replace the rubber piping, and an electrical firm, the torn lampshade in the living room. Alan brought home some wine and chicken and cooked a delicious chicken curry. Before this we had gone for a walk and found there is a canal at the end of our street which has paths on either side, with gardens, attractive houses, trees and flowers, which reminded both of us of the Leiden canals. What an extraordinary place this city is in its human scale. Our planners could learn much if ever we could break our dependence on the car.

SAPPORO

20th September 1997

Left the house earlier than necessary to reach Hanada airport, but good to find how easy it was. Fills me with a certain confidence that I can get to Narita and back on my own. Rather surprised to be greeted by Kenichi while sitting in Hanada waiting for the plane. He'd been to a meeting in Tokyo and had hoped to fly back with us to Sapporo, but our flight was full. He looks a little older, but not much different.

Their new flat is, however, very different from the last. It is the penthouse and has all the luxury that the name implies. Its twice as big as the other flats in the block, with amazing views as on the 11th floor. The ground plan includes large sitting/dining room, three bedrooms plus a tatami room which Subaru uses as her bedroom, two toilets and all other necessities. Very comfortable as at least three times as big as their last flat where each room served for living and sleeping, except where one ate.

Toshiko just the same and very welcoming. The girls have grown and are more confident with us. We had a good conversation over supper with them. Alan started exploring ideas at once and explained Gerry's theory on the importance of glass to Kenichi while we were waiting for supper. Kenichi tried to find some evidence of early production of glass in Japan, but failed to find any. He thought the idea very plausible.



A meal with the Nakamuras

21st September 1997

Slept much better than for a long time. Only got up once and then went back to sleep. Maybe the futon we are sleeping on is too narrow as it is only a single one and this may make sleeping more difficult for both of us. We are sleeping in Kenichi and Toshiko's room which also doubles as their study. Luckily a large room. There are only a few high-rise blocks around - most of the housing is two-storey. The whole area is being developed by Mitsubishi's building branch. Though each house had distinctly different features from its neighbour, this variety is planned by the builder, not the buyer. The theory behind this is to relieve monotony in tightly-packed residential areas. The house construction looks rather toy-like to our eyes as the outside walls are faced with a sort of plastic brick. When concrete bricks are used they look unreal, otherwise tiles sometimes face walls or on doorsteps. The roofs are stainless-steel sheets which are painted. Kenichi thought they would last about thirty years which is the average age for rebuilding, I should think, of a house in Japan.

The suburban landscape is very dull as there are no gardens to relieve the real monotony of buildings. Kenichi and Toshiko's flat feels less dull than the houses as there is the magnificent expanse of sky and the hills, while the houses are completely hemmed in except for the side facing the road. We looked around a show-house - three bedrooms with the spare tatami room which can be used for guests or parents - children would sleep upstairs. Suburbs, whether in Japan or England, are so depressing. This house would cost about £250,000. The price of land is falling and has done so since the early 90's thus the price of houses is much more equivalent to England than it was.

We walked through a small park to the supermarket where a kindergarten was having a sport's day. Fathers, even grandparents, much in evidence as this is a holiday weekend. Surprised to see that one kindergarten had so many children in it. After buying food we returned to the flat. This was the full extent of any exercise, but Alan managed to get Kenichi to go out for a walk in the middle of the afternoon leaving me to discuss child-rearing with Toshiko. She talked about the shock felt at the murder by a boy of another, by strangulation then beheading. The anguish was particularly strong because this boy had been well brought up and was from a good background, and it undermined parents' belief that nurture alone would raise the perfect child. Alan was in nearly endless discussions both yesterday and today though I'm not sure he could keep it up much longer at that intensity.

22nd September 1997

Kenichi took us to his dept. and we were given a room to work in. Very pleasant and familiar. Nice to get back to some Earls Colne historical work which has been on my conscience. I hope to build up some hours in lieu to cover my trip to Australia this and next week. We are staying for the rest of our time in Sapporo at the "Mets Hotel", an apartment hotel so has cooking facilities, washer and drier, fridge, etc. It costs about £50 per night which isn't too awful and quite comfortable. At least we will be able to rest our minds, and so will Kenichi and Toshiko.

23rd September 1997

A good night after a "take-away" supper plus ice cream and some Japanese TV. We noted that three channels are devoted to grey-flaky sex films that one can only see by paying, though the slot machine had been taped up so I don't think it was working anyway. A good breakfast and pleasant walk to the dept. Started work at 9.15am. and continued with 15 minutes for lunch until we were collected by an ex-student of Kenichi's, now a lecturer - Ken Endo, and his Brazilian wife, Hilda. They have a small daughter, Anna, aged two. Ken drove us to Toshiko's. Today is a holiday when people are supposed to take gifts to their ancestral graves. All the family had been at home for the day so we were joining them for a special meal. The peculiar element is a coloured soya paste cake but the other festive food is just festive. Alan even got them to produce the saki.

Earlier in the evening we went with Toshiko to the hall where Ai usually does kendo but as she is doing exams tomorrow she wasn't there. We did watch a class of young children, the youngest a small girl aged about

seven, beating each other's sticks with some force. The costumes were interesting. Alan filmed it so we have a record.

24th September 1997

Rained in the night and the cloudy morning reminded Kenichi that autumn was here and winter not far away. As Alan was giving a lecture to Toshiko's students he stayed with her and I went into the dept. with Kenichi. Had an uninterrupted day on EC and have done over a week's quota and should easily finish last weeks and some of next in the remaining days here. Alan's lecture went well, he thought, though it was one and a half hours long with translation. The Dean of the university was there and the representative of the British Council in Hokkaido, who was the only one to ask a question. They paid him handsomely - 158,000Y. We had another superior 'bento' in our room with saki I got in the co-op at lunchtime.

25th September 1997

Another day spent on EC. I'm having thoughts about how to utilize this material as well as preparing it for the WWW. Noting the land transfers, most of the period I'm looking at - c1560 - are sales. There is little suggestion of true family land here. Alan was visited by Ken Endo with a female lecturer, Maki Nomara, who's special expertise is the Adam Smith of Japan - Banto - a futures expert in rice in Osaka. Most of what she said is in the Kodansha. Later he met the new professor of anthropology - Kajiwara - who is really just setting up the department. Kenichi thinks well of Kajiwara. I did go to lunch with Ken and Maki with Alan. They tried to take us to a new hotel built by the lake. It is for visitors and we might have stayed there if Kenichi had the necessary dept. funds. It was full of lunchers so we went to a student refectory and had a perfectly adequate meal. After work we went off to the centre of town - to Saigu the large, brick shop - to look for teapots. We didn't find anything like our little brown one, but did get some other things including books and lacquer bowls for 'mizo' soup. Usual supper from a take-away and channel hopping on TV.

26th September 1997

Alan gave his talk to the faculty today on his new book [The Savage Wars of Peace] Rather critical that they accept it as the subject matter is the past history of Japan, and apart from some qualifications as to the exact amount of tea drunk, and whether mosquito nets were in general use, I got the feeling that they largely agreed with Alan's thesis. He performed very well in a lively, friendly manner and Kenichi was there to translate. He did summarize the argument, but his interjections were few so I think Alan had pitched the level well. Certainly the applause at the end was enthusiastic. We returned to the hotel in rain. Rather depressing for the inhabitants of Sapporo to be facing winter. Have not found anything that really surprises us yet. I think we now know Japan so well that unlikely that we'll feel the strangeness we felt on our earlier visits. Sad in a way, but also heartening that we seem to have understood something of the essence of this society.

27th September 1997

The end of a week in Sapporo. After our previous two visits it all seems pretty familiar - both university and town. The city has grown though and the centre is full of vast buildings. Today was marred by a sudden bad cold and the fact that it poured with rain all day. Worked in the dept., Sarah on EC. I finished the draft of my piece on Wrigley and continued to look for articles in the Kodansha encyclopedia. In the evening we went with the Nakamura's to a pachinko parlour - not as noisy as I expected, but equally futile - and then to a Chinese meal in a Japanese-style tatami room with four colleagues and the children.

Discussed marriage and Toshiko now seems to have come round to Kenichi's view, that Japanese marriage is based on association - 'jo' - maybe sympathy and some affection, but not love. Love lasts at most three years, and then fades away. Subaru foresaw a world of atomised individuals with few bonds between generations or couples. Yuri, a world like England of strong conjugal ties.

Returned to the flat and discussed ideas, including Kenichi's reasons for thinking "Savage Wars" not suitable for translation into Japanese and the possibility of writing about Fukuzawa. There is clearly a great difference between the Japanese idea of scholarly - which is meticulous, line by line, get the facts right, and my approach which is synthetic and analytic and too sweeping for them. The size and scale of approach is very different, though there are people - like Umesao and Fukuzawa himself - who thought on a grand scale.

On the whole, though, Kenichi felt that "Savage Wars" would need a methodological chapter and introduction to each chapter, tying in the findings to recent Japanese scholarship. They are obviously weighed down by a vast mass of past interpretations and in true Confucian fashion cannot strike out afresh until all the older truths have been honourably mentioned. He seemed happier with my recent plan to put Fukuzawa near the beginning as a biographical account of the dimension of rapid change rather than at the end of a line of Enlightenment thinkers. He also pointed out that my book was difficult for Japanese because it was inside out. Usually the Japanese contrast themselves with outsiders leading to the conclusion that they are utterly different. The idea that they are both similar and different he found difficult to contemplate - or thought the Japanese readership would find it so. So I think I'll let the book alone and leave it for the Japanese to make approaches if they wish to.



Toshiko, Sarah and Kenichi in a pachinko parlour

So far our whole trip has well demonstrated the truth that familiarity makes it increasingly difficult to see what the problems are. I think Tokyo has some surprises for us, but I am very glad that made some guesses - however inaccurate - at the start. If I followed the Japanese way, which is not to form opinions or look for insights until one has fully mastered all the sources, by the time one came to write one would have become so used to the light that one would see nothing. The ultimate Japanese aim reminded me of a certain kind of medieval English don - more worried about not being challenged or shown to have got something wrong or missed something out, than in providing a new and risky insight.

My writing on Wrigley went well and he emerges as a powerful analyst of some of the necessary conditions of modernity. It still remains open as to where he and Ernest Gellner fit. Sarah and I have also been discussing the need/possibility finally to write something on Earls Colne. The previous mythology, which was to quarry it for social history now looks wrong. It would fit much better into a legal history framework such as one would find in Maitland, then the data and theory would follow the same grain. Perhaps after the book with Gerry... Anyway, the discussion with Kenichi makes me a little more cautious about publishing my essays on Japan, even if they might be useful for a western audience. I shall see what the reaction to my lectures in Tokyo is like.

28th September 1997

The 'futon' is a very comfortable form of bed, much simpler but, at the same time, much more conducive to uninterrupted sleep than an ordinary bed. We have enjoyed the breaks from the hotel. After breakfast, Toshiko had a long discussion with Alan about his piece on Fukuzawa. The conclusion was that the facts were right but his interpretation on the position of women was too conventional and Toshiko now thinks, wrong. She felt that if he stuck to reflections on his major work on Civilization, that would be fine and a good introduction to the other thinkers. The problem with Fukuzawa's work on women is that he saw men and women as essentially equal but one needs to read the parallel work on women to see what this actually means. This has not been translated. Indeed the work in translation is about 4/30 books so Alan's idea of somehow doing a "modern masters" on him is not realistic. However, the discussions with both Toshiko and Kenichi were positive - more so than last night.

We found ourselves watching Japan v: Korea in the world cup qualifying round. All the Nakamuras are football fans. Japan lost, but they were not too downhearted. Kenichi took it as inevitable as he mentioned the Japanese have no staying power and only shine in the first part of a game. We had a number of discussions on Japanese weaknesses. Kenichi mentioned that the women were weaker in childbirth than western women. A Japanese doctor in Oxford commented on Toshiko's weakness after Subaru's birth and suggested it was because Japanese women had thinner blood than us. I don't think that this fits quite with the image of old Japan with women going to the fields and coming back carrying a newborn baby with the firewood. One startling revelation was that Japanese couples do give up all sexual relations in their mid to late thirties - once childbearing is over - and neither feel the need for sex. This, according to Toshiko, is a sign of maturity! Kenichi didn't think there were masses of prostitutes to service men and that pillow-books only showed their guilt-free attitude to sex. However, when I mentioned Hilda's desire to study young Japanese girls who have relations with older men, Toshiko found the subject quite disgusting. The generally early end to sexual relations which they take as natural explains why they find western uxoriousness distasteful.

We all went to a Japanese restaurant of traditional style with waitresses in kimono and koto music played as background sound. We were the hosts for this final meal. Good to find just how stimulating discussions with them still are. I doubt that we will find any others who will be so open and informative in Tokyo.

29th September 1997

Spent the whole day on EC. I am noting areas such as the land references which must be looked at again once the map has been redone - or perhaps it could be a preliminary to that? Will have to think how to redefine actual plots rather than whole areas, such as Hayhouse, but I do have the indexes to enable me to be more accurate in Cambridge. Alan reading the Kodansha and finding much of interest. It may be sensible to buy a set rather than to continue to xerox specific articles when interests shift constantly.

Thinking of yesterday's remarks on sexual relations, one strong image is of the parallel significance of the seasons. In Japan, these are much more recognized and accentuated with changes of clothes on specific dates etc. Thus a patterning of life stages in a similar way is not unthinkable. However, we can't quite fit this puritanism with the extraordinary accounts of sexuality in the past, though one has to admit that present day clothing - especially women's - is very dowdy and unattractive, and there is hardly a whiff of sex in TV advertisements. Perhaps when the westerners introduced prudery with regard to bathing the Japanese took it up and have extended the idea and improved on it as with so much else, but was pre-Meiji Japan different? A puzzle.

30th September 1997

Didn't sleep too well as I had some green tea before bed. I suspect that we managed to drink so much with Toshiko because it was so weak - really just hot water with a hint of a tea leaf. Washed all the clothes last night, and ourselves - hair too - to save effort and expense here. We enjoyed the Sapporo Mets Apartment Hotel and all our useful time in the dept. Managed to do enough work on EC to cover my absence in Australia. Our conversations with Kenichi and Toshiko have added a good check on thinking we know everything about Japan and the Japanese. A good lesson before our time in Tokyo. We lunched with them at Sogo - deep in Fukuzawa to the end. Hope we may see either or both of them in Tokyo before we leave finally.

TOKYO

Had an easy trip back to our house in Mitakadai. Feel no fear of travelling in Tokyo as the crowds, though large, are passive. Ruminated on whether this was part of the way they cope with the ever-present fear of earthquakes and other natural disasters. This point made by both Kenichi and Toshiko. Kenichi suggested it was the fourth Horseman of the Apocalypse - the picture on the front of Alan's book. It is an element we find difficulty in really understanding in England, but here it is always in the back of one's mind, especially in Tokyo. Feel very happy and comfortable back in our little house and our stay with T and K has also pointed to ways we should use it better. Comparing the fittings and furnishings here supplied by Coco, see how just sophisticated they are in comparison. Most Japanese homes, including T & K, have an element of kitch that is missing here. Phoned to bank in England to check that Alan's salary has been paid in. Did it by myself from Sapporo airport!

1st October 1997

A bit tired at first due to yesterday's travelling, but improved later once we had decided not to sit and work all the time but to go out and look about. Almost immediately we found a bookshop with a large and interesting stock of books in English, among which were translations of Japanese novels. I bought one to fill the book vacuum but we noticed lots of others - all reasonable. I should be able to buy and ship some anthropology books too. We tried to go to the folk craft museum nearby but it was closed for the day. Looks interesting as based in two old houses which face each other across the road. Have arranged to go to an exhibition of artefacts of an ancient Kyoto family, recommended by Toshiko, tomorrow. Masako is coming with us.

On our way back we decided to try to find the shop where Alan and Masako had bought the cushions but chose the wrong station first. Alan then thought it was the next one and we did see the bank there that he'd also been to, but failed to find the cushion shop. However, we did find a similar place and were able to buy mugs and a teapot for Alan's room, and also some table mats. We felt pleased to have found things on our own and shopping in these narrow streets full of small shops is such a pleasure. Cars are few and people everywhere. I think Gerry and Hilda will find it like Paris in this respect. We heard they will be coming on 28th October. Only hope they will find floor sitting not too uncomfortable.

2nd October 1997

We woke earlier and went into the dept. during the rush hour as we were going to see "Treasures of the Reizei Family" in the afternoon, and Alan wanted to get some work done first. Now have a teapot and mugs for our Japanese tea in the dept. Only annoyance is that the kettle has a leak. The room is now comfortable with Alan securing a second desk - one for each of us rather than the uncomfortable folding table he was trying to use before. He has spread his papers in labelled piles over the shelves and now feels more at home and able to concentrate on writing.

Masako came in just as we were finishing our buns and bananas at midday and we went to Ueno - the central area where all the big museums are, to see this special exhibition. Understood a little more the

importance of literature to the Japanese. The exhibits came alive to some extent at the end where there was a short film of the present family members celebrating in traditional court dress - men facing women in a long line over a long silk cloth representing the milky way. Each wrote a 'waka' and passed it over to the person sitting opposite - men to women and vice versa - on a fan. The family house is being renovated in Kyoto. Perhaps we shall be able to see it. The only rather hideous thing were the enormous crowds of people trying to see into each case. We had the advantage of height but still had to travel at a snail's pace with the crowd along the glass front of each case to be able to see anything. Masako had a tape recorder but this only gave descriptions of a few of the items and not much fuller than the labels. We came out to raindrops and we'd forgotten umbrellas. However we did see the Toskabu - a Shinto shrine built in memory of Ieyasu. There appears to be a number of such shrines on this site but this is the most impressive with an avenue of stone lanterns leading to huge bronze ones used for burning incense presented by Daimyo to the Tokugawa shoguns. The rain began in earnest once we reached our own station and we had to run to the supermarket and back here for supper. Tried a full wash with drying which is effective, though the washing could have been cleaner. Will try to teach Alan how to use it before I go.

3rd October 1997

Another day in the office. The secretary booked my train to Narita and I confirmed my flight. Feeling rather sad already to be leaving Alan here. We walked again this evening after supper and heard strange drums and flutes which we traced to a shrine. We noticed the odd little bits of folded paper that one sees at shrines were hanging from a rope line all the way down the street and there are banners and lanterns. Beside the supermarket near the police station we noticed men working on a sort of ark made of gilt which stood on a wooded frame which will be carried through the streets. Tomorrow? Will ring Masako to try to find out.

4th October 1997

As today is Saturday decided not to go to the office but to go to the electronic area of Shinjuku to look for a compact disc player for Alan. Cleaned the house thoroughly which is made easy by the lack of furniture. We filmed round the house to give people an idea of construction. It is delightful to live in at the present temperature but I wonder how it will be in winter. Noticed that there are double curtain rails - maybe for lace and heavier curtains, but maybe two layers of curtaining are required for insulation. The living room is 6 mats with 'tokonoma' and a wooden ceiling, and is about 8ft high. The bedrooms are completely square 4.5 mat rooms. All odd space is used for cupboards so everything in the bedroom can be put away daily to make the housewife's job even easier. Alan managed to contact the Nakanishis and we will be going to tea with them tomorrow. He also phoned Masako to try to find out when the ceremony would take place. She didn't know. This is a time of festivals and there doesn't seem to be a set time for anything.



Sarah working at home

A visit to the famous down-town of Shinjuku today in search of a Discman etc. Very easy journey and we marvelled at amazing department stores etc. Raining and a late lunch so a bit tired, but found a discount store where we got a Discman and even one CD, so am now sitting happily listening to a Handel opera. Very refreshing. Amazing what Japan has built up in thirty years - and everyone polite and orderly and self-disciplined. An amazing and livable city. Continued with my writing this week. Took some time to sort my room etc., but managed to do some useful work on Thursday and Friday and revised Montesquieu, Fukuzawa and Maitland along lines suggested by Toshiko and Sarah. Cut out quite a lot on their methods/lives. Have now started on Tocqueville - more difficult as I need to restructure all the substantive chapters to prevent repetition/wandering. But am getting some idea of how to cut the present 8 chapters down to 5. We bought some nice cups and a little teapot.

5th October 1997

Sun, thankfully, and warm. We heard an explosion which seemed to be fireworks - later I heard a number and noticed puffs of smoke coming from the area where we'd seen the Shinto group yesterday. We found that indeed they were there in much larger numbers and that small girls and boys were also dressed in coloured jackets with sashes, bells and bands round their heads. Clearly the gun shots had been a call as people began gathering similarly dressed with groups in different coloured cotton jackets. Luckily Alan had the camera so we could film the children towing off the drum on a wheeled carriage and a small "ark". The large "ark" was carried by a group of young men and it looked like some enormous beetle with legs performing strange steps in unison, while uttering guttural sounds. Decided that the nearest English equivalent was a Boy Scout church parade with Girls Guides, Cubs and Brownies all playing a part.

They clearly perambulated the town and we suspect ended at a shrine but we were not able to see where or what happened there. Odd to see many of the young men and women wore 'tabi' without clogs, and some men only had loin cloths under their jackets, appearing pretty naked to us. They all drank a cup of 'saki' before

leaving. Would like to understand a little more of the significance but later, talking with Yoh Nakanishi, it would appear there isn't much. Shintoism is Japan - 'kami' is the soul of Japan so all they are apparently doing is asserting their allegiance to themselves.

After a lunch of soup and bread, walked a little beside the canal and marvelled at the large carp in the water competing with ducks for bread thrown by passers-by. Met by Yoh and Himako near the station. Alan recognised Yoh in the distance and I saw Himako beyond. They took us to their house which is unchanged though Liberty cushions etc. less in evidence although Himako is still writing books on patchwork. Tea it seems means supper as well so we spent some time with them, interspersing chat with a walk to the Inokashira park which we remembered walking through with them after the Kabuki in 1990. Can see it's an easy walk from our house and is. our earthquake point. Yoh didn't really agree that the Japanese are obsessed with fear of an imminent earthquake. He felt pleasure when experiencing small tremors at the power of the earth - also some belief in the power of 'kami' to protect. Alan talked about the ideas in his book - particularly tea and effects. They have invited us to stay with them in their house in Kamakura in December.





Shrine procession

6th October 1997

Pleasant day. We went into the dept. It took 20 minutes train ride and hardly any distance walking either end, so convenient. Had a good morning's work on EC but had to come back after lunch to see the TV installed. Masako came from her house and met us here, but I think we could have managed without her this time. Alan tried to play his camera through the video but it was not set quite right and didn't play well - a rolling picture without colour. However, this TV will play English language news and films as it has a bilingual button.

After Masako left we ventured a little further along the canal path. Masses of huge fish, nearly all carp but we did see a dogfish and a turtle, and delighted in seeing a kingfisher twice. The river is full of runnels, twisting streams built between stone walls and dams. It looks as though the fish must be fed though people are not actually permitted to feed them. The municipality must do so and probably restocks their section if the fish disappear. In England, small boys would be endlessly trying to catch them, but here no one bothers - they just look and enjoy.

Noted gardeners trimming trees very delicately - pruning would be a better word. They stood on three-footed ladders, the runged part with two legs made of wood, tapering to a point at about 10- 12' high, the third leg completing the triangle made of bamboo bent over at the top to form a loop which attached it to the wooden steps. Himako said that this area to Kichijoji was not destroyed in the 1923 earthquake and that may be the reason why it is still full of small houses which rarely change owners according to Toshiko and Kenichi. Yoh said that the odd old buildings that stand empty in places are usually subject to disputes over inheritance.

7th October 1997

Didn't sleep very well and felt rather tired, especially this afternoon. We took a couple of breaks from work in the dept. We went again to the nice bookshop nearby before lunch and both bought books. This afternoon we managed to get into the Japan Folk Crafts Museum at last. The new exhibition was on Japanese basket-work but there were many pots - both clay and lacquer to enjoy, and the museum itself was an attractive old building.

Found that it had been started by Soetsu Yanagi, a friend of Bernard Leach and Hamada. He was the originator of the "mingei" movement that changed attitudes to humble work by anonymous craftsmen and led to the "National Treasure" status given to particular craftsmen today, though he really valued the anonymity of craftsmen rather than naming him or her as a treasure.

We could not read the descriptions so didn't realize until we bought a book of Yanagi's writings that many of the pottery exhibits were Korean and three were old English. Furthermore, some particularly striking plates were made by Hamada. Our initial thought was they were all Japanese seventeenth to nineteenth century. Went back to work for another hour. Alan has a newly edited version of Tocqueville for me to take to Australia. Both feeling sad and sorry that we won't be going together. Feel especially sorry for Alan as he will be alone while I shall be seeing both daughters and granddaughter. We must try to avoid this sort of separation in the future.

8th October 1997

Sarah gone [to Australia to see family] and feel a deep emptiness. We went into dept. very early as woke early. Arrived at about 8.50 and worked hard, Sarah on EC and I wrote the last substantive piece of "Riddle I hope - a 3000 piece on Adam Smith. In the last two days I have reduced Tocqueville to 43,000 (4 chapters from 8), so things are moving on. But though a very beautiful day, all overshadowed by the knowledge that Sarah would be leaving for Australia in the afternoon. Reminded me of being left at the Dragon and Sedbergh. In all our 20-plus years together, apart from Sarah's operation, we have spent less than a week apart. So prospect of 12 days pretty horrible. But tried to be cheerful. Left for Narita express at 3pm., and arrived with one and a half hours to spare, so watched the giddy crowds. Saw Sarah onto the train and left without a kiss - Japanese fashion, but with a dagger in my heart. Since then have been trying to numb the pain.

First tried music and bought 4 CD's at station - Bach and Mozart. Am listening to one now (Mozart "Divertimento" - lovely). Then mooched round Shinjuku for a while. Went to the department store where Sarah and I had wandered (Tokyo Hands) and also found myself in the same area of cut-price electronic stores. Then back to Mitakadai. Picked up a bottle of red wine and a pizza. Have tried their effect and Mozart and a slight numbing. Drank Sarah's health as she left - I hope. The house then shook and I wondered if it was (a) my heart (b) an earthquake (c) strong wind. Think it was the last of these. Tried to watch 9 o'clock news but could not get an English version for some reason. So will soon have an early bed and hope things look brighter in the morning. Am wondering how flight is going. Sarah will be roughly over Philippines and by the time I wake will be in Australia.

9th October 1997

Started the day with orange juice and an egg. Arrived by 9am. and had a good day's work. Went out in the middle of the day to the bank and got my card. Explored the areas round the station and found some very cheap restaurants and shops selling second-hand goods and some nice, cheap pots. Back to dept. with an ice cream. Finished off David Hume and Smith in the morning and started on my paper on Fukuzawa for the dept. Had tea with Takeo and discussed Andre Beteille's visit. Sent e-mails to a number of friends and tried to send a fax to Sarah who should have arrived, to no avail. Arrived here at 7.30 and am resisting the temptation to watch the spooky "Silence of the Lambs" with Jack Nicholson. Might do so if Sarah was here, but even last night felt quite scary at every bump and squeak of the house. Listened to Mozart and finished up the pizza. Managed to get the bilingual news. At almost every moment felt a sense of emptiness - the constant clucking and admonitions and sharing with Sarah. Must be like those who lost a leg or arm in war and it still feels as if it were there. Am hoping she's having a lovely time.

10th October 1997

Got through another day - though time often dragging. After eggs and orange juice breakfast arrived in again about 9am. Pretty deserted as another national holiday. Delighted to get a cheerful fax to say that Sarah had arrived safely, though a mix up about arriving. Lovely to hear from them all. Spent morning finishing off the

seminar paper for dept. on Fukuzawa. Then sent off lots of e-mails etc. to people I'd meant to contact. A time sink especially trying to get Sarah's password working. Went out after lunch to bookshop went through whole Japanese section. Bought one book on Japanese/Western medicine but noticed others. Back by way of an ice cream and a stroll. Further e-mailing and nearly found my way into Earls Colne web site. Started to think of my lecture course and how to arrange it. Arrived back about 7.30 and made a prawn curry and listened to Handel and finished red wine. Now to finish my very good novel - "Cedars in the Snow".

Miss Sarah at every moment. The temporary distancing makes one run one's mind over the whole of our relationship. Realize how enormously well we are suited. And can rejoice in that - rather than the terrible realization if she were not coming back. A thousand memories and shared moments come to mind. My whole time is still a conversation with her - as if she were present. As she said, the world is a very large and lonely place.

11th October 1997

Realize that counting the day she left, have now got through a third of Sarah's absence - 4 days down and only 8 to go! Can start looking forward to return! Finished my novel last night - a very intriguing and well written and meticulous book which I enjoyed and perhaps consequently slept the best I have since Sarah left. Although Saturday, was in at work by 9.15. Another lovely October day and glad to have the tennis courts filled as usual. Started to prepare for my lecture course - also really got into Earls Colne WWW but need a better Netscape. Went for a walk after lunch through the remoter part of the college. Many of the older buildings left rotting - to be toppled in the next earthquake? - and in various places trombone/saxophone players at 50 yard intervals practising for a jazz festival. Rather surreal. Explored some of the back streets below the railway line and bought a few staples, paper-clips, etc. Always comforting.

When I returned Takeo called down and we talked for a while and arranged for a meeting with Andre Beteille tomorrow evening. Takeo seems to be getting interested in some serious academic discussion. He's trying to persuade me to be interested in Yanagita and I am trying to persuade him to read Fukuzawa. Home to a Samurai movie though only one small fight in two hours - but quite interesting as based on a novel about a doctor in Edo. Will start Sarah's book - also with snow in the title. Continue to miss the other one and am constantly watching my clock as the time drags by. That is the strange thing - when she is with me time flies, when she's away it drags. Hope Australia is proving a wonderful time for all of them

12th October 1997

An eventful day. Got up a little later and did various useful housework - hoovered the 'tatami', washed my shirts etc. Always with a little voice instructing from somewhere... Then work on draft of my lecture for tomorrow and planned my somewhat complex route for today. Caught two tubes through to Jimbocho where all the second-hand bookshops are. In fact many of them, including Kitazawa and Tuttle were closed and those that were open were mainly Japanese. But interesting wandering around and during a downpour fortunately found a tea-shop and wrote all my postcards home. Tried to save up impressions for Sarah and look forward to guiding her through this area. At one shop spied a complete set of Brahms piano works. Pretty cheap and wanted to buy them as I know Sarah likes them. Just hesitating. I noticed that they had a little red hedgehog on the cover - which clinched it! Then caught two further connections on to Roppongi. Felt quite a citizen of the world now that I've more or less mastered the Tokyo underground - very well organized and signposted and easy, at least on a Sunday.

Arrived early in Roppongi so after checking out where International Centre is, left my purchases there and wandered round Roppongi. Remembered bits from our last visit - but felt far less terrified than last time and it all seemed quite tame. Again stopped for some orange juice and watched crowds. Found an excellent CD shop and bought two more CDs - very cheap in bargain corner - Dowland and Mendelssohn's "Songs without Words" which I'm listening to at present. Then to supper with Takeo, Andre and Chie Nakane. A typical Japanese meal - elegant but somewhat insubstantial. There were too many cross-cutting interests to do more than engage in some gossip and a few ginger steps in cross-cultural comparison. Andre in good form and

enjoying Japan. He gave me two tapes of an interview of him for our archive. Chie Nakane a little more outgoing but still inscrutable. Also bumped into Carmen Blacker who was full of horror stories about her lectures. Hope mine, which start tomorrow, are better. Left at about 9.30 and home at our cosy house by 10.30! And so to bed, with another day triumphantly passed. By end of tomorrow will be half-way through Sarah's absence. Missing Sarah at every moment. Particularly sad not to be able to compare notes in post mortem etc.

13th October 1997

Am writing this listening to Mendelssohn's piano songs - lovely - on Tuesday morning as I arrived back after 11pm. last night. The day a mixture. In the morning tried to focus on my lecture for pm. but already knew it well enough so took several walks, posted 12 cards, and thought about "Riddle". Went to give talk at 1pm., but since only Takeo, Masako and one student of Nepal there and Takeo explained he hoped to gather more people by next week, I decided to postpone until then. So discussed possible questions for my TV interview, had a brief doze, and Jun installed a new version of Netscape so was able to log in to Earls Colne WWW. They had added a comments facility, which I logged into and sent a message. Still a lot not working.

Went to tea at 5pm. with Andre and Takeo and various Indianist friends of Andre's. Then to Andre's lecture on "Caste, Race and Gender". Usual Andre performance - clear, logical, delivered with elan, a little simplistic and at times a little too much repetition, but probably just right for the audience. Back on his old themes, but with a new twist. Only at the supper at a Chinese restaurant afterwards did I discover that it was already published in a book! Much gossip about the old days. Quite expensive Chinese meal - £30 - but some useful contacts and have lined up to see several people including the leading Nepali specialist who has worked for 5 years in Nepal. So, back by tube. Another day dragged through without my friend. But now halfway through her absence. Delighted to have another fax from Oz.

14th October 1997

Listening to the first of five CDs of Brahms' music which I bought for Sarah and the hedgehog. Had meant to cook a curry, but the supermarket closed and long queues in the other shop so indulged myself in another (curry!) pizza and another bottle of red wine. But with Sarah returning in six days do not feel nearly as desperately lonely as on those first two evenings. Weather continues golden autumnal and youngsters in their millions playing tennis. Received a lot of e-mails including a long and helpful one from John Davey who seemed impressed with the book - "astonishingly good" - but then suggested I added Marx! I did my first film interview (TV) on future of anthropology etc. with Takeo and Yamashita. Seemed to go well. I also wrote a little extra bit in "Synthesis" book on Maitland and started to jazz up first chapter. Went for a walk and bought John Hall's classic on Tokugawa government and administration. Now to sink back to Brahms and red wine - and after that a Japanese gangster movie. None of this drowns my love's absence, but it helps the time pass.

15th October 1997

Another day through, and only another four full days until Sarah returns. Her absence made more tangible by speaking to her on the phone, only too briefly, as I sent a fax. She sounded so near - and yet so far. Anyway not long now... Went to Roppongi this morning and had a sandwich with Andre. He was talkative and pleasant, but one always feels there are many masks and a wariness. We discussed mysteries of Japan but I didn't learn anything really as I know a hundred times more about the place than he does. Then to work in the Dept. I also worked on introduction to "Riddle" and think I have improved it a bit. Feel I am coming to the end of what I can do on the book for the moment and from next week will turn to Japan, I hope. Now to watch "X Files"! Last night's thriller was a washout. Listening to lovely Brahms and missing S.H.

16th October 1997

Another quiet, sunny and autumnal day. Arrived in at 9am. as usual and another fax from Sarah. Otherwise spent the day - apart from a nice walk through a newly discovered little park near the university - working on further tidying up of "Riddle". Wrote, or rather incorporated a new short final chapter - "After the event", will see how it goes. Feel the book is nearly in shape - just needs a little further pruning etc. Wrote some references for Mitch Sedgwick. Heard from Osamu Saito who wants us to come to visit them in mid-November. The "Japan Times" full of the woes of the British national health service. Does indeed sound terrible. We are very lucky, so far, to be fit. And am incredibly lucky to be in this lovely university with few demands and paid so much. Of only Sarah were here to share it - but she will be soon.

17th October 1997

Greyer, with fitful sunshine. Real tingle in the air. Quite busy - relatively. Contacted Osamu Saito to arrange lunch next week. Another cheerful fax from Sarah - one more fax and then she will be back in person. Will we be strangers again? Taken out to lunch by a lady called Airi Tamura. She wants to come to Cambridge. Obviously very bright and spoke good English. Would be an asset to dept. Her speciality is Islam. Seems a lot of Japanese are interested in Islam. Wonder why. Went to quiet and expensive (she paid) French restaurant and had a good talk about a diversity of subjects. Spent part of day shortening Maitland - managed to cut out 1200 words - it all helps! Now about 175,000 words long. If could cut another 15,000 words that would be excellent. Had tea with another lady who works in Thailand and hopes to come to Cambridge - with a very young baby. Then Masako came and showed me how to use the cash till. Although in Japanese, seems very efficient - far jazzier than ours. So home to rest of curry and Brahms and 'sake'. The evenings are the worst for loneliness, but only two more after this evening. Am starting to read and enjoy very much "Footprints in the Snow". Was paid and what with refund of travel etc. found I am sitting on about £8,000 - all for doing nothing so far!

18th October 1997

Listening to Tallis sung by Deller - "Lamentations". A treat which I could not allow myself until now as I thought it would reduce me to such misery! But now this is the last evening on my own as I'm having supper with Masako tomorrow. So cooked a prawn and mushroom curry and later some American drivel on TV... Another mild and lovely autumn day. Went in a little later having washed shirts etc. A last fax from Australia. They all seemed cheerful and it has obviously been a very important and happy time and all sorts of plans for house/pottery etc. I spent a last day on "Riddle", as my first lecture, deferred from last week is ready. Doesn't read badly, though still find ways to improve. Bought some cushions for Sarah. The went to Shibuya at tea-time and wandered around. Found a good second-hand bookshop with a lot of English books and got several good ones, including one by the great Nitobe. So back for supper. Strange being on one's own in a foreign city. One feels invisible - as Descartes put it. Makes one think back over one's life and makes me realize I have been lucky to have such a close and happy relationship with Sarah, who I long to see soon.

19th October 1997

Sarah will already be in the air, winging her way over the sleeping Pacific towards me. What a lovely thought. The day passed quite slowly, but pleasantly in anticipation - tingling feelings but an apprehension that we would be strangers. Got up a little later and after some reading went into Shinjuku where I met a friend of Gini Arnold, Lisa Karnutka. Her father Japanese and mother English. She was pleasant, but we didn't have a great deal to talk about. She is at SOAS and doing Japanese. Then back, had a doze, and then Masako came round and we went to Kichijoji, last stop on the line, for a Thai meal. She is a very pleasant girl and full of questions which set me waffling, but with that earnest attentiveness which flatters aged academics. So back for a shower and bed and when I wake Sarah will have landed! A strange experience being without her - like

sleep-walking, a lot of automatic keeping going but the deeper zest and pleasure missing without someone to share them with. Still, I survived and feel sure that it was worth it.

20th October 1997

Sarah home safely! We met as arranged at Shinjuku - she was hungry but fine and we went on to University where I gave my first talk. About seven students and it seemed to go alright. So Sarah had a little sleep, read e-mails and we exchanged news. Then home where Sarah unpacked lovely pots and rearranged things and we had a lovely friendly evening - watching films of little Lily and a Samurai drama. And so to bed feeling that life was full again.

21st October 1997

Woke quite early after a good sleep. Realized that one has to get used to 'futon' again as my body slightly stiff. We went into the dept. and I did a good run of EC. Feel very happy to be back at work again with Alan reading beside me, and occasionally looking up and registering his presence. We went off to the bookshop this afternoon and found a few more very good books - masses there. Alan gave his dept. seminar this evening on Fukuzawa as an enlightenment thinker. Most of the audience has not read anything of his - as Takeo said, his writings now are so self-evident, part of the air they breathe, so nothing to challenge the mind. However, I think people found it stimulating to see someone using a great figure in the way Alan does, to make much wider points than the narrow, precise biographical criticism that they are used to.

After I talked with Ohnuki Tierney's son who is working on sumo wrestling. Hope he will take us to his "stable" in Asakusa in which case we shall learn much more, but did elicit some facts. Sumo hopefuls join a "stable" at about 15. This is either by request or suggestions of others. A few are also encouraged by school or police if they are large and disruptive. At this point all schooling ends so they have no hope of any alternative career if they fail. The "stable" is a large custom-built house with an earthen ground floor for practice. They live in a dormitory on the top floor. Mornings are spent sparing and afternoons cleaning and cooking. If they do learn anything apart from sumo its how to cook. There are about 800 wrestlers spread around ? "stables" but only about 60 of them ever get to fight before an audience. They stay on in the "stable" until about 30 then must leave anyway because they would be too old to fight.

The ritual content one sees at a fight is not part of normal training - only the elite fighters are allowed to do rituals at all. The better they are, the more ritual as though they become more worthy of communicating with the gods if they have a real gift for fighting. Samoans and Hawaiians used to dominate the sport, to such an extent that foreigners are now banned from joining stables or setting them up. The "stables" are supported by sponsors who tend to be quite ordinary people. Kenji Tierney's subject stable's main sponsor is a doctor. Sumo joined the entertainment industry round the Yoshiwara during the C17, about the same time as Kabuki. It retains the traditional form of community living and dependence on sponsors. All winnings go to the stable so even the champion wrestler is paid what his stable decides. All are given pocket money and their board in exchange for their loyalty to the stable. There are no contracts on joining, but once accepted by a stable a would-be wrestler cannot go to another one. There is no dealing in talent unlike football and baseball which do follow the Western pattern in buying and selling players. When a man reaches the age of retirement he must make his way with no other skills apart from cooking. Some are recruited into the Yakusa as they are large, tough men who know how to fight, but it is difficult at 30 to be thrown out into the world after close communal living.

22nd October 1997

Spent another day mainly working on EC and finished my seventh week's work. We went to the bookshop again this afternoon to buy books we'd located and checked against "Alanbook" to see we hadn't got them. Still mild. Wearing just a shirt most of the time. We are saving our explorations until Gerry and Hilda come.

23rd October 1997

Woke at 6.30am so got up and showered and washed my hair. Found the right switch to make my hairdryer function efficiently. In by 9.00 and a long morning on EC. Osamu Saito came at lunchtime to see Alan and we managed to show him the EC web site. It is the first time I have seen it working in Japan, and I delighted to see how fast it is. There is no difference between here and Cambridge. Saito thought it looked most interesting. We lunched with him and discussed his large project on Asian populations. Taiwan and India both have good data, the former because of Japanese occupation, the latter because of the British Raj. Alan asked about coal production in Japan but he didn't really know much though he knew of Wrigley's thesis that coal was the secret ingredient for the industrial revolution in Europe. He left after lunch and we went back to work, taking a walk in a little wood/nature reserve next to the University in the low period of the afternoon. Here listening to Brahms' piano works and drinking red wine before supper of boiled eggs and toast after our large lunch

24th October 1997

Another amazingly warm day. We did a good stretch of work this morning. As Alan needed to use e-mail, I did a chunk of Thak diary which is always useful as it makes me think more critically about both Earls Colne and Japan. I am also reading 'Tokugawa Village Practice' by Herman Ooms which gives a detached account of village affairs in 1730's which shows the way in which Japanese peasants were constrained due to their sole role of producing a set level of 'koku' of rice for their Daimyo. This explains why so many forms of adoption developed so that the village could fulfil its quota by utilizing all rice lands. There is no such pressure on landholders in Earls Colne.

We went for a walk through the streets nearby and noticed many small "gardens" outside the front of houses, mostly in pots but lovingly tended. We saw trees being pruned earlier in the week and on our walk saw a pine tree trained along a bamboo frame to make a covered entrance to a house. Most of the houses are now constructed with steel doors and windows and the walls appear to be rendered in plastic, but there are some old wooden houses. So good to see that despite the pressure on, and expense of land, few have sold out to the big developers so there is only a sprinkling of apartment blocks, and in this area at least they are not the monstrous edifices one sees in Sapporo, but only about five floors at the most.



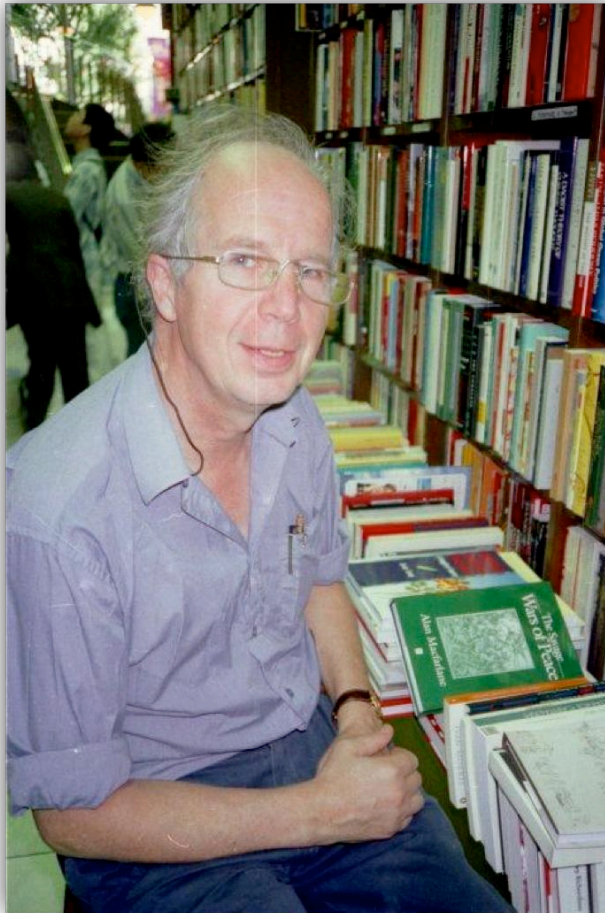
Garden in the city

25th October 1997

Still very warm. We went off mid-morning to Jimbocho, the bookshop region of Tokyo. We saw stalls all down the side streets, but whether this was general Saturday trade, or because today was a local festival day with floats and bands as well as temple drummers, we have yet to find out. Alan went last weekend, but on Sunday when all these shops are closed. We found a sprinkling of bookshops that specialize in foreign books. One we'd been to in the past and I'd sold to was Kitazawa. I introduced myself as a book dealer and got the name of their buyer - a Kitazawa of the fourth generation. I shall phone him and also prepare a list. We did buy a few books - two nice ones on the Meiji period with detailed accounts of social conditions etc. We have seen these before when Alan borrowed them from the U.L. We did see several copies of Morse - both 'Homes' and 'Life' - the former around £100 and the latter two volumes, £500.

At the Isseido bookshop we found what Alan was hoping to find - a set of the Kodansha encyclopedia in English in 9 volumes. It will cost £550 including postage by sea mail. I got a copy of the postage rates for future reference. I also got the name of their book buyer as they do sell anthropology books too. The last shop we went to was the Subunso book store and here we found an amazing collection of economic and social theory - shelves of Adam Smith, De Tocqueville etc. which really excited Alan. However, we were pretty tired by then and decided we'll have to take more time there on another occasion.

In Kitazawa we saw 'Savage Wars' and I photographed Alan beside it. The whole experience great fun. Amazing how popular this street of books is. We stopped at Shibuya and found a nice place to eat. The streets just teem with people but one feels absolutely safe. On a number of buildings are enormous screens with films showing - coloured light displays on others, roads and rail lines running in layers over each other with utter efficiency. It is so easy to travel round and enjoy it in this huge and exciting city.



Alan inside bookshop with a copy of 'Savage Wars of Peace'

26th October 1997

After breakfast we read for an hour and then cleaned the house in preparation for Gerry and Hilda's visit. Shopped for food as the supermarket is closed on Tuesday, then had lunch. After that we walked the whole 8km. of the river path. We hoped it might end at Shibuya but found ourselves at Honancho which is the end of the Murimachi line. The river seems to go east but then to the north which means we walked in a curve. A lot more charming patches. The camellias are just coming into bloom here. We noted the fish were concentrated towards our end of the river. The landscaped areas at our end have been weeded and cleared since last we walked along there last Monday afternoon. We did pass under the Inokashira line near Medamae station. Near there we came across a Shinto shrine and opposite a Buddhist temple with a delightful pond and small garden. I took a number of photos on the way to remind me of some of the delightful touches. Impressed by the trees and small parks, and the human scale of the area with few cars using the small roads nearby. We were pretty exhausted by the end of our walk and were forced to enter 'Burger King' for a milk shake - it was delicious. The route back was via Shinjuku, where we bought some video film very cheaply, and Shibuya.



Canal structure at Mitakadai



Allotments



House under construction



Small Shinto shrine



Topiary along the canal path



Alan sitting outside a small temple



Misiko (figures of children) outside the temple

27th October 1997

Finished eight weeks' worth of EC and then spent the rest of the day sorting out books for lists. Not quite finished but I would like to give Takeo a copy before taking it to Kitazawa or elsewhere. May get a little time in the week but our schedule is busy. We have arranged our trip to Kyoto for Saturday as Monday is a national holiday and Alan won't have to lecture. This means that Gerry and Hilda will have a few days in Tokyo before they leave and we hope to be able to go to a Kabuki performance then, with Takeo's help. Found out that he had worked as a scene shifter at the Kabuki when he was a youth and in disgrace after demonstrating against the building of Narita airport. He also studied the tea ceremony for three years at that time but he said he has not acted as a tea master since. They are building a traditional house in the garden next to their present house and there will be a tea room there so he obviously has intentions to begin again.

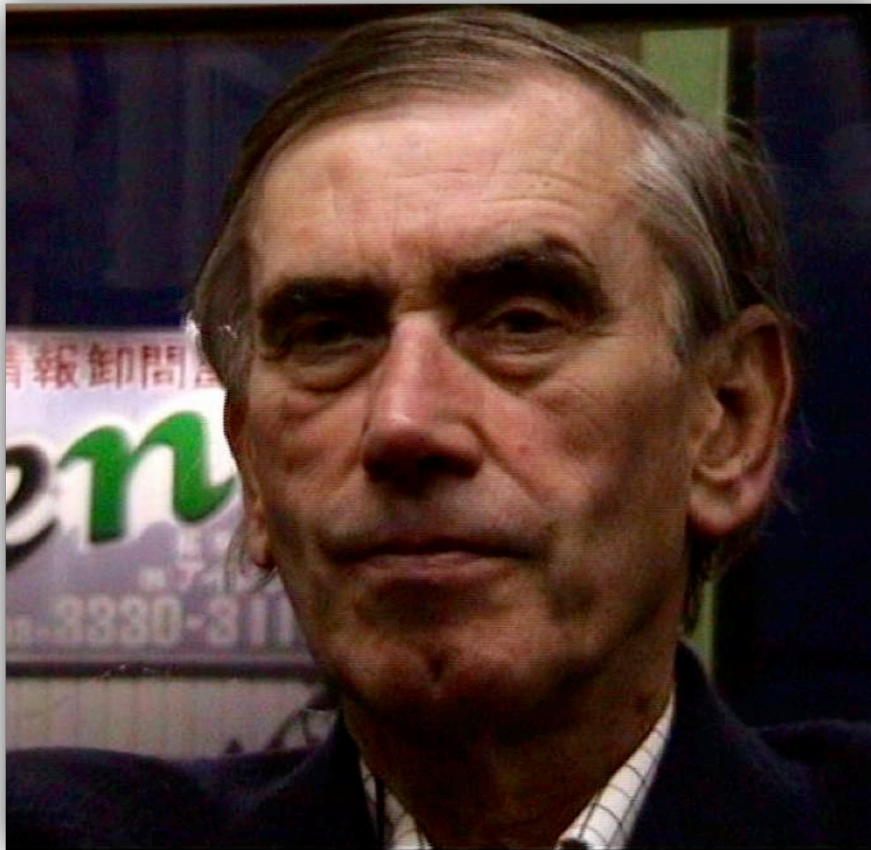
All this we learnt as we drove to supper at his house. By Japanese standards this is a very large three-storey house though the furnishings were much more like Kenichi's and Toshiko's than the lovely traditional furniture Coco put into our house. I suspect that will all go into the new house when we leave. They have four children and Takeo says that they do very little entertaining because the house is too lived in for smart dinner parties. Masako was invited too. It was the first time she had been there or had met Coco, though she had communicated with her secretary on our behalf a number of times. Coco runs a real estate company which is involved in building condominiums, as she put it. Teasing out a little it seems that her family owns land and deals in real estate too. This is the background to her success and Takeo stressed that she was very successful. She is a pretty woman, and forthright for a Japanese. She also said she found the Japanese inability to discuss constructively rather frustrating, but admitted her staff were rather frightened of her so would find it nearly impossible to voice opinions.

Masako sat very quietly listening most of the time. We did manage to discuss some very personal things like sex in marriage in middle age and they confirmed that it was not considered quite proper, and that if a middle-aged man needed sex he could always buy it without the negative, sinful associations that we have. However, most men were quite contented to just chat and gently flirt with barmaids and nothing more. Takeo is lecturing on sex and is trying to analyse the Japanese attitudes to it.

Apparently girls in Japan begin menstruating earlier than anywhere else in the world. He had learnt that this was thought to be due to sexual stimulus from advertisements and youth idols, but we suggested that physiological factors like increased body fat was more likely than a psychological interpretation. I think the anthropological umbrella made it possible to discuss such intimate things which would be considered pretty outrageous topics for the normal Japanese dinner party. Takeo took us all to the station after and we managed to catch the last train back to Mitakadai, arriving home at 12.30am.

28th October 1997

Gerry and Hilda [Martin - friends from England] arrived safely and home by 1.15pm. I waited here for their futon to arrive. Rather alarmed by the bean-bag pillow, but otherwise look fine. Cleaned the house and did a little washing and then read more of Tocqueville at long last - his chapter on England. Enjoyed it and felt it was well written and pertinent. Hilda and Gerry pretty exhausted though they had enjoyed the flight on Virgin, especially the Japanese meal, so they slept for an hour. Then we walked along the river and they were amazed and charmed as we are by it. Gerry felt he was in toy town. Poor Gerry is suffering from a bad back so is wearing a plastic corset. This means he can't sit on the floor but we put paper under the chair legs and protected the tatami so he could at least sit on something. Hilda experienced the Japanese bath with a few minor steam showers, and then we went to bed, Alan and I sleeping in the sitting room, they upstairs.

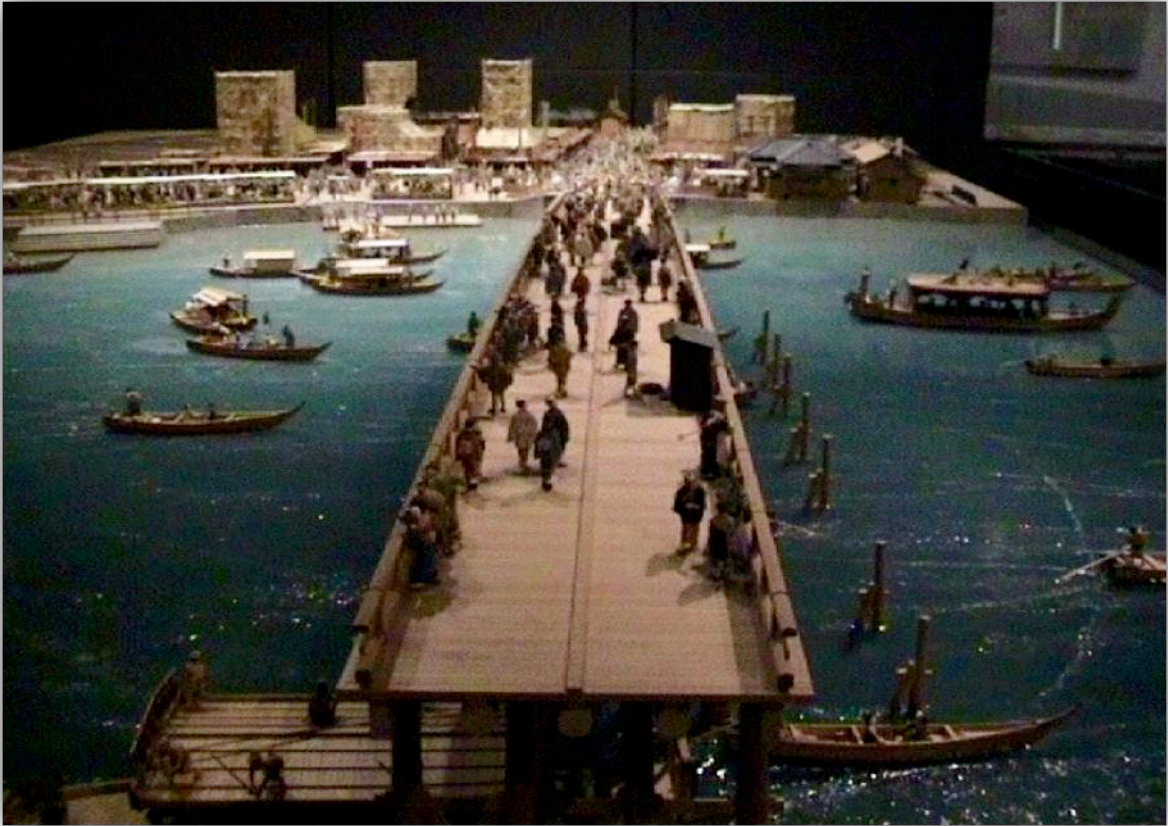


Gerry Martin in Japan

29th October 1997

Went to the Edo-Tokyo Museum on the eastern edge of the city. A huge building in the middle of a decidedly commercial area of small offices. Not the gleaming skyscrapers of the centre, but seedier places. We climbed a wide staircase to a huge empty plaza with a few small restaurants like tents on either side of a battlefield at the edge. Then went by the longest stretch of escalator I've ever been on up to the entrance. The museum is spectacular as there are very large models of buildings and one first enters by walking over a reconstruction of an Edo bridge. I shall write no more on what we saw as the catalogue is so full. We lunched in a coffee shop at the top from where one could see the city stretching out below. Hilda and Gerry stood up well though Hilda did have a little nap at one point.

We had no time to go to Asakusa as hoped, but went on to Nihombashi, to Mitsukoshi the huge department store as both Hilda and Gerry were keen to see one. Disappointing quality of goods. Very expensive, but not always what we would call good taste. Much of it seemed over-crafted and even in the exhibitions I saw no pottery, for instance, that I really liked. I was impressed by the relatively cheap price of lacquer so may get some as presents before we leave. Ate at a Greek restaurant at Shibuya. When we left Mitsukoshi I felt suddenly rather faint and had to boost my blood sugar with a strepsil - all I had that was sweet. However, I think I was just hungry as I revived once we had some food. It worried me though. Back here late and didn't sleep well again. Partly a headache which I treated after some time with aspirin.



Scale model in Edo Museum

30th October 1997

Feeling rather tired. Takeo has arranged tickets for all of us to go to the Kabuki theatre on the Sunday before Hilda and Gerry leave, which will be a nice ending to their trip for all of us. They went to the Folk Museum while we checked e-mails and I prepared a book list. I saw Takeo and he would like a copy for himself and the dept. before I show anything to Kitazawa. We had lunch at the soba restaurant at the University entrance but obvious that Gerry was in pain with his back. He thought it was better and had discarded the corset he's been wearing. He was prompted to say he'd like to return home and get it so we did and abandoned our plan to go to Jimbocho and book shops, and only went to the electronics area of Shinjuku where we bought film and batteries for the video camera, looked at still cameras, played pachinko - what a waste of time - and ate. Back here to see the 9.00pm news which was good as all tired.



Electronics area in Shinjuku



Sarah, Gerry and Hilda in pachinko parlour

31st October 1997

We went to the National Museum at Ueno today. By chance there was a major exhibition on Japanese swords. Amazing number of exhibits dating from the Nara period, some of even the early swords in near pristine condition with a blade that was obviously razor sharp. However, could see what Gerry meant by there being no major development in the technology for the rest of time. All one could see were elaborations into ceremonial swords of great length and weight which clearly could never be used, or else so decorative that they would be damaged for ever if used. Many of the early scabbards had also survived almost intact and were amazing. But six rooms of swords was too much even for Gerry, especially as his back is not good and he is wearing a corset and walking with a stick.

We delighted in the ceramics exhibits and the other high arts of kimono embroidery and lacquer making. Sadly, the sword exhibition used space usually devoted to painting so there was but one room with one other devoted to calligraphy. By the time we had explored all, lunched and bought postcards etc. we were all ready to come home. Gerry went to rest and Hilda, Alan and I went shopping for food. Alan and Hilda cooked as Hilda expressed an interest in Alan's curry technique.

KYOTO

1st November 1997

The journey by Shinkansen took us by Mount Fuji on a brilliant, bright day. We bought lunch boxes and ate on the train and arrived in Kyoto at 2.00pm and went by taxi to 'The Three Sisters' - the main house. We stayed in the annex in 1990 and will go there from Monday to Wednesday. As we were walking to the hotel, one of the sisters greeted us and insisted on carrying Hilda's case. All very friendly and familiar, though the streets seem to be more crowded with cars than in 1990. One sees the advantage of Tokyo that they have been able to develop such a good underground system and keep traffic to the minimum. We went to the craft emporium nearby to check on Kyoto pottery, but only saw one floor as Gerry spent time buying a camera like Alan's - a newer model with 150-fold zoom and a better lens. Hilda was seemingly disinterested when Gerry was purchasing, but secretly delighted that he did.

It was dusk when we left and we walked up to the Eikan-do Temple which was floodlit to show the autumn foliage. It is only just starting so some trees are red but not at peak yet. With a frost they would all turn. We found it significantly colder here than in Tokyo so we may get a frost in time. The floodlit Eikan-do was lovely and especially nice was a group of players of ancient instruments dressed in Heian costume, sitting on a small bridge over the lake. This extraordinary piping music and the image of the players was the Genji brought to life - a real pleasure. We found a nice Italian restaurant after some searching and now are back in our family room - luckily with a screen between us - on our futons.



Alan's bento



Musicians playing 'gagaku' music at Eikan-do Temple

2nd November 1997

Breakfast was at a kotatsu-like bar in that one had to climb down into a well and then sit on the floor. As there were others eating it became quite chatty. The breakfast just continental with eggs and bacon if wanted, and coffee/tea - not very interesting. We walked out into a lovely sunny day though comparatively cool, down to the Heian Shrine. Lots of children were being presented to the Shrine, dressed in kimonos and the male version of traditional dress. Lots of little very self-possessed people, enjoying fame for a day, and the endless photographs by proud parents and us. We walked round the garden which was very beautiful with the occasional splash of a red maple and the odd camellia.

We walked down towards the Sho-enin, having coffee on the way. This temple is small but gorgeous, with wooded verandahs and walkways which allow one to observe the varied views of the garden from above. There are grand rooms of tatami and old screens and the whole gives a perfect picture of a retreat for a retired Emperor, which it often was. Pleasant lunch in a pavilion where concerts are held but the restaurant has a demi-monde feeling, however the menu was pizza or spaghetti. Went down then to the great Choenin Temple of the Jodo sect. Massive central temple where a service was in progress. This is a working temple so has a busy feel with lots of visitors and worshippers. Walked into the old streets where there are very expensive art shops. Saw some pots which shocked us with their price though nothing particularly special about them - in hundreds and thousands for tea bowls and dishes. Ended in Gion for a meal before going to see a cultural show demonstrating the ancient arts of Japan, from tea ceremony, koto, flower arranging, gagaku music of the Heian period, dance, comedy and bunraku (puppets) - small samples, but enough to get a picture.



Bride at the Heian shrine



Masked performer



Traditional show in Gion

3rd November 1997

Our day for the Philosophers' Walk and the northern part of the east side. Glorious weather again - warmer than yesterday. We moved our cases to the 'Three Sisters Annex' but too early to see our rooms. Went to the Nazenji temple first - the one we had seen at the beginning of our Kyoto tour in 1990. The massive gate still astounds but we noticed gardens we'd not seen, or registered, before - rocks, trees and moss. Went down the hill and stopped at the Nomura Museum where Hilda and I looked at pots. Then on to the walk proper and only stopped at one very small shrine and a soba place for lunch. Had intended to go to the Silver Temple but such a crowd that we decided not to. Started to walk towards our hotel and found a delightful garden, Hakusasonso, with a number of tea houses in the grounds. The lakes all look rather grey and dead but that is the effect of autumn. The fish were keen to be fed and Gerry found fish food for sale too.

Walked back though felt that Gerry and Hilda were flagging. Moved into our rooms at the 'Three Sisters Annex'. Each has a bathroom which is easier than our previous rooms. After a rest we took the bus across town to the Golden Pavilion to see it floodlit. Awful scrum of people but it was a magnificent sight, particularly with the underside of trees illuminated. We took a taxi from there to the centre and found a restaurant near the red-light area. All a little drunk on too much wine and too little food and we made further fools of ourselves buying ice-cream. All feeling pretty tired thus exacerbating the drink. Incidentally, all prostitutes, including male, seem to wear short nylon fur coats in various colours.

4th November 1997

Went to Nara for the day. Even warmer and sunnier than yesterday. We walked slowly up through the deer park to the Todai-ji. It is an amazing structure which I think I appreciated even more for the second time of seeing. There is no attempt to cover the ravages of time with lacquer so the wood has the patina of age - and such a vast structure. Gerry much better today and wearing his lighter corset. Before we left the station there was a historical introduction to Nara which helped us to understand its shape then and now. Most surprising was a bald hillside which is still the same now above one corner of the city. The spacious park land dotted with temples, shrines and houses was not so different when Nara was the capital city of Japan, and the deer were there then. We walked on to the Kasuga Taisha Shrine, the largest complex in Japan with over 1,000 lanterns - large, stone; small, metal. We had hoped to visit the garden I remember eating lunch in last time but no time. We did see the Nagatsu-do Hall with a marvellous view over Nara.

I like the smallness and the fact that one is walking through park land from temple to shrine. The deer are ever present and very tame despite the baying of the stags. The trees were lovely, especially the light green genko and the small-leaved maple which is so common. We intersperse all our days with eating and coffee shops but the slower pace does force one to take more notice of small things and to linger where on our own we would tend to hasten. Alan wanted to eat dinner in an Indian restaurant but it is a national holiday in India so both the restaurants he located were closed. Instead we had a nice Chinese meal.

5th November 1997

Today we took a bus into the countryside, to a village called Ohara. There are two temples there with a couple of smaller shrines and many shops for gifts but also pickled radish shops. This is the season for pickling radish and looking at the autumn maple trees. We went to the Sanza-in Temple and did the said viewing. The day was cloudy but the sun broke through on occasions and lit the trees. The colours were beautiful. We lunched on soba and later took a bus then train back to the centre of Kyoto and walked through the narrow streets by the river. Amazed at the number of restaurants everywhere. The Japanese are obsessed with eating, it would seem, but finding an ordinary notebook took ages and we had to go to the largest bookshop, Maruzen, in the end to find one. Also found some good folding spectacles which is an extra safeguard now my other pair have a broken ear piece. Alan found his Indian restaurant at last and we had a good Kerala curry with Japanese rice.

6th November 1997

Gerry and Alan went to Osaka to see Kaoru and discuss the history of Japan with a group of economic historians. Hilda and I stayed in Kyoto. We left the men at the large department store, Takashimaya, where they caught a train for Osaka and we spent the whole morning going from floor to floor looking at kimonos and pottery - the things that are typically Japanese. Found a very small dish which I like as a reminder of this town which is seemingly built on pots and other beautiful things, and the potter was there to sign the box. I also filmed his display. The main display area was devoted to lacquer, mainly tea caddies. Again the master and his son were there. We talked to his daughter who is a basket weaver married to a basket weaver whose son is at the National Art School in Ueno studying basket weaving. Her brother is the next generation of lacquer makers and his son is at art school in Osaka, learning the trade. The items we saw were breathtaking. We were told that each tea caddy took between six months and a year to complete with long drying stages interspersed with working on it.

The large department stores are quite unlike those in England for the quality and quantity of art works. The clothes, apart from kimonos, are often the big international names like Burberry, Calvin Klein, etc. and their own manufactures, in contrast, tend to be rather dowdy. We had intended to take a taxi to the Kiyazu Temple but Hilda stopped it en route as she wanted to film the little houses beside the river. We walked then through Gion up to the temple. Hordes of people and many school parties made it a less than peaceful experience despite its magnificent view. We walked to the Kodaji Temple which was much more peaceful though its garden was not as amazing as some we have seen, and then back to the 'Three Sisters' in the evening light. The weather has been perfect - even a little too warm.



Maiko

7th November 1997

Had a lovely morning at Kyoto Museum of Traditional Craft. Startling to see a museum representing 180 crafts specific to Kyoto. Where else could one say this? The building itself was very attractive with water used in a dramatic way. The exhibits were well spaced with video films on the creation and use of the artefacts shown. There was also a video display area with banks of film. We watched a very informative one on bamboo and another on the history of Kyoto with reference to the patrons of craftsmen. We stayed there until lunch time. Alan had thought of going to Nijo Castle, but as it's on every tourist's itinerary and Kyoto is full of visiting

school parties we decided to seek the calm of a temple and went to the Kurodani Temple near to the hotel. Had hoped to find gardens, but the green space on the tourist map was a huge graveyard. However, it was very peaceful with only about half a dozen people there besides ourselves. In the street nearby which we happened to walk up there was a monumental mason, a shoji maker and tatami maker. Suspect if one had time we would find many small workshops all over the place. We had left our luggage at the 'Three Sisters' so retrieved it and went to the station to catch the Shinkansen for Tokyo, buying our 'bento' there, and had an easy journey back. The only jam was the train from Tokyo station which was full of people going home at rush hour.

TOKYO

8th November 1997

Did some washing which we had mostly dried before 11.00am. when we left the house. Went to the dept. and read e-mails and collected the tickets for the Kabuki which Takeo got for us. I also printed out a slip to present to booksellers to tell them I was also one. Went to Jimbocho and did the round of foreign bookshops as before. Paid for the Kodansha and got a discount as I did in each shop. I shall try distributing lists on our next visit. We found a good selection. Gerry got one on bacteriology he's been looking for four years. Went back to Shibuya and had an Italian meal, then home.

9th November 1997

We went to the National Theatre to see Kabuki. The performance started at midday and lasted, with a half-hour break, until 4.00pm. The play was entire - "Gion Sairei Shinoki" (Kinkakuji and the Miracles of Princess Yuki) - based loosely on Hideoshi's unification of Japan through the suppression of warring lords. It was set in the Golden Pavilion at Kyoto. The other was an act from a play by Chikamatsu - "Kawasho" - from "The Love Suicide of Amijima". The onnagata role in this was excellent as he looked beautiful too, whereas Princess Yuki was not. We saw three National Living Treasures - all Nakamuras - and the level of performance was amazing. The voice control, body control, everything, was perfect. I felt quite drained afterwards, and surprisingly moved by the performances. The English language translation was necessary for full understanding and I don't think we would have enjoyed it as much without, but even then I'm certain we would have been impressed by the standard of acting.

A problem has arisen as Gerry has lost the Narita Express tickets so Alan has had to phone Coco to find what can be done. There is a bus from an hotel from Shinjaku so I expect they will manage that, but irritating. Alan cooked a last curry and we drank our bottle of Japanese red wine - very good - and went to bed at 9.00pm.

10th November 1997

Hilda and Gerry left. Alan took them to meet a hotel bus at Shinjaku. It would have taken them only a little longer than the Narita Express and they should be winging their way to England as I write this. Their futons were collected at 8.45am. by which time I'd nearly cleaned the house and done the washing. Poor Alan was giving his seminar at 1.00pm and was feeling a little washed out. Not surprising. I went into the dept. after my house cleaning and took back the cushions and cups we'd brought home for Gerry and Hilda. Had an e-mail from John Snyder to say that he and Martin had sold their company and were now millionaires. He was remembering how helpful and supportive Alan had been in the beginning and wants to put some money into the dept. to help students with film projects. Alan very chuffed that his faith in Muscat was justified and that his philosophy of casting bread on water was rewarded.

Did a list for one of the bookshops in Jimbocho and sent it via e-mail as an appendix. A useful facility. We came home early and Alan went to bed for a while. Nice to be on our own again though we both enjoyed Hilda and Gerry's visit.

11th November 1997

Now over half-way through our time here and the moment to reflect a little on what we have found. Despite paying Alan vast amounts to be here, one could accuse the dept. of not making the most of him. One seminar a week for an hour and a half with little other involvement with students is a colossal waste of money. One can only imagine that they were put under pressure to bring in outsiders. Even the students Alan does have are very uncommunicative except on paper. He says they write thoughtful, critical pieces, but can't be drawn to speak. Even Masako has disappeared except for the seminar. Of the dept., only Prof. Yamashita is ever seen. Takeo is off in Kyoto at present, and the others - who knows where. The busiest place is the e-mail and there Alan does have communication with other academics in Tokyo. If one was here alone it would be lonely and dispiriting. Why should this be? Part of the reason may be explained by an article in Japan Times which says that the Japanese are withdrawn, prefer their own company and their hobbies to making an effort at communicating with others, yet they are not "individualists". Does this mean they lack the confidence to make opinions? This would accord with Alan's pupils.

Of life here for us, it is enjoyable. Travel is easy and fast. Shopping efficient with no end of things to buy. The major frustration is not speaking the language, though Japanese reticence might make it even more frustrating if one did. We note the general response to anything is negative and then there may be a little movement to positive. This makes our attempts to understand aspects of Japanese culture difficult as a negative response usually stops any further elaboration. We see now how valuable our experience with Toshiko and Kenichi was. They are rare people who really try to help us understand them.

Back at EC today, and a little Thak diary. We did find Komaba Park this afternoon on our walk. There is a European style house which is the Museum of Literature. Even better, there is an old-style Japanese house with a lovely garden, which is open to the public. Alan immediately planned to sit there and think each afternoon. Sunny today, but rain is forecast for the weekend.

12th November 1997

Finished editing the court rolls so have effectively gone through every type of record. However, I need to check the wills again to remove references to irrelevant land. I shall then start typing the 1854 rental if it looks really useful. We went to the literature museum we located yesterday. The traditional house attached to it was particularly nice but the main building was clumsy and rather ugly, supposedly based on mock Tudor English with gothic overtones. Still warm and sunny and the trees beautiful. We still see few people in the dept. Alan paid Takeo for the Kabuki tickets and he muttered about finding time to talk. Alan said he was always here... Our evenings spent at home reading and occasionally watching TV, and eating Alan's delicious curries.

13th November 1997

Very dull day with a little rain early in the morning which I heard on the roof, but nothing later. Finished editing the wills and decided not to remove references to land throughout but to leave it for the land editing. Did start to type the 1854 rental with HTML marking so that it will be possible to add it on to the end of Josselin's diary. Ken Tierney came to see us this afternoon and will take us to a sumo "stable" next month when they return from the present tournament in Kyushu and after their week's holiday following. Masako also came and I asked her about (a) shipping goods and (b) sending money to Australia. She will look into both. Took a look at the bookshop by the station and found a few more. It's a good place. Home to spaghetti.

14th November 1997

Wet. Did a morning's work on the 1854 rental, refining my approach. Realize just how important this source was in creating the map of EC, and therefore significance in the present project. After our buns we went to Shibuya to meet a young lady who was taking us to Ecole des Haute Etudes en Science Culturelles. They wanted to interview Alan for their journal. This was conducted by Prof. Tetsuji Yamamoto and Prof. Norihiko

Fuku. Both asked him questions on his position vis-a-vis other historians such as Stone, Shorter, E.P. Thompson and Hobsbawm, and the reasons for his taking a view at variance with these persons and others. They also asked about his thoughts on the Cambridge Group. All the answers were recorded so Alan should receive a copy. It was a little hard to see how all this fitted into their current theme on violence and capitalism but Alan managed to discuss the generalized violence of class, gender, wealth, etc. which seemed to satisfy them.

Their office was in Ginza and their assistant brought us by taxi which took double the length of time of the train returning at ten times the cost, but Alan thought it was a matter of pride to take a taxi rather than the returning tube. We went back to Shibuya 50,000Y richer and met Yasushi Watanabe (a man we'd entertained in the summer and taken to Ely for a meal) and Prof. Kaniyuki Matsuo of the Dept. of Foreign Studies, Sophia University. They took us to Sophia for a meal in a traditional Japanese restaurant - traditional in all ways except it specialized in beef cuisine. Thus our meal was mainly the accompanying vegetables and an egg, and they ate the meat. Both were nice men and very open and un-Japanese in discussion. This was a preliminary introduction before the seminar on 6th December when Alan and David Maybury Lewis will be the foreign contributors.

The impression that gave was of a very isolated and demoralised academia where scholarship was being rejected by the young as irrelevant and their chief question was what to do about this. Their account of the way Japan is going was rather gloomy as they seem to have embraced all the doubts of post-modernism. Alan tried to inject some spirit by emphasising Japan's uniqueness, but pessimism is hard to counteract. Feeling rather hungry when we got back so scoffed a Kitcat and hot chocolate before bed.

15th November 1997

We went to the Meiji-Jingu Shrine - the main Tokyo Shrine - today and watched the similar presentation to the shrine of 3, 5 and 7 year old children that we had seen in Kyoto. The shrine is in extensive wooded grounds, not unlike Ise but the trees are not cedar but twisted and bent, Alan thought deliberately. We also went to the museum set up in memory of the Meiji Emperor and Empress - gods in the Japanese pantheon. Rather humble family items such as the Emperor's desk and tobacco pouch, and modest without the overblown quality of England at that time. The Shrine and museum, though simple, were both impressive and good to see at the occasion of a festival.

We had noticed in the xerox copy of a guide book to Tokyo left by a previous visitor that Toshiba had a showroom in Ginza and as they have just advertised a very small computer we thought we'd go and have a look at it. Unfortunately Toshiba had moved from the building and their new showroom is in Shinjuku and not open on Saturday. We were rather tired and wandered round the Sony display where one can test all their products, without a lot of enthusiasm. So, after a drink and cake, home to watch a little sumo wrestling to try and capture something about form before we go to a stable with Kenji Tierney.



Shinto priests leading a procession



Groom and bride in traditional dress



Child in traditional dress at the shrine



Shinto priest

16th November 1997

Did the week's washing this morning and dried most of it. Read the rest of the chapter on De Tocqueville while Alan worked upstairs. We previously cleaned the house. After lunch we walked up to the park towards Kichijoji - the Inokoshira Park - full of people admiring the autumn colours. Alan took some film there of persons pursuing hobbies such as painting, fishing, singing to a guitar, jogging and just walking as we were. Dinner with Osamu Saito and his wife, Nobako. They live near Ebisu, just one station beyond Shibuya. We met at the end of the Inokoshira line at 4.30pm. and walked beyond Ebisu station. Osamu had suggested a taxi, but Alan said it was unnecessary and recited our experience of a taxi taking twice as long as the train.

Their house is pleasant with an old gate which was built when Nobako's father first married sixty years ago. The actual house was rebuilt about four years ago. Nobako's father, now 87, lives in the east wing with a tatami room and tokonoma. Their living room was wood-floored with a large brick-built fireplace in the middle. It did rather fill the room but the fire is a nice feature, though not lit tonight. We had the luxury of sitting on chairs again and a civilized Western dinner plus a risotto-type rice and shredded pickled vegetables, but there was chicken (very small chunks like those we buy), broccoli, carrots and potatoes too. Also drank red wine.

Talked about descent groups with reference to 'mon' on kimono. Women inherit their mother's mon, men their father's. This is the old form which indicates double unilateral descent. Now, since Meiji, a woman takes her husband's name and mon are largely forgotten except to grace a kimono. Nobako said that women generally inherit kimono. She has some from her mother and grandmother together with bags and purses with the mon - a pawlonia blossom with leaves. We said we'd been to the Meiji Shrine and seen children dressed in kimono being presented to the shrine. They showed us a photo of their daughter dressed in a kimono for her presentation. However, on what it meant and whether there was any significance at all, eluded them. Osamu suggested it was just to thank the gods for the safe delivery of their child to the age of 7, but when asked about the 'kami' he knew nothing, in fact had only read about the purpose of Shinto in later life and could explain nothing of its significance. So we are still left with the questions, why and what. It can't be nothing otherwise why are there so many prosperous shrines around and people evidently supporting them?

Odd how many Japanese we meet don't question. Why? is not part of their mental vocabulary, it seems. Alan pursued the sex within marriage question and again we get faint hints at support for the contention that they give it up early, but one never knows if they just agree to please us or that they are embarrassed by the topic. With a demographer one should be on safe ground. It is very difficult to learn anything and makes us realize, yet again, what good informants Toshiko and Kenichi are.

The only time they became really animated was in a discussion on earthquakes. Since Kobe they have realized the possibility of the disaster it would be. An uncle of Nobako's aged 103 died at Kobe and many of her relatives there lost their houses. She now has a knapsack prepared for each family member with clothes and food, and torches everywhere. They confirmed an article that I was reading in the Japan Times today that the next earthquake is predicted for the Tokai region, south-west of Tokyo - a mere 60 miles away. Made us think. Perhaps the strength of animism - kami - still in Japan is linked to the unpredictable and devastating effect of earthquake. Unlike the Christian god, particularly the Protestant god with whom man can intercede with some hope of success, nothing by good luck can save you from an earthquake. May explain why there is always a vagueness in Japanese academics' response to what is Shinto, what are 'kami', because in effect all is a way of propitiating the earth, calming the spirits of the earth. As Osamu said, there is no sense in trying to move a Shinto shrine from one place to the other but one can easily move a Buddhist temple. One can see the embarrassment of having to explain this to a rational north- European.

17th November 1997

Alan had two one and a half hour sessions with the students today as next week is a holiday. He was lecturing on marriage and kinship and made some advances in getting them to actually speak. He says he will write elsewhere about his impressions on why it is difficult for them, but part of the problem may be that they are being asked to look at Japan and themselves as an anthropologist might.

*It rained all day but we did go out and have coffee and cake in the middle of the afternoon. A good time to go as I'd found part of the later EC rolls had not been fully edited. Don't quite know if a section was wrongly added in the edit in Cambridge but don't want to redo it if already done there. Otherwise, plodding on with the 1854 rental. Also did some *Thak* as light, spiritual, relief.*

*We went for an Indonesian meal with the faculty and students this evening. Met a man - Katsura Nawa - who has worked on a group in the west of Nepal - the Bianshi - mongoloid peoples, like Gurungs, but long-distance traders like *Thakalis*. They live next to the Indian border and their tribe lives on both sides so they can cross-marry into India. When he mentioned that one of the villagers had got a scholarship to Harvard I was surprised, but they have been taking advantage of Indian schools over the border for 90 years, so are much better educated than most Nepalis. Nawa had been prompted to study the people by Dor Bahadur Bista. Another man I talked to was working on Mongolian shamanism, but had difficulty getting more than a six month visa. He had met Caroline Humphrey there and knew of Chris Hann and Piers Vitebsky who he's been contacting by e-mail.*

18th November 1997

Another day working on EC but then I started reading the current - hopefully final - version of Alan's book. The introduction was pretty clear, and the first half of Fukuzawa seems fine with only minor amendments as far as I can see. Colder. We did walk briefly in Komaba Park and looked at the garden framed in the window of the Japanese house, but Alan had a meeting with Prof. Yamashita so he had to get back. Fire tonight as pretty chilly in the house.

19th November 1997

Worked on EC until midday then finished a chapter on Fukuzawa. After lunch we went with an anthropologist from another university, Airi Tamura, to a fascinating small museum on the other side of the Sumida river in the craftsmen and merchant area of old Edo. There is a most informative booklet so I won't write about it except to say how good it was at conveying just how small and packed together houses were. The reconstruction was apparently based on an authentic ground plan.

We walked from the museum to Etchujima where we went into a temple complex rather like that at Asakusa with a narrow street leading to the gate of the temple, full of shops - mostly restaurants and food shops. Alan commented on the proliferation of food shops everywhere and suggested that the Japanese obsession was eating. At five o'clock there was a purification rite at the temple which reminded us strongly of Yarjung [a Gurung shaman] as it was rather dramatic and used fire to purify, and there was expert, heavy drumming accompanying the purification. This temple is one of the Tendai sect, the one most closely linked to Tibetan Buddhism, so it was not surprising to feel the similarity. This area was the place where Basho first lived and I bought a wooden plaque with a picture of him. It is supposed to bear my wishes to the gods, but this I carried away. The temple was wealthy with numerous treasures which we were encouraged to look at. Apparently the townspeople here are very religious and superstitious and the rite was attended by a number of men who obviously knew the form of words well, and a few women. This rite is performed five times a day here.

We went for dinner in the Kanda district, quite near Jimbocho, another downtown area, as Airi described it. This place was not bombed during the war and the building has stood there from 1870, serving essentially the same food from that time. The floor was covered in a thick rattan mat to protect the floor from oil spilt from the hibachi that each pair of guests has to cook the chicken, onion, tofu and grated cassava that is the meal. It is cooked in a liquid which appears to be based on soy sauce and one dips the hot cooked food into raw egg to cool it before eating. Naturally we sat on the floor at a low table - one between two in our case. We had been joined by Airi's husband - Susumu Kamekage, Professor of International Relations at Todai (Komaba). Both were very nice and keen to talk.

We had found Airi full of questions and information. She had been to the museum before but had never seen the purification rite in a Buddhist temple although her own fieldwork is on Islamic cities, and she had attended many mosques. Her main area of fieldwork is in Egypt and she hopes to come to Cambridge in September for a

year to gather information on British colonial servants who worked there. We shall see them again for dinner at their house on Saturday.

20th November 1997

Japanese people sniff rather than blow their noses. It's one of the less pleasant aspects of travelling on the train in the morning and evening. Colder today and really glad to be wearing our full winter gear. Again split the day into EC morning and Thak after lunch, followed by a quick trip to the bank to pay bills for water, electricity and gas, and send letters at the post office. We went into the bookshop. As always, we found something. It is an excellent source of books of Japanese interest, particularly novels. Went back and read the rest of Fukuzawa and started Montesquieu. So far so good.

21st November 1997

Life is beginning to hot up. Alan received an invitation to return to Kyoto to talk to Hayami's group from Emiko Ochiai, so we shall go on Tuesday next week, stay one night at the "Three Sisters", and Alan will talk on Wednesday lunchtime. Did further EC work this morning, then Thak, and after a brief walk. Dank and near drizzle. I read on with Montesquieu. Alan then talked to Susume Kamekage's group in International Relations dept. Kaoru there with his wife. She is a professor in the history dept. She is the fourth woman to become a professor at Tokyo University, the first being Chie Nakane. We went for a meal with them at a Japanese restaurant near the campus.

I'm writing this late at night as I have drunk too much tea and am wide awake. It seems from the conversation that Alan's talk was a success, at least in Kauru's [Sugihara's] eyes. He is obviously intrigued and says he's convinced by Alan's argument in 'Individualism'. He is also struck by Alan's approach and the style of his work as so unlike the usual run of academics, especially the historians he worked among at SOAS. He realizes that Alan is bold and brave to go out on a limb attempting to overturn the accepted views of the establishment. His wife is an historian of India, having written on Gandhi and Bose. They are going off to Bombay in December as she has money for a large project on all aspects of India today. The money is ostensibly for economic research because the Japanese research councils, like ours, have a narrow interest, but she says that it will, in fact, be nothing to do with economics.

They both thought that Gandhi should figure as an Indian representative in Alan's book as they consider him far more of a philosopher than Fukuzawa. However, then conceded that he was really opposed to market capitalisms of the sort of thing that Alan is trying to explain – why are we here now – would not be answered by Gandhi, though he may have a blueprint for a future world system when we exhaust fossil fuels and clog our skies with foul air or no air. Like Airi and Susumu, they are good to talk to, pushing ideas, teasing out differences. Found out that Kauru and his wife live at Tokaido, three stops from us, so we went most of the way back together.

The students are having a festival this weekend and there were booths all over the place with transparent plastic covers, and inside, students sitting and drinking. Tomorrow we shall see if there is more. One thing I forgot to write was about the battle for Kauru's bag. He had come from Osaka with a very heavy case, probably full of books, and when we went off for supper he was undecided whether to take it or not. His wife put pressure on him to carry it though he was not keen and they hovered, seemingly unable to make a decision. So, Alan carried the bag off, sagging under its weight, while a startled and increasingly guilty Kauru followed him, trying to retrieve it, but rather relieved that someone else was carrying it. His wife was urging him to take it as it was not proper for Alan to have to carry it. Kauru admitted that such a thing had never happened in his life before.

I also learnt that our super washing machine is known as a "Shinkansen" (apparently the kanji is slightly different for the train, but the sound is the same) and is the first washer/drier made in Japan. It has been out for about a year. He said that for thirty years Japanese housewives have been waiting for such a machine but there is a negative implication in not hanging your washing out to dry in the fresh air.

22nd November 1997

Very dull and drizzly, but no downpours to soak the students' festival. We walked through the booths but saw very little but food stalls and the very occasional fairground activity - shooting range, etc. It would have been hard to tell you were in the most prestigious university in Japan as there was so little sign of any of the wider serious concerns of our youth, at least in Cambridge. At dinner with Susumu Kamekage and wife, he agreed with Matsuo that there is a loss of motivation at the heart of academia. The students find it nearly impossible to discuss anything openly in class for fear of looking too bright - the old nail-head above the surface which the Japanese are always trying to knock down into conformity. This began to happen in the seventies when there was a government crackdown after the student protests of the sixties. Susume, like Takeo and the other Japanese dinner guest, Prof. Kitada, were all active then.

The other guest was an Australian academic, Prof. Tiffen from Sydney University, a visitor in the dept. of International Affairs. He seemed to us a typical laid-back Australian and Alan gently played on Australia being a hedonist paradise where no one need work and all lived in plenty, for the rest of the evening. He took this with a very acceptance and only vague protests at the suggestion that all Australia was like that.

The Kamekages' house is very nice, full of interesting furniture - lacquer from China as well as 'tansu'. The tableware was lovely with large black lacquer plaques used as table mats on which all our little dishes - lacquer and china - could stand. We drank French and Australian wine and two sorts of sake, and the meal was not the usual small items on plates served to each individual, but large dishes with all sorts of fish, chicken and vegetables cooked in the usual little blocks or balls which makes it hard to know if one is eating vegetables, fish or meat until one tastes it.

Airi and Susumu are very open in conversation and keen to explore ideas and even argue, which makes them more like Kenichi and Toshiko than many others we've met. Good to find them surprised by our knowledge of things like "the big rubbish" and "wet leaves". In contrast, the Australian, though he had been here for two years a decade ago, seemed unaware, possibly disinterested, in the Japanese way of life and their attitude to things like marriage. Airi as an anthropologist is of course aware of our reason for such intimate questioning and happy to subject us to similar questions. Feel that we have got quite an understanding now of the culture of Japan that additional information doesn't shake as it once did.

Earlier did some EC and finished Montesquieu. So far the argument moves well.

23rd November 1997

Had expected this to be a day of heavy rain, but woke to sun and it remained sunny all day. So much for the correctness of the weather forecast in the paper. I decided to do the washing today and managed to dry it by 11.00am. in a good breeze and sun. We were just leaving for the university as we'd planned but then decided on the spur of the moment to go to the end of the Keio line where Kauru's wife had said we'd find mountains. We went to Takeosanguchi and there were mountains - Mt. Takeo to be exact. The trees were looking marvellous in their last autumn blaze. We took a cable car up to the temple near the top of the mountain and then walked on right up to the top. One should have been able to see Mt. Fuji from there but it was cloudy to the west - maybe they had the rain predicted for us.

To the east one looks over the city of Tokyo - and some city it is. There is no gradual change from country to city. As soon as you get down the mountain you are in it. The cost was about £2.20 each way for each of us and took about an hour from Mitakadai. We walked all the way down 3.5km. from the top to the station by a woodland path - at times running along a ridge with incredibly steep slopes on either side, and at other times we dropped quite sharply. It was marvellous to breathe fresh air and smell the pine. The colours of the leaves were lovely in the late afternoon sun.

Realized again how impossible it would be to build on most of these slopes. Furthermore, without a thick tree cover they'd just wash away. Noticed how thoughtful the forest planners were in not only providing and maintaining a series of walking routes down, but also informing visitors on the animals and plants they might see down to the distinguishing features of leaves and blossoms - and in English too. Home, pretty tired but pleased we'd done it, by 5.45pm. Noted at Takeosanguchi station that the public lavatory had one Japanese-

style lavatory and one Western. The lady in front of me in the queue refused to use the Western lavatory as she said she preferred the Japanese-style, and indicated that I use it. The middle-aged woman next in line when I came out looked really revolted by the idea of using the Western lavatory, whether because I had just been there, or just a general revulsion, I don't know. A young woman following had no such qualms.



Looking down on Tokyo from Mount Takeo

24th November 1997

A public holiday - Labour Day - but still the shops are open and everything seems as busy as usual. Another beautiful day so I managed to wash and dry the sheets as planned. As we'd taken off yesterday, we went to work in the dept., but returned early and got off at the station before Mitakadai and walked back, enjoying the fish and freshish air. Took back "Adam Smith" and read a couple of chapters during the afternoon. At 6.00pm. we met Himako and Yoh Nakanishi at Kichijoji and took them to a Thai restaurant where Alan had been with Masako when I was in Australia. He had some difficulty locating it and had to phone Masako for directions. I suspect it was not quite the class of restaurant they are used to, but the food was tasty and it was quiet enough to talk.

Himako usually leads the conversation while Yoh is pretty reticent. We learnt that no Japanese seem to like the police. Himako said that her experience of student protest when at university in 1960 (she must be our age but her hair is dark and her skin unlined), had soured her. We confirmed that Japanese rarely take action to involve the police except in cases of serious crime - theft and murder. They would never do so in a neighbour dispute. Alan and Himako talked about the problem of young girls propositioning older men. Himako said she couldn't understand why older men should be attracted by young girls. Alan gave his off-the-cuff explanation which had to do partly with the direction of incest in Japan as opposed to the West - mother-son - which meant

that possibly this was the reflection of father- daughter incest in a safer setting than the family. What is interesting is that she couldn't see the attraction while it seems pretty obvious to us.

This led to a discussion of marriage. She described Yoh as her best friend, and sometimes a husband. I don't know whether this was a euphemism for sexual relations or not. By the time of this conversation we had moved to the lounge of a large, brightly lit hotel, to eat ice cream. This is probably the sort of place they might have expected us to take them. As Yoh insisted on paying the bill we don't know how expensive it was. Our meal came to c£50-60 which in England would not be bad, in Japan pretty cheap.

KYOTO

25th November 1997

Back in Kyoto again at the "Three Sisters' Annex". A dull afternoon but we had time to walk up to the Kurodani and Shinnyode temples and then down to the Ginkakuji (silver) temple. It was thronging with people, but not quite so packed as when we were here with Gerry and Hilda, so we went in. The leaves are, if anything, even more startling now with the last flush of colour against the sombre green of the evergreens. We walked down the Philosophers path to the next temple - the Honen-in. This was much quieter as the temple itself was not open, but the grounds were lovely. We walked up into the graveyard, through the currently used area up to an area of forgotten tombs where the stone lanterns and monuments have been pushed to one side, and communed with old Japan as best we could, wondering what would have happened here if the riddle that Alan is teasing out had never occurred.

On our return to the room I read a further chapter of "Adam Smith". Emiko Ochiai came to collect us at 6.30pm. and we went to meet her husband at an Indian restaurant. We talked about the usual things that seem to bug Japanese lives - what to do with aged parents. Because they have a duty to look after the elderly, it seems to be far more onerous for them than for us where the element of duty is less defined. Both Emiko and her husband have mothers in Tokyo and each is the only relative. Alan brought up the subject of sex within marriage again and Emiko did say that in country areas where a family shared one large room with a private bed space for one couple, when a son married the parents could hand this room over to the son, so effectively ending their sexual relations. Another interesting point was that persons in the north-east married later than those in the west, by some three years on average, and that child-bearing in the east continued for an extra three years in comparison to the west. This suggests that in both cases there was an optimum point when sexual relations ended and as the last child in the east was born when the mother was 41-42, this seems to be the cut-off point.

It is always difficult to tell whether Alan's questions embarrass people deeply but all seem willing to try to answer him. It's an important point if it is true, and one that has not been explored by demographers, who can give the figures but can't explain them. We talked about companionate marriage. Ours seems very odd to most people because of closeness, and I'm beginning to feel it odd too when I listen to Alan extolling it. I think we must be at the end of some continuum, but we both found particular pleasure in being close together on our philosophers walk, able to discuss ideas and new thoughts without having to concentrate on anyone else's enjoyment.

Emiko's husband confirmed that the apathy of university students dated from the late '70's and stemmed from a rather repressive government pushing universities to discourage student activism. This Indian restaurant was really good with actual Indian music instead of the usual musak. Emiko gave Alan a copy of her book which is just out in translation. Alan had photocopied his book in full for her as he had no spare copies. I think she was touched that he had bothered to do this himself.



Autumn leaves in a temple

26th November 1997

Very wet. Luckily we didn't have to brave the rain but went with Emiko to the International Centre for Japanese Studies where Hayami's research group is based. A long journey to the south of Kyoto. It takes her 1 hour 10 minutes each way by taxi, train and bus. The complex of buildings lie in countryside under the hills. The architecture was very attractive with a domed library, not unlike the old British Museum reading room but smaller in scale with stained glass used to great effect in the centre of the ceiling. There seemed to be a number of research associates as well as data processors in a large room with about a dozen computers.

We were shown the registers of inhabitants for one small area of Kyoto. These were taken every year from the late eighteenth century and through collating them year by year it is possible to picture occupancy house by house, with name, sex, age, position in the family (head, maid, etc.). When a person died they would disappear from the register with quite often a slip or note appended to the previous year's census. Each person had to give the name of the temple where they were registered, and the temple had to give its seal to each entry relevant to itself. Hayami started developing the method for analysing these some thirty years ago, using tabular sheets. These have been entered into computers so that correlations can be mapped, etc. He has ideas of putting the finished date on the WWW, so it was interesting for them to see our data on Earls Colne.

Alan gave his talk on 'Savage Wars' after lunch. As Emiko had said they wanted a precis of the book, that's what he did. Chris Wilson, an ex-Cambridge (group?) man commented on Alan's presentation and there were other interested questions. Alan managed to field the one person who might have felt hostile - Carl Mosk, who had written a book comparing Sweden and Japan, but his approach is that both were incredibly backward and poor, as was England, before their respective industrial revolutions - a sentiment that Alan completely disagrees with.

Had confirmation from an American researcher married to a Japanese - Mary Louise Nagato - that Japanese couples do indeed stop sex in marriage around forty. She said that it is common behaviour among them and that it was quite different from the Western attitude. She also said she knew of no published work on this - but it is such a significant difference. Now travelling back to Tokyo by Shinkansen. They were kind enough to give me 50,000Y and will be paying Alan's expenses into his bank before we leave.

TOKYO

27th November 1997

Back at work by 9.30am. and the usual pattern of EC, Thak and Alan's book, with a walk in the middle of the afternoon. We went again to Maeda Mansion (Japanese part) and sat in the doorway by the verandah and admired the trees, still with some autumn leaves, though now they are losing them fast as the winds, though warm, are pretty fierce. Extraordinary temperature today of 20o. Masako thought it very odd. At last we bearded Takeo and have arranged to take them to the Greek restaurant in Shibuya for a meal next week.

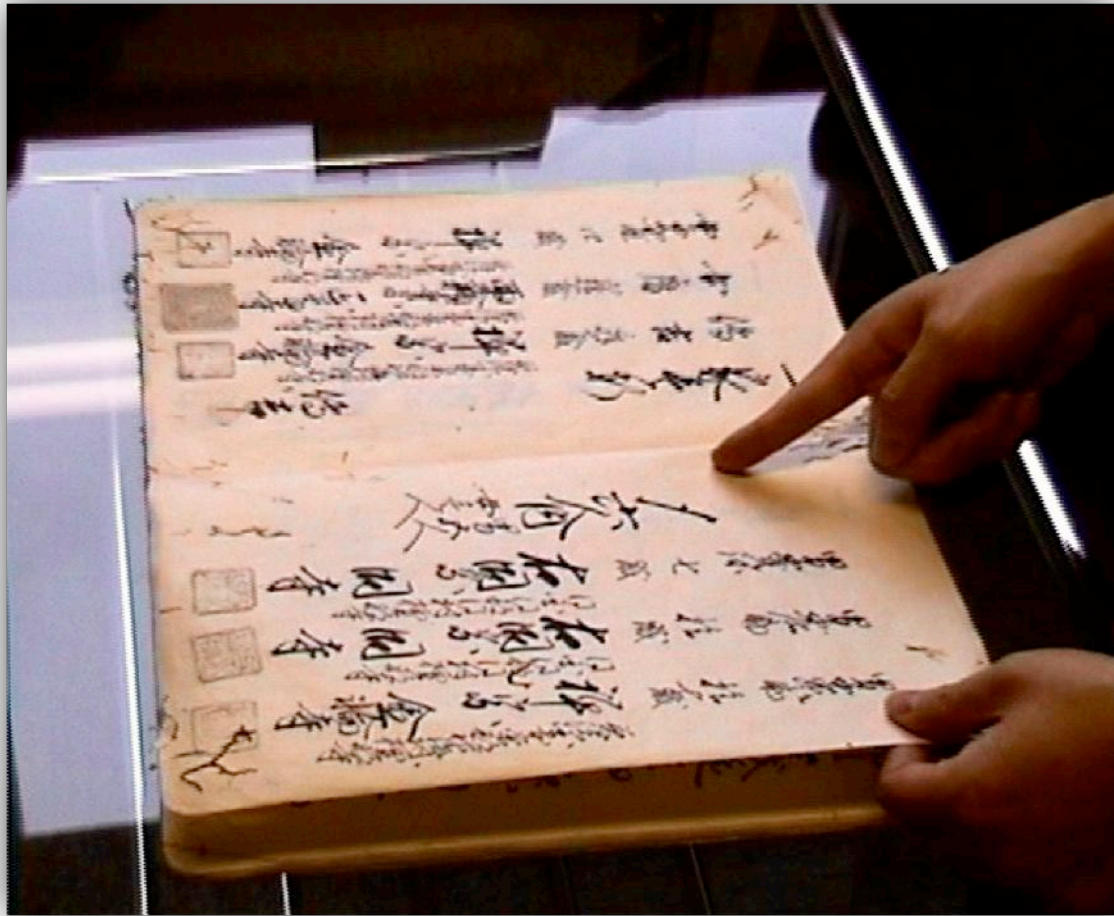
28th November 1997

Another day in the dept. doing the usual work with a break for the bookshop in the middle of the afternoon. I'm inching forward with plans for book packing with Masako's help. She has promised to spend the last day helping us to clear our things out. Susumu called in and asked if we were going to the party tonight. Alan remembered sending a refusal as we thought Toshiko would be here, but Susumu encouraged us to go. It was in a large hotel on the main road near the station. Saw Rodney Tiffin (the Australian) there and met some other Europeans and Americans. All rather jolly with good food and drink. My only fear was that Alan would volunteer a speech after he'd heard an ironic piece from another Englishman. Luckily he wasn't asked. We all had to pose for a group photo at the end.

Sonia Ryang's ex-husband came to talk with Alan at tea time. He is working on household registers ('koseki') and he wanted advice on how to label them as they weren't tight household documents as people were listed who didn't actually live in the house. The bureaucracy just needed people to be listed somewhere, and only in one place, and the onus was on a person to register himself. Many didn't bother to change their registration on short stays, so what to call them?

29th November 1997

Met Toshiko at Tamachi Station at 10.30am. to go to Keio University to see the Fukuzawa archive and memorabilia.



Fukuzawa manuscript in archive

A very wet day so we were scampering in and out of buildings under umbrellas most of the day. We met a Mr Takeda at the Fukuzawa Research Centre and also Prof. Nishikawa, the former head of the centre at 11.00am. In the room where we met there were various artefacts from Fukuzawa's life, including his pipe, tobacco set, walking stick, sword, calligraphy set - even the pram he bought on his visit to the U.S.A. for his children's use. We were told that it wasn't used for his first son because of fear of kidnap, but it was used later when the political climate improved. There were also models of his father's house based on his own rather scanty memory when he was a young child, and his mother's much grander house where he went to live in his teens. There were copies of the early editions of his major works in glass cases, but we didn't see his papers.

We were taken from there to "the house of speech", the debating hall that Fukuzawa built in 1875. It was a strange building - rather like the old buildings at Hokkaido on the outside with a sort of criss-cross reinforcement on the walls. The interior was a shock as it was based on a New England church with a gallery on three sides. Very simple with large sash windows and all seats focused to the "altar" (speaker's desk), above which was a monotone full length painting of Fukuzawa. The furniture and oddness of the position of the picture would have been considered nearly blasphemous if transposed to the U.S.A. now. This was where Fukuzawa hoped to encourage debate, but as Maruyama said in a lecture he gave there, the raised platform and "altar" meant that it was only possible to lecture, not to debate. However, it could be used for public speaking which Fukuzawa also wanted to encourage.

Before we went into the building we were shown the spot where Fukuzawa died and Alan asked if he could take a bit of the grass-like plant that grew there called yabulang. It had come originally from Ogata School in Osaka where Fukuzawa was educated, and was planted round his memorial stone. Alan got quite a good plant that we will now have to carry home somehow. As his hands were muddy and wet after scrabbling about in the earth he insisted on washing them in a puddle. Toshiko said the Japanese would never do such a thing.



Alan digging up some 'Fukuzawa grass' at Keio University

We were taken to lunch in the faculty after which we were taken to Ginza to see the gentlemen's club he founded. This actual building was not built until the Taicho period but the original club had been built 1878-9 in another part of Tokyo. It is known as 'Kojun-sha', 'kojun' = exchange/expand knowledge/discuss current matters; 'sha' = association/society. It appeared to us to be a quintessential gentlemen's club with fusty sitting rooms with deep leather chairs and an air of mouldering dust. There was a large, dark dining room in which you could imagine brown Windsor soup and beef, but not soba. To join requires acceptance by the membership committee of your gentlemanly credentials - no ladies may join - and 1,000,000Y. The yearly subscription is 100,000Y.

The idea was that academics and businessmen as members would have a chance to meet and discuss ideas. As no one we saw looked less than 65 and many much older, I doubt if it has that value now. Most of the members are ex-Keio and Wasada so it is really a university club where men can indulge in hobbies such as Noh, go, calligraphy and history classes, as well as using the library which seemed to have books written by Fukuzawa's pupils exclusively, plus current magazines and newspapers. At one time it was a hot bed of political debate. It was here that members tried to write a version of the constitution for the new Meiji government, but it was deemed too liberal. There were some large boards on the wall in the sitting room one of which translated as "we will gather together in a relaxed way and disperse again". Others were impossible for even the expert with us to translate, the Japanese written language having moved on so much since the beginning of the century.



Dining room in the Kojunsha club

CHIBA

We left this huge, crumbling pile and entered the modern world of Ginza again, and the rain - very heavy by late afternoon. After a quick tea we went to Toshiko's mother's house in Chiba and were received very graciously. Both Toshiko's brother and Humiko were there, and later her husband joined us. We were plied with masses of food. Alan and I were given trays with a mixture of bowls and dishes before anyone else was fed but we sat and waited until they could eat as we would have found it embarrassing to eat alone. We soon felt quite at home and Alan told them about his book and the findings with regard to mosquito nets, which Toshiko is sceptical about. She has just read an autobiography of a silk merchant's family in Meiji where the writer notes buying a mosquito net, but at great expense, and she believes they can't have been common. Mrs Kashiwagi did recall having mosquito nets that filled a room, hanging from each corner - in fact, her son said she'd just got rid of a net, much to Alan's disappointment. She did say they never ate under them, though Humiko's husband said that as a child he and his friend played in a room protected by nets. His family house is now under Narita airport. Mrs Kashiwagi did remember malaria though admitted that no one took it really seriously as a death- threatening disease, so it may have been a milder strain. Tea they would accept as a medicinal herb, so that thesis was not contentious.

We talked too about marriage. Mrs Kashiwagi explained the 'miai'. Mrs Kashiwagi had acted as a go-between for a number of persons. They usually act on their own initiative or for friends who want to find a suitable partner for their child. They match people through discussions with friends. They then show photos to each party and if they like the look of the other, a meeting is arranged, usually in an hotel or public place, where the pair will sit with their go-betweens for about an hour, chatting. Then, if all looks fair, they are left alone. From that point they make further arrangements to meet. The go-betweens will have sifted out all the available information on their part so that such things as madness in the family is known about at the start. In some ways the parents have no say as the go-betweens and young couple run the process, though parents could probably intervene at the very start if they felt the proposed match would be unsuitable. For their pains the go-betweens are given gifts. Mrs Kashiwagi received 50,000Y, she recalled, though this is not fixed in any way. It

seemed an eminently suitable way of making matches to us as all the go-betweens did was to sort out a suitable match and then it was left to the young couple. It was never an attempt to form a family alliance as far as we could see.

30th November 1997

Last day of the Japanese "late autumn". Toshiko's brother stayed the night. His house is in central Tokyo, over an hour away. We slept in the 'tokonoma' room as in 1993. Mrs Kashiwagi was obviously afraid we'd be cold as there were three duvets over each of us. In fact the weather had turned unusually warm again and by morning the sun was shining. Slept well until 8.45am. the longest ever in Japan. Ate a Japanese breakfast with our feet in the kotatsu though we didn't need it or the rug and duvet that had been thrown over it last night to demonstrate cosiness. Toshiko left about midday, before which Mrs Kashiwagi quizzed me on the treatment of the elderly in England. Apparently there is a state pension of 50,000Y a month - not far off our state pension. They also have the sort of safety phone system that my mother has. What they don't have are backup services or access to nursing help in the home if they are unwell. She clearly feels rather vulnerable even with three children

Her friend, Mrs Itoko Higashiogawa, the tea mistress, came around lunchtime dressed in a smart kimono and she and Mrs Kashiwagi demonstrated both the thin and thick tea ceremonies (simple kind) for us. Alan filmed much of it so I won't write about it here. We gave them both a packet of Nepalese tea afterwards thinking that we had at least given something, only to be topped by a tea bowl from Mrs Higashiogawa and a silk cloth and paper napkin purse from Mrs Kashiwagi. I think they both enjoyed the experience as it looks as though neither of them has done the ceremony since we were there in 1993. Also, Humiko and her brother were involved for the first time. Humiko's brother told me earlier that he has become interested in Zen Buddhism in the last year and is looking for a temple where he can study it further. He, unlike his sisters, likes tradition - women subservient - his wife teaches the piano but is mainly a housewife - the kimono, tea ceremony. Very unlike Toshiko and Humiko who both think it's a lot of nonsense.

We left soon after though they would seemingly have liked us to stay longer. We promised to return again. We did learn a little more about how one becomes a tea master from Mrs Higashiogawa. She had first learnt to do the tea ceremony forty years ago and at that time paid 50,000Y for the "name" (her master gave her a new name as is typical for craftsmen and the dead), and licence to call herself a tea master. At that time it cost her 300Y a month for lessons. The current cost is 8,000Y per month and the apprenticeship time is ten years. When she got her licence she paid 15,000Y for a scroll for the tokonoma - equivalent to her husband's bonus for the year. Thus the cost of learning make it a high culture form now mostly for ladies with ample time and money. Takeo told us that most tea masters - 90% - now are women.



Mrs Kashiwagi and friend, Humiko, Alan and Sarah

1st December 1997

Winter has come in name and temperature. We got into the dept. early as Alan had a double class today to make up for those lost for national holidays. I decided to check through Josselin's diary thoroughly as I'd noticed some errors. They mainly concern names of people and their reference number that wasn't changed when Tim edited the files. They are all rather obscure characters, the main players are all there but some female names need to be changed. I worked longer at this partly because Alan was teaching, but also because much easier work than the 1854 rental. Otherwise, a very quiet day with the only interruption a young first-year student, a girl who is much too Westernised for her colleagues, I fear, who is equally frustrated. She had gone to the U.S.A. when the other students were celebrating and brought us back a mat with sun and moon from Haight Ashbury. Rodney Tiffin dropped in to invite us to a meal with him, so our diary is now full until tomorrow week.

2nd December 1997

Alan had two long chat sessions. First with Takeo on ancestor worship and the clan system. He finally conceded that the Japanese didn't have ancestor worship. He said the Emperor system was Korean as no adoption was allowed. In an interview with one of the princes on succession, the prince said that where other people inherited the craft of pottery or kabuki, his vocation was Japan. Takeo said that the clan system was patrilocal as one could adopt in males so there is no true blood line. On the adoption of husbands for daughters he said it was necessary if the adoptee was to change his name and put his whole heart into his new family. This was the carrot that was often held out for a number of years until the son had proved himself. Also sexuality is an optional extra after the children are born. It is optional whether it is with his wife or another

woman. Alan had to press him on a number of points to see the actual pattern in relation to anthropological theory and then he often conceded that Alan was right.

We took him and Coco to supper at the Greek restaurant in Shibuya and Alan and he continued to talk on the difficulty of understanding Japan. We later were all drawn into a discussion on whether Japan had romantic love. In the end Takeo decided there was no romantic love in Japan, they were all just too calculating and cautious for that irrationality except in the examples of love suicide and there Coco thought that romantic love must have a forbidden element - actually it is the rare rash, unconsidered act that is absent in most of Japanese life. I found Coco very pleasant to talk to. I told her about Ron and the Morse House which really excited her. She and Takeo are building a traditional Japanese house in their garden. It will have eleven rooms - so large - and she and Takeo will live there while their four children stay in the house. There will be a connecting passage as with the Maeda house in Komaba Park. She said they were building it to encourage carpenter's skills. She thought that as they had the space to do so they should build the house as a demonstration.

Alan had lunch with a professor of sociology at Soka University, Prof. Kawayama. He had originally heard Alan's talk on Fukuzawa, after which he'd sent a very good paper on the 'ie' to Alan. They had a good talk on the educational systems of America, England and Japan. Alan explained how he taught, also how he wrote. They must have talked for about four hours and even then he seemed loath to leave. He was obviously amazed by Alan's openness. He said that when he was doing research in California he didn't really have a chance to talk deeply with any professor as it was not their habit to lay themselves open to any criticism from students. Too much equality leading to inequality, whereas in Cambridge inequality seems, ironically, to lead to equality. Kawayama said that the American system led to enormous swings according to fashion. During the 6- 7 years he was there, anthropology had totally changed from beginning to end.

We are building a lengthy list of people we've invited to come and see us in Cambridge but they are all interesting. When we talked to Takeo and Coco about how we should leave things regarding the house, Takeo offered to send Yen back for us, or rather buy our left-over Yen. Both encouraged us to come back again. Coco said we shouldn't worry about the tear in the paper lamp as she has so many craftsmen around who can repair it.

KOMORO

3rd December 1997

Our trip to Komoro with Airi Tamura and an Australian girl called Julia who is studying for an M.A. in the department of International Affairs. Went by Shinkansen on the Nagano route. This line has been created for the winter Olympics in February at massive cost and not a little disquiet at it is not much used except by holiday makers and skiers in winter. We were met by Prof. Saito who is an old fellow student of Airi's and is working at a small historical institute at a place called Gorobe, named after a famous C17 landlord who created the rice fields by building a very ambitious irrigation system. He is also involved with the local Burakumin community, and our main purpose for going there was to attend a meeting of Burakumin women to whom he was giving a lecture on why the Buraku were so discriminated against.

We were first taken to lunch and I ate the local delicacy, 'tororo', a sort of slimy potato extract, made from taro?, which is eaten with rice and a sprinkling of seaweed and sesame seed. It was much tastier than the description. We then went to the museum and looked at a relief map of the village with the route of the irrigation system indicated by coloured lights. The valley lies near Mt. Asuma which erupted in the early C18 and caused the Temai famine. One could see the volcanic cap of the mountain from the window. This area also lies on the Nakasendo, one of the five great roads of Japan, described so well in Toson's 'Before the Dawn'. The village of which he wrote, where his father was 'hongin' was 20km. from here.

This is a rice farming area with small villages stuck on the higher lands at the edges of the fields. It is mountainous so the rice growing is in the valley bottoms and one realised just what a feat making these flat fields in the first place was. Nowadays most people work in factories as well as rice farming. Some large household names have established factories here to get away from expensive sites within cities. We feared we'd

find snow covering everything, but only a light amount had fallen, unlike the other side of the mountains in Nagano where they'd had the first heavy snows of winter.

Historically this area had to produce enough rice to supply the Daimyo with 30% in 'koku' and Alan found they did have a few water mills for beating rice, perhaps 2-3 in each village, which were also used for raising water for irrigation. These mills were privately owned and taxed by the Han. They used barrows with two wheels which they pulled, so really small carts, but there were very few. The Shogunate had banned the use of carts on the great roads because they caused the road surface to break up, but carts were used more often in cities.

The irrigation system which Gorobe planned and paid for is still part in use. The water is brought from many miles away over the mountains and the great feat was to tunnel through the same mountains to channel the water. The village dates from 1630. A few horses were kept but we saw from the census that the numbers declined from about 50 to 9 during the Tokugawa period. In the past, before the rice era during the Nara and Heian periods, this area was famed for horses. In the poem 'Manyoshu', this area - Mochizuki - was mentioned as famous for horses. Gorobe was a rich Samurai. He got Ieyasu's permission to develop this area as a mining village as they intended to pan for gold in the river. However, there was little or no gold. He then got permission from the Komoro clan to make the irrigation system. His wife, Kio, is famous as an intelligent, witty woman who helped him design the scheme. It was her idea to build an aqueduct where the land dipped and couldn't be crossed by a canal. Originally the villagers were hostile to the scheme and refused to work on it.

It is possible that the Burakumin who now inhabit the village were originally brought in to do the labouring. Gorobe also started a stone quarry for knife sharpeners. This has been traditionally a Burakumin trade, so may be further evidence that they came then and the stone business was a way of sustaining them later on. The village lands were measured at 73ha, producing 800 koku. When they were measured in the Meiji period they were found to be 220ha., three times as much. However, it was the Han that suggested that villagers underestimate the size as the 30% they were expected to pay to the Daimyo would have meant they would have starved. Gorobe took 150 koku.

There is a large irrigation pond in the adjoining village. Every thirty years it has to be cleaned out. At that time an office is built for the engineers, overseers etc. The last time it was done it took 16,000 people three years to clear it. In each year they would work for ten days - 1st year 4,000, 2nd - 6,000, 3rd - 6,000 persons. 68 villages contributed men. Each person is given enough money to buy saki and a squid for their work. Komoro and Iwamura have to cooperate to pay for this. Each of the three years they drain the pond anew, dig out mud, and refill it. The fish are gathered and then put back.

We looked round their little museum, mostly of agricultural tools of this century. However, we did see some village tokens - 'kihuda' - small rectangular blocks of wood, which were used to pay people for irrigation work. Within the village these could be exchanged for cash at the end of the year. We saw later, paper money, in Komoro Castle, that was used in a similar way as token money in a limited area. This suggests that with coinage as well, there was a lot of use of specie. The irrigation work requires not only running repairs to the banks, but they divert the water from running through the mountain tunnel in winter to prevent it becoming clogged by leaves and debris. Quite a feat. Village officials would decide how many people each house should send depending on the work. Likewise, the value of the token money rose and fell depending on the quantity of the rice harvest. A lot of the tools, including the shoulder ploughs, were tipped with iron, but Prof. Saito couldn't tell us how long iron had been used.

We learnt that the Burakumin were identified by their Buddhist name on a tomb by an animal reference within the name in a 'kanji' character. Prof. Saito has been investigating the causes and history of Buraku discrimination since he came here and found that there was a significant number living in the settlement below the museum. Tonight he gave a lecture to the Buraku women's group on the subject. He had earlier told us that Buraku still faced discrimination in jobs. A number of large factories keep a note of the villages in their catchment area that have Buraku populations, and when they get applications from these villages, they investigate further and won't give jobs to Buraku. Prof. Saito did say that there was no intermarriage between Buraku and non-Buraku, but we found this was not the case when we were able to quiz the women.

He started his talk by showing them a page of a textbook used in junior high schools, published in 1996, to teach Japanese history. They were appalled by the image of the Buraku as a stick man, bent, below the ground.

However, Prof. Saito pointed out that the so-called historical facts were all wrong. It was a marxist view of history - downtrodden peasants, not allowed to wear anything but black or blue cloth, forced to stay in the village to work, and the principle being that the four status layers would be kept in check by looking to the layer beneath them which was suffering even more. Hence, the bottom were the outcasts and Buraku - sub-humans. This injustice was explained as the concept of the Tokugawa 'bakufu'. However, Prof. Saito said there was no historical evidence that Ieyasu created Buraku to fill this sub-human role. The Buraku were known long before the Tokugawa. They were a minority group which were found all over Japan. There is no document which creates Buraku. Furthermore, the larger group is in Western Japan, in the Imperial area of the Kansai, not in Edo.

At the beginning of the Tokugawa period the word Buraku was not used in this area. They were called 'choripo' or 'chori'. Other areas used different names. Between 1670-1700 the name was changed to Buraku. Thus there was identification of this group before the Tokugawa and discrimination had continued long after. During Meiji there was an attempt to end discrimination - an order 'da jōkan fukoku' - as a result of some particularly unpleasant attacks by farmers on Buraku. (See the preface to Toson - 'The Broken Commandment'). Saito thinks that the reason for this negative picture in the textbook is just because it is easier to explain the discrimination against Buraku as the fault of the 'bakufu', but he then went into further detail of why this is wrong.

Discrimination is evident in Kyoto in C10 in the area around the Shimogamo Shrine. Beggars, called "old monks", and butchers were moved out and refused permission to live around the shrine. The butchers moved to the riverside - 'dannaba' - a place where animals are slaughtered. They were supposed to take precious stones from cow's livers?? In Shikoku, in Matsuyama's famous 'onsen', there was one for Samurai, a second for non-Samurai and farmers, and a third for horses and Buraku. In a C13 dictionary, 'hinan' are described as beggars, 'kata' as lepers, and untouchables as 'eta'. It is not without significance that this was a Buddhist dictionary designed for the use of monks and rich laymen. It was Hidyoshi and Ieyasu who systematised their status but it was already in existence long before.

Saito tried to show that the idea that all Buraku were poor was erroneous. He instanced a Buraku in this area called Hikohachi who lived in the lower village where he was a butcher. However, most of his customers were in the upper village so he moved to the upper village with the agreement of his neighbours. The population rates of Buraku rose during the Edo period in comparison with the population in general suggesting they weren't poor or starving but had the economic power to support families. When Hikohachi moved to the upper village there were only 3-4 Buraku in Gorobe. During his lifetime this rose to 40. In Suilama prefecture during Edo, a rich Buraku, Suzuki, established a pharmacy and was rich enough to go on pilgrimage to Ise for three months.

The Buraku were engaged in Chinese medicine in much greater proportion than the population as a whole. This is sometimes explained by their familiarity with bodies as butchers, but doesn't really explain why they are essentially herbalists. As doctors, though technically untouchables, they would have taken pulses and practised acupuncture, thus touching their patients. Apart from butchering and medicine, the Buraku made straw sandals - 'zori', straw wicks for candles, bamboo work, and knife sharpeners. All these substances have a sacred element. The 'zori' symbolically hangs in the shrine, bamboo is a sacred plant cf. *Kauya-hime_no_Monogatori* where a goddess comes from the sky in bamboo. The sharpening stone must be hacked from the sacred earth.

Buraku also performed the role of executioner and have a strange link with the death of the Emperor. It is Buraku who carry his body to the grave. Buraku usually live at the entrance to a village and lead the village in processions. Saito thinks therefore that their special talent is to purify and to placate the spirits of the earth for the rest of the population. Another example of wealth and status together with healing is the pharmacy Oizo in Tokyo. Hachiroyemon, its owner, had this huge shop which supplied all the Bakufu families, and he was a Buraku. Why is it that these purifiers have come to represent all that is unclean? This question he couldn't answer.

The women were very appreciative of the serious way in which he had addressed a very real problem for them. They were shocked to learn that despite his efforts with others to reject the history book (Akebono (= text book) - Dawn (title)) they are still used, though teachers have modified the four caste image to: Samurai = 7%, farmers and merchants = 84%, craftsmen = 6%, Buraku, monks etc. = 3%. One mother talked about her thirteen year old son who had just learnt at school about Buraku and asked her if he was Buraku and whether

he was discriminated against. She wanted to know how to answer him and protect him from feelings of inferiority. She asked why children couldn't be taught the real history that Prof. Saito had told them. She admitted her own shock on finding she was a Buraku.

Another woman (whom we later found was not Buraku but married to one) said it was all very well for Saito to make waves but he could leave the village. They had to stay here. Apparently 1% of the Meiji population was Buraku. This village now has a total of 2,000 families and 60 of these are Buraku. There were 11/30 women who belong to this women's group at the meeting. Alan asked if their situation had improved in the last ten years. They said no. They instanced anonymous phone callers telling them to die, and as we'd heard, there is still discrimination over jobs. Living conditions are better, and they can travel and study, but they still feel threatened. I asked if there were any anti-discrimination laws in Japan. They are trying to draft such a law, but there is no punishment for discrimination at present. They instanced a murder by a young Buraku man in Nagoya some years ago. He had been discriminated against for years but this was not seen as a mitigating factor with regard to this murder of his persecutor.

I asked a personal question which neither Airi nor Saito could ask which was from where and to whom had people married. This muddled the picture Saito had given us earlier as the first and second women had both married non-Buraku who were adopted to take over a Buraku name. Their children were thus Buraku. A third woman had come from Sumagoya on the Nakasendo. There were no Buraku in her village and she was really unaware of their existence. Her parents arranged a marriage to a Buraku but her husband did not tell her he was one. It was only when the children reached middle school and were subject to discrimination that she learnt she was married to a Buraku and living in a Buraku area. She asked her parents why they had selected a Buraku groom. Her father originated in Nigata and met her mother in Tokyo. She told him she was Buraku when they married but he wasn't concerned. It had never been a problem in his eyes so he'd not balked at marrying his daughter to one.

This brought up the hiding of Buraku status. It is clear that many have successfully disguised this for some time, but there are occasions when suddenly this is revealed. They said that if outsiders came here to marry Buraku it was alright as the community would protect them, but a woman from here marrying outside could be subject to discrimination or worse if she'd not known she was Buraku and then found out. They instanced suicides over this. A further revelation was that another member of the group wasn't even Japanese at all, but Filipino. She had come to Japan as a "cultural dancer" and met her husband here. She had only found out he was Buraku when the children went to school. We didn't learn the marital status of the other women but could see that the issue of ethnicity is not clear. We felt that ultimately the only way that they can crush discrimination is to crush their own identity - but that might take a long time as it seems that human beings do have the urge to find scapegoats and would tease out these familial connections however well they tried to suppress them.

We took away little leather purses made by them with the words "All of us should protect human rights and make a better society" printed on them. We left at 10.00pm after being given tea, fruit, biscuits, etc. by this very hospitable and surprisingly open group. We returned to our 'ryoken' where we'd had supper earlier. We were staying in the old part, in the very room that Toson is said to have used, and from where he wrote a famous poem - learnt and loathed by every schoolchild about the Chikuma river in which he writes of drinking "crude" saki. We sat in Airi and Julia's room with Prof. Saito and drank this same cloudy saki. This is a famous 'onsen', but Alan and I were too tired to experience it.



Meeting with wives of Burakumin

4th December 1997

Did go to the 'onsen' before breakfast. Has to walk in 'yakuta' to the main building and climb up above to the two large baths for men and women. Lovely setting looking out over the mountains. Apples floated on the water, supposedly adding to the sweet smell. I went up with Julia and there was a slight feeling of reserve about nakedness which one doesn't find with the Japanese themselves. We went to see the school where Toson taught, the remains of the castle (this was a famed castle town), and the 'honjin' on the Nakasendo that in true Japanese fashion was new-built "old", which had even been moved from its original site. Got just a slight feeling of what it might have been like but need to mix in the image of Bhaktapur or Thimi in Kathmandu with all the supposed images from pre-Meiji Japan that we see.



A hot spring bath, with apples floating in it

TOKYO

Back by Shinkansen by 4.00pm and Alan and I hurried on to Roppongi to International House where Alan was due to give a lecture. We had to change from our thick clothes in an office. Had a pleasant meal with the deputy director and another man, Mr Taname. Had a chance to walk round the garden before eating. So warm in comparison with Komoro that we didn't need coats. Alan lecturing on the riddle of the modern world - the paper he gave at the Anglo-American conference in the summer. Well received by a small audience, one of whom revealed himself at the end as a cousin of Alan's, Peter Harrison, who lives in Tokyo with his brother and father. He is married to a Japanese woman and has an American passport. He was born in El Paso like Mac and his own father. Suspect he must be related on Alan's paternal grandmother's side.

5th December 1997

Back to our usual work in the dept. After a morning on EC I spent quite a time writing up the diary of the last two days and then packed books. Sadly the dept. won't pay for postage, but rather churlish to complain as they have been so generous. We went to Shibuya to meet Watanabe at 5.00pm and went with him to a restaurant near Sophia University where we ate with participants for tomorrow's conference. Prof. Matsuo was there and several other faculty members, also David Maybury-Lewis. He has put on weight and looks tired, but that may just be jet-lag. It was rather a dull Chinese meal with many dishes which included prawns, which wasn't too tactful as one of the guests has researched just this species and noted it's decline throughout Asia. However, I noticed he ate all those put on his plate. We found we could walk back to Shinjuku so did just that.

6th December 1997

Seminar at Sophia University on "Foreign Studies and Foreign Language Education in a Multicultural World", with David Maybury-Lewis and Alan as guest speakers. David's paper was elegant and apt,

drawing on his work with 'Cultural Survival', but also going back to the enlightenment thinkers for his state of cultural pluralism message. Alan's talk on Montesquieu and Tocqueville fitted rather well. The other speakers were more parochial. Prof. Tamotsu Aoki said that Japan was a hybrid culture - Shinto, Emperor system, nature worship, also Buddhism and Confucianism and C19 European science, technology, Western thought and modernization - all coexist. This is not so in the West nor in Islam which have either overlaid or sloughed off earlier forms. When thought about, everywhere is hybrid but perhaps Japan is extreme in allegiance to both Shinto and the modern world. He said that all Japanese life - clothing, diet, music - was affected by the West and the Asian middle classes in general have taken the Western "bundle" with little effort to modify or adapt it to particular circumstances.

The founding philosophy of Tokyo University was to bring in Western ideas and make Japan rich. Now that has been achieved it needs a new mission. He thought the creation of new values and morality the most important factor. To work for redistribution of wealth and the modification of absolutely free capitalist economics. Where are universal values, where is justice? This should be the duty of Japanese universities. There were further observations through the day of a general kind - all interesting, though it is doubtful that much was stressed except by Prof. Aoki who was pushing for the introduction of anthropology departments as that discipline was vital for the rethink and to create a humane society.

During the afternoon we felt a sudden shudder of a small earthquake. As we were on the 14th floor at the time it was very disconcerting. There was a reception after where I had a long and interesting conversation with a young Jesuit priest who is at teacher in the university. As Sophia was a Catholic foundation, a number of the staff are Jesuits. He was Argentinian and he talked of his love of the simple people who, despite Argentina looking such a success from an economic standpoint, had if anything got poorer. We agreed that a new economic order would have to be developed that was fairer to all. Prof. Aoki's point, indeed.



7th December 1997

When we were lying in bed this morning the windows began to rattle and the floor shake - another small earthquake. We just lay there although Alan wondered if we should rush to get our clothes. Felt utterly powerless. I decided to wash sheets but probably overloaded the power switch with my hair dryer and the circuit downstairs switched off. We had no idea what to do. Alan phoned Masako but she was not at home. Coco could only suggest phoning the Tokyo Electric Company. Alan sought help from the old man in the house opposite and he came with a screwdriver and tried to check that the wires were properly connected. There is no

fuse as such in the Japanese system. His wife came and watched as he muttered and scratched his head. We were beginning to think that we would never get it working when his wife brought in another woman who switched off all the other switches, at which point the faulty switch apparently worked again. Utterly simple when you know how.

As I had to finish the washing, Alan went earlier to Medamai to meet Masako and I met them there on a later train. We went to meet a Nepalese friend of hers - Rekh Blon - a Tamang who is married to a woman from Okinawa. He has lived in Japan for five years legally. He works making o-bento (lunch boxes). 12 Nepalese are employed in all and we met one of them who was a Gurung from Gorkha. Originally he had been a British Gurkha for 15 years, retired as a Corporal and had a wife and family in Kathmandu. The work is poorly paid and they have to work from 4am to 5pm. Rekh's wife also works in a telephone office so their little boy has to go to a nursery. Rekh was gloomy about his prospects of returning to Nepal which he misses deeply, not least because it's so expensive to live here with a family that there is nothing left to save.

He said his elder brother, a schoolmaster, has encouraged him to return, even without money or prospects as he'd be looked after, but he can't ask his wife to take that risk. He said that living in Japan is easy for immigrants who don't make a nuisance of themselves. They are not harassed by police. There is no bribery. If a person is deported the police make sure that all wages that are due are paid, partly because they need to defray the cost of deportation, but the Malay system couldn't work here. He and Masako reflected that a Japanese soap opera shown throughout Asia, which portrayed the sufferings of a poor Japanese woman on the road from rags to riches, had been very influential in attracting migrants. Unfortunately, unless you can write Japanese, only very humdrum, poorly paid jobs are open to you.

The added sadness of this occasion was to see a number of N.G.O.s, all doing "good" work in Japan, being addressed by the Nepalese ambassador, whose motive must be to encourage them as well as thank them, but how demeaning for any country to have to portray itself as poor, backward, and in need of hand-outs. We met Rodney Tiffin for supper. He took us to his house near Roppongi - supposedly a high-class area. He has a largish house, but very dull and unattractive. We both much preferred our Japanese house. He took us to a very good Indian restaurant in Shibuya. A nice man, but decidedly anti-British though his ancestors came from Wales and England. He is probably very lonely as his family has not been with him. They arrive next weekend.

8th December 1997

Rain. Read part of Alan's chapter which includes Gellner. It probably could be cut but the subject fits well. Had supper with Osamu and Nobuko Saito at the same Indian restaurant as last night. They are both rather nervous and shy but I think they enjoyed the meal. Nobuko gave us a little bowl with a handle, one of a pair. She has its partner and says she'll think of us when she sees hers. What a sweet thought.

9th December 1997

We posted two 20kg boxes of books today with the help of the secretary. We will have one more box of the said weight, with luck. Finished checking persons in Josselin's diary. Also read the chapter on Gellner. It seems to fit remarkably well now. Went with a student, Nawa, who has worked in far West Nepal to an institute of foreign studies somewhere on the Yamanote line, getting towards Ueno, where Alan showed part of the film on Thak entitled "Participation". The video had transferred better than we had thought to VHS and Alan gave a very good presentation. The professor who invited him - Prof. Ishii - has also worked in Nepal but on caste groups - Newar, and others in the Terai. It took us a long time to get home as there seemed to be a problem on the Chuo line. We are so used to the endlessly efficient trains that we were irritated by something that would be commonplace in England.

10th December 1997

Alan went directly to see Hayami. I went to the dept. and did some of the 1854 rental now that Josselin is finished. I also read the bulk of the final chapter of Alan's book in the afternoon. By this time he had returned and was showing his fieldwork film to students. I went up about 4.30pm. and they all drank some wine and fed on little tidbits while watching. They seemed to enjoy it and felt it was a good reflection on a fieldwork situation in a village. Nawwa said he felt he'd been for five days there. He knows Pokhara well so he was best able to say whether it was effective.

[A] Went to see Akira Hayami at 10.00am. He looked frail after his operation, but hospitable. Took me to his smart office in Shinjaku, full of computers etc., a small version of the other office. He asked me to sign a copy of 'Resources and Population' which he had read many years ago. He told me the story of how he became involved in population history - a similar story to Peter Laslett, whom he met in 1968 at Thomas Smith's institute at Stanford. He had tried various projects in Portugal, Ghent etc. and then read Louis Henry and realized that Japan had excellent records. He sold all his books in 1964 to a second-hand bookshop and started the project, doing a number of reconstitutions etc. He learnt to read the old script with little guidance over above three years. His famous Basic Data Sheet we saw in Kyoto was based on the Tokyo underground rail timetable. He thought of the idea of "industrious revolution" in the 1980's and discussed it with Jan de Vries, who then used it in his book without remembering he had heard it from Hayami. His first article was solicited by Le Roy Ladurie.

He is currently working on, editing, a C19 diary - three generations of a family from 1820-1870. It fits very well with the population registers, giving the reasons behind the statistical effects. Curiously the accounts in the diary written for a short period by father and son show a considerable difference - eg. on day's weather. It will be printed. Discussed infant mortality. About 30% of those registering pregnancy have no registered children, hence under-registration. I asked what he thought was the most exciting current work and he said that data on S.W. Japan was just coming in to suggest there were three regions of Japan as follows: N.E. Japan - Jomon culture area - Siberian origin - early marriage, low fertility, early stopping, stem family (often 4 generations), small generation gap, primogeniture, inheritance of either sex, "hunter-gatherer". Central area - Yayoi area - Chinese origins - late marriage, late stopping, high fertility, mix of stem and nuclear family, urbanized, mainly first or last son inheritance, 3 generations alive. S.W. Japan - Polynesian origins via Ryukyu, S. Korea - late marriage, high illegitimacy, high divorce and re-marriage, high fertility, stem family, high social status of women, no rule of inheritance though normally eldest son.

The patterns which he thought went back some 2000 years. I suggested he should see how they fitted into the anthropological data, kinship systems, religion and shamanism, linguistics, D.N.A. etc. We went to lunch on the 51st floor of a Shinjaku building. Luckily no earthquake. Back late and watched X-Files.

11th December 1997

Another day on EC but reversed my usual pattern so Alan could use the better computer before going to lunch with David Maybury-Lewis. He found Yasushi Watanabe also lunching as David was leaving later in the afternoon. He returned in mid-afternoon and rested a little before his talk to the British Studies dept. He finished editing his book. I completed the last chapter this morning. So now, hopefully, it can go to John Davey for placing. His lecture seemed to go reasonably well. After it was a dept. party - wine and cheese and chats with British ex-pats. who teach in Tokyo.

12th December 1997

Kenji Tierney took us to the Sumo wrestlers' stable that he is studying. It, like the bulk of sumo stables is in the Sumida district in the downtown region of Tokyo. The stable is custom built as the ground floor has a ring - an earth circle where each day they practice from 7.00-11.00am. The first shock is the incredible weight of the wrestlers. They are massively fat to our eyes, but Kenji disabused us by saying that there is a different concept of the body here. The emphasis is on the stomach not the chest, and all the muscle power comes from

there. Watching them spar, it surprised me that there was no sweaty smell but only the faint odour of talcum powder.

A few points made at random. A wrestler can't fight another from the same stable. Even the feckless can't be sacked. If they don't achieve the weight or skill then they become referees or hairdressers. Women can't step on the ring. As we learnt before, the rituals increase as a wrestler becomes more skilful. There is a directory of all sumo wrestlers listed with pictures within their stable with the stable master. All their personal details are there. There was a Shinto shrine above the raised tatami area adjoining the ring, but each day they put a little offering in the ring after practice. The earth floor is sacred to a degree. It is swept often and salt sprinkled. The hairstyle was fixed at Meiji when wrestlers were given permission to have their hair in a tail when the rest of the male sex were ordered to cut theirs in Western style. Before Meiji the hairstyles varied, but now they are fixed. There is a ritual haircut at the end of a wrestler's life.

Tomorrow the stable is going to Hawaii for a holiday for five days so we were lucky to be able to see a practice session. Death of wrestlers is an average ten years younger than the rest of the population. When they retire they find it hard to lose weight. One member died aged 26 recently in his sleep of a heart attack. Their hair is done each morning after their bath. The hairdresser is a member of the stable. At the present time sumo is fighting a rear-guard action against professional wrestling. Many of their number defect to this world-recognised sport. There are attempts to widen to appeal of sumo and this Sunday the world amateur championships take place in Tokyo. They are hoping that sumo will become a sport recognised by the Olympic committee.

There was a visit from the American team this morning and they had a practice bout with the members of the stable. The "white belt" - top rank 2nd class - from this stable weighs 160kg. The star American weighs 360kg - a really massive man. TV cameras were there to film an interview with him and Kenji was asked to interpret. Alan filmed this so that we will be able, hopefully, to reciprocate with a copy of the video. After practice, we were taken upstairs to the kitchen/eating area where the guests were fed first. We were the bottom of the guest list so watched the cooking and eating. The owner of this stable is in fact a woman, the wife of the previous owner who died nine years ago. He was a sumo wrestler. She has brought in a manager - also ex-sumo - but she will marry her younger daughter to a top-class wrestler so that the stable can continue in the family. Letting in a manager is not strictly allowed, but perhaps as her daughter will marry soon it has been condoned. Her elder daughter is doing sociology at Tokyo University.

We were taken to the dormitory above where the hairdresser was doing a wrestler's hair. Here nine wrestlers sleep. The senior wrestlers have their own rooms on the floor above this. Quite like a boarding school hierarchy. Each year there is a new design of yakuta with the name of the stable in kanji and hiragana. Each of the wrestlers is expected to buy his own. The senior wrestlers also have kimonos of increasing quality as they progress up the scale. We were told by Kenji that sumo is very strictly regulated. A disaffected manager who wrote a book with a friend saying that fights were rigged etc. was found dead of a rare form of pneumonia within a day of his co-writer. Kenji must be careful.



Sumo wrestling - with a visiting black wrestler

We went back to Jimbocho. I gave an anthropology list to Mr Kitagawa and exchanged a book I'd bought in error as we'd already got a copy. Met an anthropologist friend of Masako's. They had done M.A. in Edinburgh together. He'd then gone to U.C.L. and done a Ph.D. under Murray Last, working in Kaduna, Nigeria. His fieldwork lasted two and a half years. For the first year he suffered recurrent bouts of malaria every two months and refused the magical remedy of the healer he was living with - to be cut with a razor blade then chilies put into the cut. He got a mosquito net in his second year (having used smoking deterrents before) and never got malaria again. He remembers mosquito nets that filled the room, fondly from his youth. They were a sign of summer and he thinks much more healthy than the air conditioned, closed, houses of today.

His great-great-grandfather apparently introduced Western music into Japan, having studied in the U.S. under Alexander Graham Bell. How this led to music he didn't know. We found a couple more Toson novels but were very careful not to buy much as we now have to think of sending books. Had very expensive coffee and cake in a rather nice place where you choose the cup you drink from. He then took us up to the Russian Orthodox cathedral - Nicholai - which figured in a diorama at Tokyo-Edo museum. We couldn't go in as it was being rebuilt. He'd not been there before. Alan cooked our last rice and curry. His meals have been part of the pleasure of evenings in our little house in Mita-kadei. Now colder but quite bearable. We've no chilblains yet.

ENOSHIMA

13th December 1997

To Enoshima, the Japanese Brighton 50 miles from Tokyo, to stay with Yoh and Himako Nakanishi. They had bought the tickets for us and left them stuck in our door on Thursday evening. We went directly to the Daibatsu - the huge and beautiful Buddha that we only glimpsed through the gate the last time we were in

Kamakura. Felt rather moved by when seen close to. The sky was a clear blue and below that was the high line of trees with the Buddha's head silhouetted against them. We then walked through the Hachiman Shrine. Surprised by how large it is. Then to a temple to Kannon, the god one asks to help in time of trouble. There were many 'misiko', water child figures representing aborted or miscarried fetuses, and in the past, as Yoh admitted, children killed to thin the family. A sad sight. The Daibatsu is dedicated to Amida. This - the Hasedera - also has an Amida shrine, although main god is Kannon.

Had lunch at a small Japanese restaurant - very small portions, but many of them. It took so long to eat through each new dish, ending with a delicious baked mango with a crisp layer of caramel on top and ice cream - that all the temples nearby were closed when we finally left. So we went to their home, had tea, then another meal and discussed romantic love. Why is it such a source of wonder to our Japanese friends? Yoh, it seems, would like to feel it but admitted his work came first. It signified all that he was - his identity - so couldn't be compromised by family. Himako, understandably, resented this as her priority was strictly family first. So they argued in a relaxed manner over us. Yoh said that "I love you" in Japanese was a rude remark, so Alan suggested he just said it in English. This is all Himako really wanted.





Daibatsu Buddha at Kamakura



Yoh Nakanishi and Sarah

14th December 1997

We were encouraged to shower this morning as we'd declined a bath last night. We were both up before Yoh and Himako so walked to the beach and watched masses of black figures surf-boarding on a clear, sunny morning. Reminded one rather of Juhu beach in Bombay. The light is tropical in comparison with England. It just lacked the warmth of Bombay. After breakfast we went to Enoshima Island which we'd read about in Morse's book 'Japan day by day'. It was here that he set up a small laboratory to investigate shell fish. There are masses of stalls selling them now. Poor Alan finds the sight of clams being boiled on racks very disturbing, but it didn't stop him from buying a small basket of shells in memory of Morse.

The view of the bay is spectacular from the top of the large rock that is old Enoshima. The first shogun built the first shrine in about 1186 and made it a place of pilgrimage. Though most of the pilgrims are tourists now there are masses of shrines, temples, memorial stones, even poems carved in stone, wherever one walks. We left for another large and very expensive lunch at an Italian restaurant - the current favourite in Japan. We were told at the Indian restaurant in Shibuya that when it first opened 19 years ago, people queued to get in. Now the place is half empty because people don't like to have to climb stairs, but also because they prefer Italian to Indian food, so this Indian restaurant chain has opened an Italian restaurant in Kichijoji.

It was a very good meal, but we were out in time to see two more temples. The first one was set up by the wife of an important man for wives who were running away from bad husbands. The second, the Engaku-ji, was a Zen temple, larger than the first, but one of the main buildings where I think we sat with Toshiko and Kenichi in 1993, was being repaired and was boarded up. The delight in both places was to see the late afternoon sun shining on the still-red leaves of the Japanese maple. A lovely memory as the place was unusually empty.

During the weekend we have been trying to plumb the belief systems of Japan. In the end they could only confirm that there is nothing - no god as such. For Himako, all she prays to and relies on are the spirits of her mother and grandparents - she didn't mention her father. This may be because he distanced himself from his family by taking a mistress. Himako's mother left this house to her. It had originally belonged to her grandmother. Her mother rebuilt it but never lived there. She and Yoh rebuilt it again five years ago. A typical pattern in Japan that one rebuilds even without being prompted by fire. At temples, all they do is to give thanks, but to no god or being - a non-axial world in Eisenstadt's term. They haven't made the distinction between the supernatural and natural world. They are confused together - there is no tension. Thus they can't say if they have religion or not.

Hell figures in Buddhist thought but for a Japanese it is easy to avoid it by the charm, spell-word, 'Amida', for instance. Thus no fear of burning or feeling of finality at death of a loved one. Hence, Mrs Kashiwagi can offer Alan's card to her husband in the butsudan and feed him choice foods. It is the spirit of her husband. Confirmed that Yoh and Himako's son had suffered from spina bifida when born, so a real miracle that he had been able to walk eventually. They are very sweet people who spoke with great openness and honesty on personal matters of emotion and belief. We shall hope to be able to reciprocate in Cambridge.

Yoh distinguished between three systems of marked relations. The Chinese rely on personal ties, mainly with kin. Westerners rely on impersonal ties with an abstract market/strangers. The Japanese are half-way between, that is personal ties but with contractually recruited contacts - ex-school friends, college acquaintances, etc. ie. non-kin, friends, etc. Hence they have the advantage of both systems. Himako said she went to a shrine sometimes to pay respect and thank Shinto or other gods, but not to ask for anything. She went to her mother's grave and asked for generalized good fortune, but did not ask for specific things. If anything went wrong she would not blame her mother. In the Zen temple she said (as Yoh) that there was nothing/no-one there, just peacefulness. She has had her fortune told in Kyoto every year for the last thirty years by the same male fortune-teller, and clearly believes in it.

15th December 1997

To the dept. after the washing finished, which usually means at 8.50am. I worked on EC while Alan prepared for his last seminar. We both went to lunch with Prof. Yamashita - a very uptight man who gives

little in the way of warmth. During the afternoon, visited by Toshiko's niece, Ayako, and her cousin, Humiko's son, and a friend who is interested in living with Inuit and wanted to argue with Alan about whaling. Alan also visited by a man who had attended his lecture at International House - Bill Carter. Alan read through his students' comments and had a very thoughtful one from Nawa who suggested he should learn a little hiragana to improve his pronunciation of Japanese words.

16th December 1997

Clearing up and dumping data onto discs, always rather depressing having to pack up and leave somewhere that has been pleasant and easy to work in. We sent off the third box of books in the morning, praying that they wouldn't reject the box as too large. Yesterday, both Masako and the secretary had contrary messages from the post office which suggested that the only acceptable box was far too small for 20kg of books. I pushed them on to quibble with the postman and finally got a positive message. All went well today and the box was sent. We left the dept. early as Alan wanted to get a book on hiragana. We went to Kinokuniya, the largest foreign language bookshop and found one that suggested he could learn it in just three hours.

Our evening's entertainment which ended our stay in Japan in a dramatic way, was a performance of 'taiko' drumming by a group called Kodo. I remembered that they performed in Cambridge last year though we missed it. Met Rodney Tiffin and family who had got tickets through Alan's student. Two rather tubby children, but a nice family.

17th December 1997

I stayed at the house to pack and clean. Rather depressing, especially when I realized just how much we had to carry and how heavy it all was. Alan and Masako came back earlier than I'd thought and Rekh had said he'd like the T.V. and they were going to take it to a nearby shop to send by the usual Japanese method. Just wished we'd remembered this earlier with our luggage.

We drank the rest of the saki and gave Masako our present - one of Matt's bowls, Nepalese tea and 20,000Y. She seemed very pleased. She also took the remaining food and other bits, and carried off the electric fire which will be delivered to the mosque for redistribution to some needy person. We sent the iron to Rekh. Went to Kishijoji and took Masako for a meal at another branch of the Samarat Indian restaurant. Alan had totted up enough credit on previous visits to get a free meal for Masako.



Our house at Mitakadai

18th December 1997

Woke in the night to hear heavy rain on the roof. I'd been watching this week's forecast for the last few days and thought we might avoid the walk with our cases in the rain but had to resign myself to same. Luckily, it had stopped when we finally left. Sad to leave our little house with two tatami rooms and such comfortable futon. They really are much nicer than beds. Shut the front door key in the house through the back door and left at 5.45am. The walk with all our luggage was pretty exhausting, and there were plenty of steps to climb before we reached the Narita Express and Shinjuku. However, we're here waiting for our flight with no back strain or other aches as yet.

Visit to Japan in 1999

This was a visit with Windfall Films who were shooting for a six-part 'Millennium' series called 'The Day the World Took Off'. We were accompanied by the Director, David Dugan and Carlo Massarella, his assistant.

NAGASAKI

10th April 1999

Flew to Osaka. Found that we had been upgraded by luck and were sitting in the upper part of the plane in large, comfortable seats with personal video screens and leg rests. Thus a very easy flight which ended with a frisson of fear as we landed in a thunderstorm. Fearful that we'd not be able to get to Nagasaki because of the storm but were only 15 minutes late in the end. Staying in a small hotel - so small that when we'd opened our suitcases all the floor space was covered. The bathroom was a complete moulded plastic shell. Despite the hour we went off to join David and the camera team and others to eat. (Carlo had met us at the airport). Some very tasty fish and vegetables in a tiny bar/restaurant. Nagasaki by night is ablaze with neon signs though most of the restaurants and other places of entertainment were closed by the time we arrived.

11th April 1999

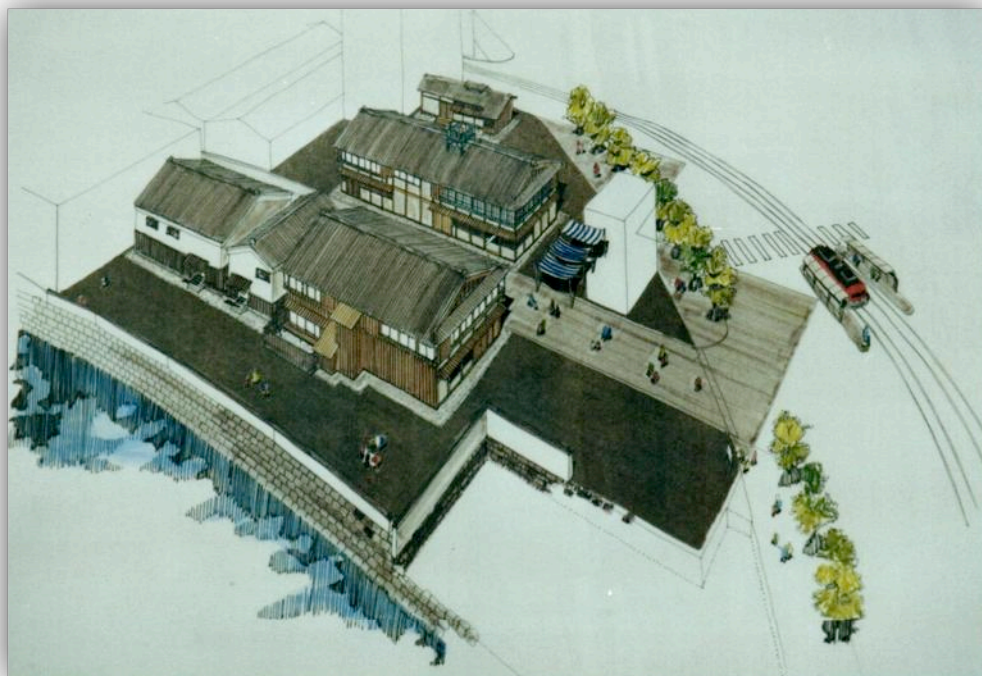
First day of filming starting with the monument to the 26 martyrs. The adjacent church is truly bizarre with two towers that look like pollarded tree trunks, patterned with designs of no obvious significance in mosaic. Alan did his first speaking part here. Noted on a sign board that the oldest surviving stone bridge in Japan is near the Civic Centre and is called "Spectacle Bridge" supposedly because it resembles spectacles with two holes and arches. It was built in 1634, two years before Deshima. Sadly we didn't have time to see it. Most of the shoot was in Dejima/Deshima, or what remains of it. They are reconstructing houses and warehouses that stood there at the latter part of its existence. What was striking was how small the fan of reclaimed land that was lived on was. Only one bridge connected it with the mainland and that was guarded to prevent people going in or over unless licensed, like prostitutes. Apparently, first class prostitutes were reserved for Japanese, second class for Chinese (who also had a trading settlement here) and third class for the Dutch. Only about 15 foreigners were allowed to live in Deshima at any one time and bread was cooked especially for them, the only place in all Japan where it was cooked. For the 15, only 20 loaves a day could be cooked. There was a superstition that if you ate bread you would turn into a Christian, so it was forbidden.

The reconstruction will take about twenty years as houses on land needed still have to be purchased, also the accurate reproduction in wood, including cedar and bamboo, is expensive and needs the time of skilled hand craftsmen. The walls are a lattice of bamboo held together with rice-straw rope, covered with earth. All the joints in the large roof beams look authentic. Two buildings are under construction - a merchant's house and a 'kura'. A historian connected with the museum and Alan were filmed walking through the house and later in a garden where a model of the island stands. I don't think Alan found this easy or very satisfactory as the man's English was not good so there was no real discussion.

The takes and mistakes meant we had to rush to taxis and to the bus station, man-handling the great tin boxes of equipment between us. We just made it to the bus but at the airport it looked as though we were not going to get seats as the flight had been overbooked. Carlo and our Japanese contact argued and cajoled and in the end successfully secured seats for us all. We stayed at the "Holiday Inn" in Kochi, the third largest city in Japan apparently, in Shikoku. Very spacious and comfortable after last night's accommodation.



Martyr's memorial



Model of Dutch settlement at Deshima



Alan in Nagasaki



Small Christian church in Nagasaki

SHIKOKU

12th April 1999

Awoken at 6.00am by a tremendous noise which we thought at first was thunder, but it turned out to be the sound of mechanical diggers removing a small hill beside the hotel. This was all the more strange to us as three fields of prime land abutted the road beside the hotel and were newly sown with rice seedlings. Surely this makes no economic sense.

We went to a museum of paper at Ito firstly but hadn't been there long before Chako (the Japanese interpreter etc.) had a message that another man we'd arranged to see was just about to load his boiler with 'koozo' (paper mulberry) to soften it prior to beating. This is done in a large vat with a wood fire underneath. The water and additives (including caustic soda?) is heated to boiling point before the 'koozo' is put in. Then it turns a rich ochre. It has to boil for three hours to soften satisfactorily. We watched the man and his wife working on various further stages - beating with a mechanical device rather like a food mixer in action, pressing to extrude water, and actual paper making using two types of paper, one dyed used as the first sheet, the second white, filtered through a sieve with a stencil design or image so that the resulting piece of paper has a dark image on a light background.



Boiling up mulberry for paper making

The setting was perfect because of the rain. It underlined just how water intensive the process is. Sadly, there is only one full-time paper maker in this village now. His family didn't want to be filmed. The couple we did film work every day except Monday in the museum demonstrating paper making, and they sell the sorts of things

they make at home in the museum shop. He is a third generation paper maker but neither of his sons is prepared to do it. His elder son works for the prefecture, the younger sells car parts. The death knell was the introduction of paper copiers which can't use this sort of paper so it is only now used for decorative purposes aimed predominantly at the tourist trade. He is now 66 and his wife is about the same age. Their family name is Tomoksa which is very common in this neighbourhood. His wife told Chako that women do over half the work. For instance, she will have to go out at 4.00am tomorrow morning to change the water the fibre is now rinsing in. She said that when their elder son decided not to follow his father, their younger son said quite bluntly that they were not to expect him to fill his brother's shoes.

We stayed in Suzaka and ate at a traditional restaurant, seated on floor cushions. Had an interesting chat with David about the process of production. The film now shot will pass first through an editor who, with some idea of the story line, will knit the film together. The producer will then adapt and change this, but the editor will generally have selected those portions of the film which work.

13th April 1999

Bamboo day. We went to the workshop of a Mr Yamagisha in Suzaka. I suspect that he is actually a Burakamin as he was previously a 'zori' maker (straw shoes) and came from elsewhere. Chako said that he had found great difficulty in being accepted though she knows nothing about Burakamin and didn't know why this should be. He took us to one of two bamboo forests that he owns. The hillside was steep and very slippery after the rain. There he and another workman cut a couple of bamboo for the camera. I photographed the workmen's knives. One was slightly hooked and was a traditional bamboo cutting knife. The other was engraved with a picture and signed 'Moriaki or Tosa', the knife maker. It was in fact a broken boar hunter's knife that had lost half of its blade. The signature on the bamboo knife was illegible but it was also made in Tosa. The workman's father had been a woodcutter, cutting lumber, so he too may be Buraku. Bamboo, like paper mulberry, is only cut in winter and is a bi-occupation, traditionally for the agricultural off season. One sees the hand of the Daimyo here, preserving their tenants and their rice incomes by establishing craft activities for the winter which have always been supported by the elite of Japan. We were warned about snakes in the forest but I wonder if this was to encourage fear to keep people out. We saw none. Very rare bamboo grows here as it is spotted. This may be because it is diseased but it is not possible to replicate or grow it elsewhere..

The shop sells bamboo knick-knacks. Many cheap pieces are in fact made abroad. Japanese products are deemed too expensive for the tourist market and are really "art" works. We saw the proprietor's son making lacquer baskets in a beautifully designed workshop in his house. In front was an ornate garden with pond and running water - (controlled by electricity). It is probably designed with tourists in mind. As they were filming, a pilgrim in traditional white came into the garden but Carlo managed to keep her from interrupting. Alan was interviewed quite early on so was not suffering from tiredness in the way he was yesterday.





Drying bamboo



Bamboo work

Saw a woman wearing the traditional bonnet transplanting rice seedlings. Most of the field is sown by machine but the corners are left to human labour, the wife's, I suspect. After another hurried sandwich lunch and souvenir shopping we went back to Ito to take general shots of the paper making area, particularly the paper mulberry bushes, then went back to the "Holiday Inn" in Kochi for the night instead of flying to Tokyo as planned



Woman wearing traditional bonnet transplanting seedlings

TOKYO

14th April 1999

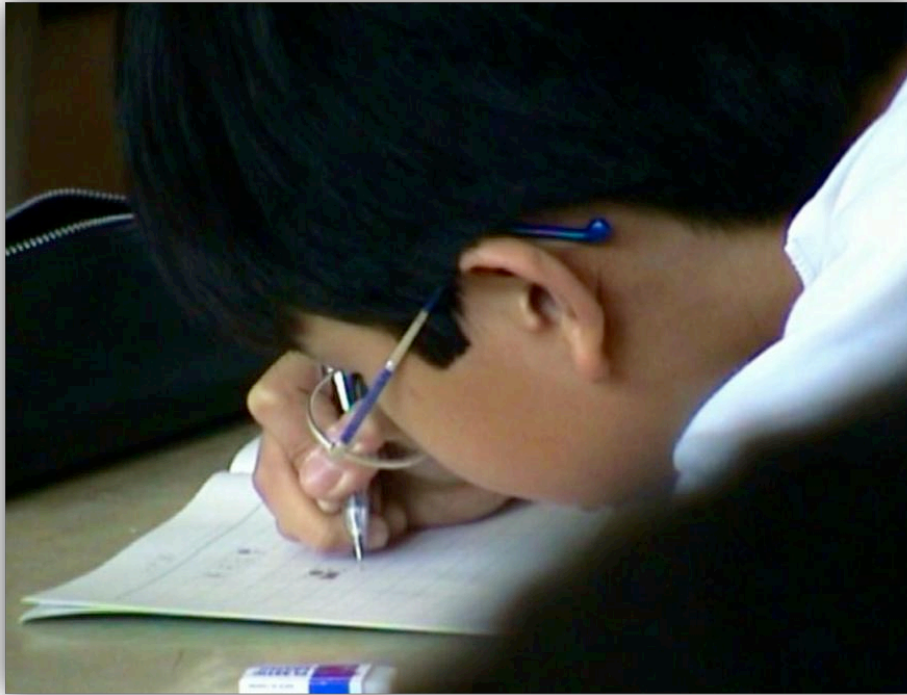
Woke at 6.00am with the intention to leave the hotel at 6.30am for our flight to Tokyo. Tim, the sound recordist, had been adamant that we left punctually but he overslept. Apparently his watch had stopped at 6.25am but Carlo had tried to wake him by thumping on the door and by phone with no response, so didn't really believe that was the whole explanation. The "crew" have to be nursed along and probably he, at least, was feeling a little bolshy after the lack of lunch breaks with only sandwiches, inevitably late. Later he told me he had just finished working on a Mike Leigh film, reconstructing the events leading to the first performance of "Mikado". It is destined for the Cannes Film Festival and at present is called "Topsy Turvy", very apt in the light of our present filming. We made the flight at 7.45am. One of the tense moments is getting baggage

through. With the amount of equipment, ours is very overweight. They were stung for £3000 on the flight to Japan by British Airways, but most of the flights within Japan have been fine as they have overlooked the excess weight.

Our first shoot was at a school where they were looking for footage on myopia. We went into a maths class of eleven year olds. The atmosphere was much the same as the school in Sapporo. The children very friendly, just bordering on being too boisterous out of lessons, but it was certainly more a sign of enthusiasm than indiscipline. The children ate in the classroom. All can have milk for next to nothing - 1000Y a month - and the meal is brought in and served by the children. They were eating buns and noodles - not an especially good diet, but designed to give them energy I would think. After lunch this same class had its eyes tested and then Alan was interviewed with a Dr Takash Tokoro who has made a particular study of myopia. He said that by age 10, 30% of children were myopic, by 15, 50% and by 18, 80%. He believes that it is a result of the intensive study of the Japanese language that the children have to undertake, studying three different writing systems of many characters which all have to be carefully distinguished from each other. He thought that brain strain also affected the eyes. Alan was delighted to have his hunch confirmed so clearly and will send Dr Tokoro anything he writes on the subject.



Alan with Dr Tokoro discussing myopia



Myopic child in Japanese school

KAMAKURA

Our time here overran as usual and we had the inevitable rush to Kamakura to meet Takeo Funabiki for a tea ceremony. Today we had no breakfast and little lunch, all of it taken in the car or at the airport but the tea master's wife - as in all our encounters so far, the power behind the organisation - was pretty miffed at our late arrival and said we could only see a truncated form of the ceremony. As the tea house was small and unlit, they had to rig up the film lights to shine through the 'shoji', and this lopped off more time. In the event the tea master was apparently very charming and unrushed and after the ceremony Alan was able to talk to him through Takeo, who attends this tea house quite often. The surroundings were just as one had read about. Kamakura is a delightful setting with the garden ringed with tall trees that formed a backdrop to the much smaller, fine-leafed garden trees. One pink cherry was in flower, otherwise there was little but trees and moss. The stones had been watered. I noted one large stone under a roof was also watered, so even the placing of water is contrived. It is an amazing artifice and apparently the tea master's acolytes had been working all day to get the garden just right. I noted a stone tied with string. This is to indicate a barrier over which one shouldn't cross. This would have meant that most of the garden would only be viewed, not walked over.

David asked me to film in the back preparation area of the tea house where an acolyte boiled water and whisked green tea which was then carried into the main room. Everything there was as calm and measured as the tea room, perhaps more so as I was the only camera-person. After the ceremony they tried to film the garden in the gloaming and Takeo took us to another garden which he said he preferred where there was a large thatched tea house which had been brought from Kyoto by the tea master's father. An acolyte told me later that there are about 20 tea houses on this site so it is really "tea-ceremony inc." We were invited into the reception area to take thick green tea afterwards though Takeo and Alan only had ordinary tea. It was delightful to sample the thick mixture again and admire the tea bowls. I can't think what the crew made of the tiny sugar cakes that preceded it.



Dewy path and tea house in Kamakura

Takeo invited Alan and I back to his house and we drove with him firstly to a hotel to eat (Coco had already eaten) then via her building - Tokyo Design Centre. Amazing structure designed by an Italian architect called Bellini whom Takeo described as of similar standing to the man who designed the airport at Osaka. There were two tall thin buildings linked by an arch and ascending steps which were angled to give a suggestion of a steep village street. At the top was a large silhouette of a horse. It was rather beautiful. Room interiors are demonstrated here and there is a restaurant at ground level. We might have been taken there but it was full, much to Takeo's surprise. It has become very popular since an article on it appeared recently.

We then went to their new house built in the garden of the old one. It is an amazing mixture of an absolutely traditional style with tatami mats, sliding screens and 'shoji', and modern rooms designed to complement the traditional ones. Takeo showed us the whole house including their bedroom which is divided by a sliding screen into his and her space though he indicated to us that they had a "close" relationship. Takeo has a study with a small library. Behind one wall of bookcases is a space about a yard wide where he can retreat. There was a mattress there but it was not made up. On a shelf was an ornate porcelain vase, a prize for golf, apparently, which he once played well but had given up recently due to the pressure of academic work. The gems of the house are the garden and garden views, the tea room, the reception room with a well-covered by a red lacquer table 12x6 feet - the largest in Japan and newly made, and the double deep bath in the floor with a window at floor level onto a small garden patch. All is built in American pine as no one is allowed to use Japanese cedar, but it looked much the same. The cost of the whole must have been phenomenal. Takeo took us back to our hotel after we had drunk tea and eaten cake on the lacquer table. Takeo seems much less cynical about Alan's interpretation of Japanese culture than he was when we were living here. The book ('The Savage Wars of Peace') has obviously impressed him greatly. He particularly likes the chapter on excrement.

15th April 1999

Alan's busiest day. We went first to the "Kojunsha", the gentlemen's club founded by Fukuzawa which we'd visited with Toshiko in 1997. Alan was to meet Mr Hattori, President of the Seiko Corporation and a big wheel in the club. He was filmed touring the building, talking with Mr Hattori about it and Fukuzawa. They seemed to get on well. Mr Hattori was keen that Alan should write a book on Fukuzawa and offered to help him. I kept well out of the way, partly because it is a gentlemen's club and I didn't want to shock any of the predominantly elderly gentlemen who inhabit this place. I filmed a little in the main area, including a portrait of Utsunomia, a microbiologist disciple of Pasteur.

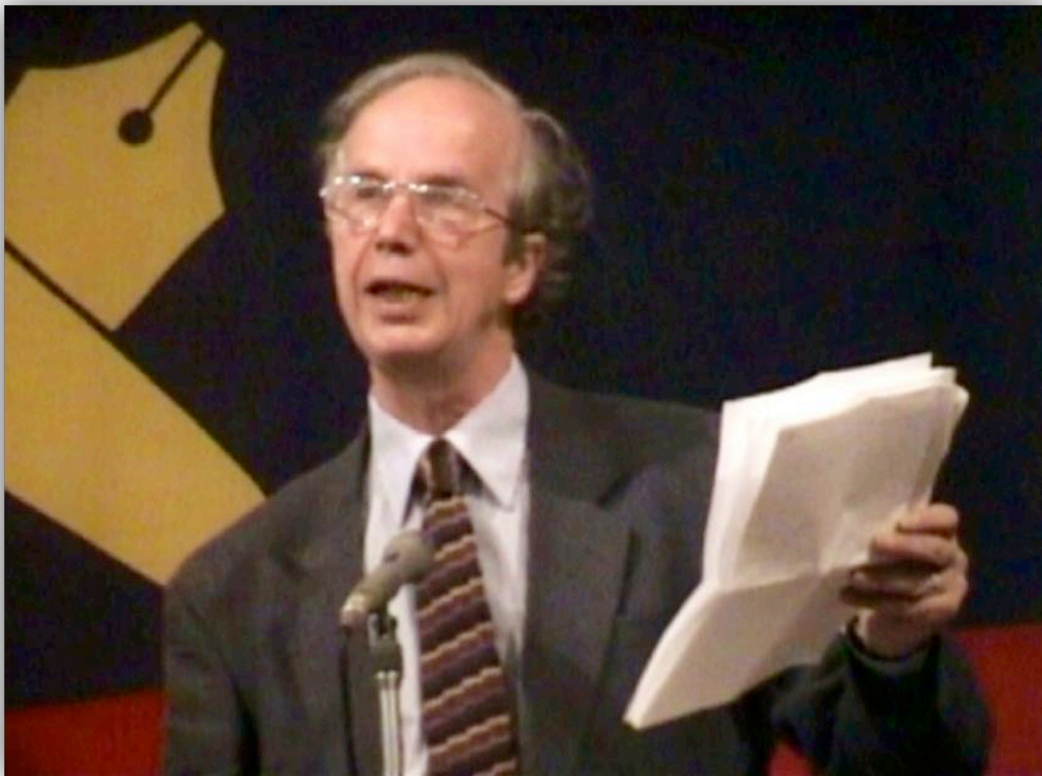
Masako came at midday. Lovely to see her again and she stayed with us until near the end of Alan's lecture in the Speech Hall and Keio University. Mr Hattori ordered lunch for all of us, including Masako and the driver. He later apologised for the simplicity of the meal, but it was one of the nicest that we have had. We then went to Keio University. There was some time to fill before Alan's lecture so we were shown some of Fukuzawa's copies of books including Buckle and J.S. Mill, also his notebook taken on his European journey. The first entry was the address of W & R Chambers in London. There were entries in French and Dutch as well as English and Japanese. An emeritus professor of literature - Audo - spoke before Alan, in English, on Fukuzawa. He had a very cultured English pronunciation and quoted extensively from Carmen Blacker's translation of Fukuzawa's autobiography which is the classic version in English. Alan gave a very polished, interesting performance despite the antics of the film crew. Tim even dashed up to adjust Alan's mike during a break for translation.



Kojunsha club



Exterior of Speech Hall



Alan talking in the Speech Hall

Osamu Saito came while we were in the archive, and his wife was at the talk. After the Speech Hall film we went to a small Japanese restaurant where Alan and Osamu were filmed in conversation. They wanted a long sequence of Osamu talking as he is their best Japanese speaker of English and they need to use footage of him in most of the programmes. Tim and Lawrence leave tomorrow for England and then fly to Pakistan to make a programme, on surveillance, on Sunday. What a life! I gave them the pictures made by the paper maker which are now dry.



Alan talking to Osamu Saito

OSAKA

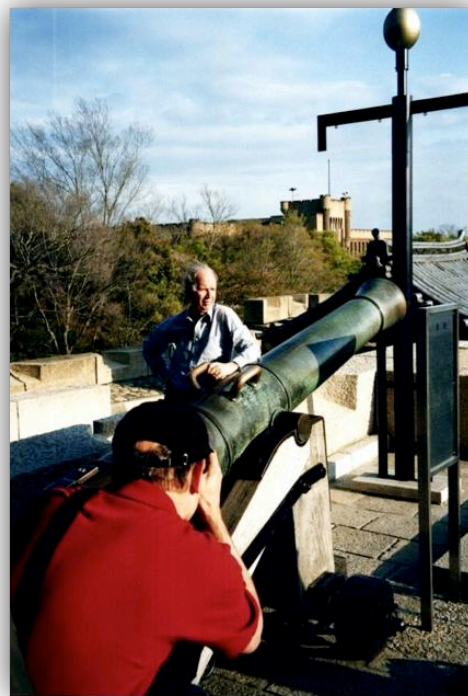
16th April 1999

Had a later start though the crew were filming trains since 7.15am. We were picked up at 10.15am and taken to Tokyo station to join the Shinkansen to Osaka. Much filming of Alan on the train. We had quarter of the carriage to ourselves with a JR minder so there was the possibility of all sorts of shots. David had a near miss earlier while filming in the middle of the road near the station. Alan covered a number of important subjects such as urban sprawl, comparison of the "Rocket" with the Shinkansen, and England and Japan's industrialisation. Even his lunch was filmed so that an anecdote from Fukuzawa's autobiography comparing himself to an item in a Japanese lunch box speared out by a toothpick into the wider world. In all, the crew had only 15 minutes when they were not filming.

At Osaka station there were no trolleys or porters. Carlo's attempt to use a trolley was interrupted by two officials, and despite David's expostulation, all the equipment and cases had to be carried outside to our van. As a consequence, on reaching Osaka Castle, they found that a large tripod had been left on the platform, and Carlo and the Japanese sound man had to go back to collect it. Robin, the new cameraman made do with the smaller tripod and did all the exterior shots until we reached the castle gate and found the rest of the crew. Osaka Castle has been reconstructed in concrete since the war when it was finally all destroyed so it has a fake

feeling, especially when one gets inside. However, it is supposed to be a faithful replica of the castle built by order of the Shogun, paid for by the Daimyo, in 1630. The museum has little of real interest. Even the battle scene screens and the golden tea room built by Hideyoshi, are fake, but there is some beautifully preserved armour in the vault with some guns and other weapons. The earliest armour, C14, had little lumps of iron about the size of a fingertip imbedded in the lacquered layers. By the C16 they had learnt how to make iron plates and the lacquer strips were sheets of iron. There is an enormous variety in style, particularly in helmets, and colour. We had thought that this was an attempt to distinguish the commanders but it was apparently a desire of the armourers to advertise their skills and the fashion sense of the wearer that dictated the style. The interior of the castle is as any modern building, and the vaults give no hint of what they could have been like. Also the museum does not attempt to show the interior usage or living arrangements of the occupiers, so one gets little sense of the period. We escaped through the many locked doors to a floodlit outside so even the silhouette of the vast structure in darkness couldn't be captured. The Japanese seem content with this Disneyland as so many of their traditional buildings, including the Ise shrine, are rebuilt as exact replicas from time to time.

The hotel had 23 floors so was significantly higher than the one in Tokyo. This suggests a greater confidence that they won't be affected by earthquakes. We ate in a Chinese restaurant which was a pleasant change. The new cameraman is a nice man - English, sent to Sydney to school, and now living in Japan with a Japanese wife and two small daughters about the same age as Lily and Rosa. We had a good discussion about the conformity of the Japanese where shame rather than sin effects their behaviour, and there is no strict sense of right and wrong.



Osaka castle

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17th April 1999

To the Ogata school where Fukuzawa was educated. The present building was made 20 years ago as a replica by the Ministry of Education as the previous (I can't say original) structure was getting old and rotten. It is a traditional Osaka merchant's house of some charm with garden and walkways through it and plenty of 'shoji' and 'tatami'. It was interesting to see the kitchen and dining arrangements with the lower stone floor for cooking etc. and the raised platform for eating. Two academics from Osaka University came to be interviewed with Alan. The less proficient English speaker had to be filmed too as he was the Vice-Chancellor of the University but he was also an expert on public health and had done his research on Chadwick etc. and the improvements effected in England. David had shown him Alan's book and told him that it was being translated and should be published fairly soon. He stressed the value of urine in Japanese agriculture so when I noticed that there was a perfectly sited toilet - the "Ladies" in fact - with a view of the garden at crouching height, he seemed surprised at my enthusiasm as he was unaware that the English did not use urine. A rather strange omission for a man who has studied the history of public health in England.

I noticed the "grass" which had been taken to Keio to plant at the place where Fukuzawa died. Apparently, the great grandson of Tomso Ogata planted it at Keio. It is called 'tekijuku ran' (ran = orchid though it is not one). They said it had a violet flower. Alan told them he had taken some from Keio and planted it at home. "Teki teki sai" appears in calligraphy on a scroll in the 'tokomoma', written by Fukuzawa. It has the meaning of democratic behaviour rather than autocratic - doing things because you believe in them not because someone tells you to - a very revolutionary concept at the time and central to Fukuzawa's thought. Two or three other pupils at the school were also particularly significant in the context of Japan's revolution after the Tokugawa. Nagayo, known as the founder of public health in Japan visited the USA and Europe 1871-73 and learnt the Dutch system. He left a diary but it is probably not translated. Umero Masojero (later named Murata Zoroku) was an army strategist who introduced the idea of peasant or peoples' army. Oshima Takato started the Japanese iron industry at Kamaishi near Sendai in 1860.

The school survived during the lifetime of Ogata between 1835- 63. 637 pupils are recorded by their signatures but the actual number of students in total was probably about 1000. At any one time there were between 40-50 pupils. In the family's room of the house is a portrait of Ogata's wife. There is a small wooden carving of him in the house and a nice enlargement in an adjacent garden. Apparently, Fukuzawa was heavily influenced by his father although he died soon after Fukuzawa's birth, for example, by a poem about seeing a leper at his gate and reflecting that leprosy was not a result of sin but of poor hygiene - a revolutionary thought at that time, but significant for Fukuzawa's later career.

Having noted the ladies lavatory was a perfect example of the traditional toilet according to Morse's account, Alan was filmed in it, describing the importance of human excrement to Japanese agriculture. They also filmed a fire-watchers' platform and a 'kura'. This house has been perfect for showing the Japanese house and its particular features, and a fine foil for Alan to expound his theories and tell the story.



Ogata Koan, Fukuzawa's teacher



The Ogata school



Ladies toilet at Ogata school

KYOTO

We drove to Kyoto in the mid-afternoon, later than intended, and drove up to the Kiyanzu Temple to get general views of Kyoto. The light was not terribly good as it had clouded over, but Robin managed to film some unsuspecting ladies in kimono. They had hoped to see some 'maiko' but we saw none. Our hotel is by the airport and is quite sparse and utilitarian by Japanese standards.



Kiyanzu temple above Kyoto

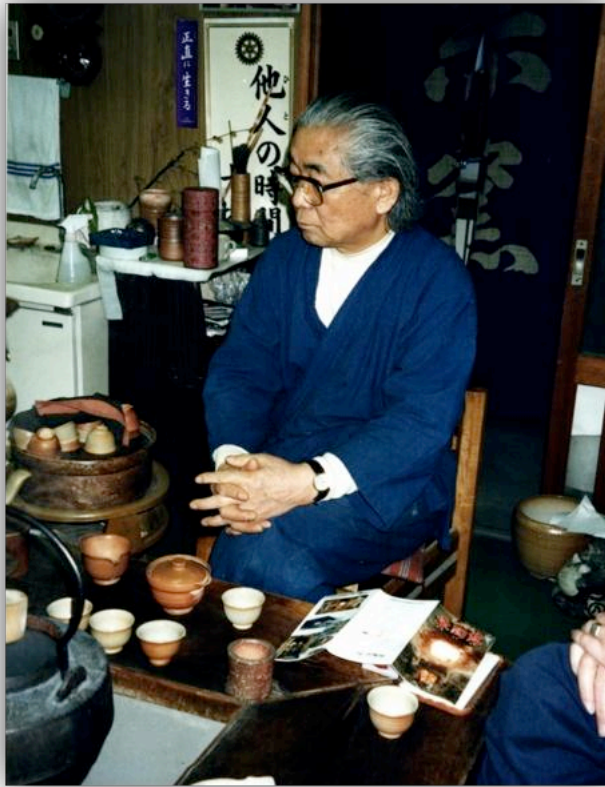
SHIGARAKI

18th April 1999

Most of the day spent filming at Shigaraki at the one working kiln ('noborigama') that is still in general production. The potter whose family has been here for seven generations and maybe longer is Juho Ueda. He must be in his 50's though difficult to be exact. The first impression of the area is that every village for miles around makes pots and garden figures - grotesque racoons of all sizes are everywhere. However, they also make fine pottery of amazing subtle colour and texture caused by the wood firing. We were greeted by Mr Uedo in the main shop. He was seated at a raised table with a firebox in the middle over which a kettle was suspended on a fish hook. He gave us minute quantities of tea in small cups similar in size to saki cups. He thought pottery had been made here for 1250 years but was substantially improved in design and technique with the influx of Korean potters brought to Japan by Hideyoshi.



Pots at Shigaraki



Master potter Juho Ueda at Shigaraki





There was a very long filming session in the kiln house. It was last fired in February and is being packed now for a May firing. The pottery may continue within the family although Mr Ueda's son does abstract ceramics. He showed us a picture in a pottery magazine which looked like a suitcase filled with clay - not very exciting. I was quite overwhelmed by the scale of production here. It is more like a factory than Matt's pottery will ever be. As this was Sunday only a few of his employees were working. In the throwing shop, for instance, there were three other potters there when we filmed, but benches and wheels for about ten.



Climbing kiln at Shigaraki

Similarly, in the room below there were two men making large garden pots using coil and wheel method. It may have been the result of the wet day or the fact that they'd been called in to work on Sunday, but none of the employees except for the kiln staker looked very happy. One fat lad in the garden pots' area was positively hostile and at one stage stalked off during filming. Even Mr Ueda only cheered up at the end when we settled down for a last thimbleful of tea and a bean cake. He gave us all handleless cups though I had bought others on our way round, also two sets of tools for Matt.

David had hoped to get some film of the countryside round Kyoto but the weather was grim. We had a very nice lunch in a small Japanese-style room next to Mr Uedo's house. It was served in lacquer boxes and bowls and we sat on cushions on 'tatami'. I wish I'd begun photographing toilets here. Wherever we go there are variations on the neat clean theme. Some are positively charming. This was no exception though it was a little disconcerting to have to reach the 'ladies' through the 'gents' with only a screen shielding one's eyes from the urinal when one washed one's hands.

KYOTO

We hurried back to Kyoto to try to catch maiko and geisha in Gion. Carlo had gone on ahead and by chance we drove up and saw him with three maiko. Robin leapt out and started filming, pushing a small Japanese man and woman out of the way to catch close-up shots. It was only later that we found out that this gentleman had hired the ladies so that he could follow and photograph them. David and Carlo, even Robin, wondered if they were real geisha but they looked authentic and Carlo was keen to be photographed with them. I found Alan chatting with one in English. She had been to Cambridge on holiday, so they swapped addresses and he invited her to call any time. I took a photo of them together too.



Alan and maiko in Gion

The camera crew then moved to the long street at the centre of Gion and caught a number of maiko and geisha trotting by to their assignments. Our job was holding back crowds bemused by the camera. In general,

Japanese people are extremely cooperative and a number of women walked and rewalked parts of the street when asked to. They even took the camera to the street running on the west side of the main river where we hoped to eat. This proved difficult as many restaurants were unsuitable, expensive or full, but we eventually found a very nice one - again 'tatami' and cushions and good Japanese food.

19th April 1999

We went early in the morning to the 'Gekkeikan Sake Factory'. This place makes sake for the Imperial household by royal warrant. 'Gekkeikan' is the laurel and we saw it in a number of the shrine boxes high on the walls. Shinto symbols - ropes and angular paper - were strung up over several doors. Sake making had that element of luck to a high degree before the makers really understood the chemistry and could reproduce it with confidence which made the intercession to the gods necessary. This factory has two sites, one is a modern factory but the one we filmed was an old building and the methods and tools used are traditional. Here, sake is only made in winter which was the only method until recently as warm weather increased the risk of infection, and also it fitted the bi-occupation pattern. Sake was brewed here specifically because it had very pure water. A canal runs behind and huge sake barrels were transported by barge on it.



Sake factory

The equipment used in the past was made of wood - 'hikoku'? and cedar. The great barrels, used in the past for cooking and mashing rice, and storing, are of cedar bound with bamboo. I had a sudden insight on the link between coopers and wheels in England. Without the metal rim, there is no way that the wooden sections of a wheel could be held together. This might explain in part the lack of wheels in Japan until Meiji. As rice is such a valuable crop and food source, only 5% of it was ever used for sake production. The residue from production was squeezed into rice cake to be eaten by humans and animals, used to flavour pickles, and even, for paper. I was told of the health giving properties of sake cake as it contains peptides and fibre and is particularly good to control blood pressure and as an anti-clogging substance. This company is investigating the production of sake cake pills but I was told that this was top secret at present. Filming took all morning and part of the afternoon. The managing director with whom I spoke for some time was keen that we drank some sake but I said we

would not have time. Therefore he gave us three small bottles and three saki cups before we left and we drank all of them over supper and ate the cakes that Coco had given us in Tokyo.

We had to rush off, late as ever, to see a monk at the Kodaiji Temple. It was a very attractive place for filming and the rain was only sporadic. David and Carlo had no lunch as they had to speak with the monk and we could find nothing for them but very dry rice cakes coated with red pepper and curry powder. Carlo and I went off to look at the calligraphy place near the Heian shrine and to see if there was a 'shoji' maker in a street where we'd seen one on our last visit. I managed to buy brushes for Matt in the calligraphy centre though I don't know if they will film there, but we only found a tatami maker, a carpenter and a paper doll workshop, and no 'shoji' maker. We returned to the temple to find them still filming Alan talking to the monk. We were expected at the Hakusasonso tea garden at 4.00pm but were running late again. The garden shots at the temple will be done tomorrow morning.



Alan talking to the monk

Despite our late arrival, the owner of the tea garden was very hospitable and amenable. She was dressed in a pale green kimono. Alan was filmed in one of the small tea houses talking on the mystery of health as cities grew, and the possible influence of tea. The setting was idyllic. They lit candles as it grew dark all along the paths, and at the end we were given sake under a huge flowering cherry tree, the blossom drifting into the sake if you were lucky. A magical ending to the filming trip.



Hakusasonso tea garden



We had our final meal together at a nice Japanese restaurant near the hotel which Robin knew. The change of crew made a great difference to the dynamics of the group as he and his Japanese sound man were so pleasant. We had quite a number of conversations with Robin on the difficulties of living with a Japanese family, having married their daughter. He also had a great sense of humour.

Visit to Japan 2003

Kenichi had been a visiting scholar at Clare Hall, Cambridge, from Autumn 1999 until March 2000. We had continued our discussions about Japan, and I had plans to write a joint book with Toshiko on Fukuzawa. So when Kenichi, once again, managed to find funds for another visit of three weeks to Japan in 2003, we were delighted.

Again, it was an immensely rich visit after a gap of four years, and the amount we learnt increased ever faster as it was possible to place new information within an already established framework of understanding. Like our first visit, of which it reminded us, it took place in the hottest part of the year.

5th to 6th July 2003

Travelling. All very easy and we managed to sleep for quite a bit of time so not too exhausted when Toshiko and Kenichi met us at 8.30pm after our flight up from Narita. We are staying in the same hotel - The "Mets" - as in 1997, so it seems thoroughly familiar. Even the 'yakuta' are the same. Had a small, late meal and busy talk with Toshiko and Kenichi before sleep. As well as paying for our flights and hotel, Kenichi gave Alan 100,000Y. We changed £200 at Narita at the rate of 187Y to the pound.

SAPPORO

7th July 2003

Alan has been assigned a room with computer and a similar desk for me. The project has a massive government grant so has its own secretaries and computer assistant. As yet they have had little to do though there is a web site in both English and Japanese listing those academics involved and giving short biographies and a photo of each. The project is on Global Governance but has yet to get beyond the planning stage. Sapporo much as we remembered. The university has expanded and looks less seedy. We found our way by a shorter route from the hotel. At this time of year it is particularly beautiful with its full grown trees and water lilies on the lake. Had lunch at a new curry shop - Japanese style, so little in common with the Indian original. More of a spicy vegetable soup with single chunks of each vegetable (including a slice of avocado pear and lotus root). Kenichi says they try to retain the individual flavour of each rather than combining them into the curry we eat. Also served with Japanese sticky rice coloured yellow. This type of curry house is the fashionable place to eat in Sapporo, at least.

Talked about China and Korea and the current attitude to them in Japan. Kenichi suggested that North Korea will just wither. It has nothing to sell except arms and opium, but then Kim Jong Il is playing a weak hand well to scare off the Americans. Despite general hostility to the Iraq invasion, Japan wants US to stay in this region - in Okinawa and South Korea as a bulwark and plays a game of small gestures eg. agreeing to send some troops to Iraq, but keeping as far away on everything else as possible. All East Asia (except North Korea) feel the same, that US is in a wild state and needs to be carefully controlled.

We returned to Alan's room after lunch but wilted around 3.30pm and went back to the hotel to sleep. Met Toshiko and Kenichi for supper in a Chinese restaurant in an old house. Nice food and inexpensive. On the way there Kenichi talked of the relaxation there has been in the examinations system as the pressure on places has declined due to demographics. There are far fewer children needing places. His daughters have all taken the Kyoto entrance exam and over a period of six years (Subaru to Ai) he has seen the maths paper become progressively easier. We had noticed that small children with child minders were not walking through the university two by two but were running about in an uncontrolled manner which surprised us. They are part of the sign of relaxation in discipline and pressure. Another, in Sapporo, is the introduction of a Brazilian-type

carnival at the end of June. This may be part of an effort to encourage tourism - we see that the university is high on the list of tourist sites - but also shows a shift away from the serious work ethic of the salaryman era. Now people are prepared to relax and have some fun and Kenichi implied that Japanese, are, on the whole, content.

During the afternoon had inadvertently pressed an alarm button in the toilet thinking it was a light. The introduction of this type of security system extends to all universities now. A complete change from 1997. Spectacular murders, luridly reported in the press, have increased, although the actual increase is negligible, but this has heightened fears. Another aspect is that the police find these harder to solve as the perpetrators are not the old usual suspects. Many are domestic and the age peaks of murderers are 20 and 50. Toshiko couldn't give an explanation of why this should be. Police attitude to domestic violence has changed too. Now there are many women police who deal sympathetically with victims. Over our meal learnt that Japanese are developing more food allergies, particularly to eggs, soya beans and soba noodles. Toshiko suggested that an explanation was the emphasis on cleanliness so that resistances built up in infancy against dirt no longer worked. Toshiko and Kenichi asked us if we would like to go to a hot spring beside the sea or lavender field in central Hokkaido at the weekend. We opted for fields.

8th July 2003

Spent longer in the department. I am reading "Letters to Lily" and Alan was checking his web site and others. Showed Toshiko the Earls Colne site after lunch. She doesn't really use computers so a little bemused, I think. Lunched with Toshiko and Kenichi and Toshiko said she would like to co-author a revision of the Fukuzawa chapters as a single book. Also talked enthusiastically about a Japanese version of 'Letters', translated as "Letters to Ai" perhaps. Had our first ice creams from the dispenser with 17 varieties. Got a takeaway and some saki for supper. Both tired, but slept fitfully. Not unusual after a long flight. Alan's mind whirring on how he can retire gracefully and become more involved with projects in Japan and China. Noted that the road repairs we'd watched yesterday were neatly finished. Quite different from the Russian example so expertly filmed for TV.

9th July 2003

Alan's debate with Hiroshi Watanabe. Unfortunately, neither of us slept well. Alan even worse than me so he feared that he would not be on top form, but he had 15 minutes nap beforehand and was sparkling. It is always a pleasure for me to hear him as he delivers lectures so well and fluently, only using his notes as a prompt so that he can engage with his audience. He had summarised religion, war and witchcraft, the three papers sent to Watanabe, into a neat whole so those distinct chapters from 'Letters' sounded as though they were intimately linked. Watanabe stuck to his original criticism as he said he was unable to speak off the cuff in English. A few points were out of context such as his thoughts on the famine chapter which Alan had not been told he'd read, but he made a very interesting point about the use of an observation made by a government commission to Europe and USA during the Meiji that institutionalised religion was the way in which the elite kept the rest in check. They had no similarly powerful religious dogma but they transferred the idea of god to the Emperor and revitalised the myth of the sun ancestor for him with the aim of controlling the masses through the Emperor, very successfully, too. Questions good. I filmed nearly all the lectures and exchanges.

Dinner after, during which I spoke with Yamashita, the director of the project about Dore's books. He said they were setting up a special library for them and I mentioned that Ron Dore would like to sell them the Japanese part too. No response, but it may filter through. I found he'd been a practising Christian until recently. Watanabe said that during the war the government combined all Protestant Christian churches into one so that the sort of church that Yamashita belonged to was a mixed denomination. He lost his faith when he found he couldn't believe in heaven and hell, and therefore, god. He then turned his attention to politics and supported the Social Democrats, but even that has waned.

Watanabe is a nice man. Amused us all by describing how his 78 year old mother is an ardent football fan - and how she went to the final of the World Cup in Yokohama paying 2,000,000Y for a ticket. Watanabe

said he likes Hokkaido as its far more relaxed than Tokyo. Walked back with a young Australian member of the department - his accent English with a trace of Australian twang - who described how, as a child in the bush he could see things in the distance that adults could only see with binoculars, but he developed late onset myopia when the pressure of learning Japanese meant he gave up sport to concentrate all his energies on intellectual work.





10th July 2003

Wet and windy. Not nice to walk about in although we never got really soaked. Spent the day in the department and only saw Kenichi fleetingly. Went to get buns for lunch which we ate in the department. Read three chapters of 'Letters'. Find I'm repeating my response to my first reading of many of Alan's books. The ideas are interesting but seem to be out of balance in some way. Suspect its part of the process of writing that its necessary to put in everything without trying to excise or polish it at the beginning. Noted that there is an electrical noise box in the toilets which can be set to sense someone passing to sit on the lavatory and to disguise any unpleasant sounds. The children would be amused by the idea. We went to the 'Picante' - the quasi-curry restaurant as we knew we could interpret the menu. Noted that there were no hooks for coats but baskets beside each table for them. Also, chopsticks were not part of the cutlery, only spoons and forks. We talked about Alan's plans for retiring and retirement. Tried to persuade him to take up a new hobby. Suggested he learn to play simple Handel on a harpsichord. Don't know if this will ever happen but a nice idea at the time.

11th July 2003

Dull but at least dry. We worked in the department for the morning and then Kenichi appeared in mufti. He's been wearing suit and tie since Tuesday but Mondays and Fridays are his own. Palpable lifting of spirits when he appeared. He brought our Shinkansen tickets for Kyoto. Marvellous that all internal travel is being paid for. Then he suggested a trip to the electronics area that was once Sogo department store. He implied that Alan could go on a buying spree as he will receive another 200,000Y for his lectures apart from the 100,000Y we've been given for expenses while in Sapporo. Alan happily checked out the latest electronic innovations. New computer screens make the image much clearer than any of our current computers - perhaps too sharp. We were seduced into buying a digital camera, firstly attracted by its small size and then on the vastly improved power of battery and memory and image quality than our previous camera. It is another Olympus but it doesn't need Camedia and it should be possible to use it in China in situations where a video camera is not appropriate. There has been a large underground shopping development beneath the Sogo area. Seems so much nicer than above ground. Why couldn't we do this in London? Found a small curry restaurant called 'Ethnic' for supper.

12th July 2003

Given tickets for a performance of 'Noh' this afternoon by one of the secretaries. The tickets cost 9000Y each, so very generous. I shall try to give a fuller description elsewhere when I have sorted out when and by whom the plays were written, but one we recognised from having seen it in Kyoto. Ken Endo collected us when the performance ended at 4.30pm and took us to his home. Very stylish new Mini-Cooper. A young man's car rather than a family limousine. Their house is in a group built on a co-operative principle. Six or seven families bought the land and then jointly used an architect and builder to realize their very individual dream homes. Theirs is very attractive with split levels, use of tiles and wood of various kinds and shades, planned with good studies for them both and large bedrooms for themselves and Anna. They obviously don't intend to have more children.

As there was a memorial for a member of the department who died ten years ago Ken found it difficult to find other guests but did invite a nice man, an expert on John Locke. Much of our time, however, was spent with Anna. We remembered her as an enchanting two year old, now she is nearly eight, and because she has a Brazilian mother and has travelled with her parents, she speaks four languages - Japanese, Portuguese, Italian (Ken spent a year in Florence) and English (the common language of her parents). She was very warm and friendly, wanting to show her room and a dog kennel she'd made from cardboard boxes for a plastic dog. She agreed to be interviewed by Alan for a comparison with Lily. Ken is working on EU politics of subsidiarity and Hilda on domestic violence, so we talked about each subject and the current world political situation and thoughts about China. Ken drove us back.

13th July 2003

Worked in the department for the morning then went to Toshiko and Kenichi's flat. Alan spent some time with Toshiko discussing their planned expansion of the book on Fukuzawa which they will co-author, and I got Kenichi to explain the stories of the 'Noh' plays we saw yesterday. The humorous 'sake' play was, in fact, a Kyogen, an older form of improvised drama which merged with Noh before Zoemi raised the status of Noh to a high art form. The 'National Treasure' we saw yesterday was Hashioka Kuma, now 80, who played the fisherman in the last play - "Well of the Spirits". 'Kuma' is his retired name. His son is now the active master of Noh and is called Hashioka Kutaro. As with all art forms these are acting families of great age, revitalized by adoptions where necessary. This National Treasure was the eighth Kutaro. I now have enough information to get a fuller description of the plays from our Kodansha Encyclopaedia.

Later, another guest arrived, Dr Shing-Jen Chen, a Taiwanese child developmental psychologist who runs a nursery within the university which is free to people who are happy to let their children be subjects of study. Alan and he talked of film and Alan showed him examples of the film he has taken in Nepal and of Lily. They agreed to co-operate over collection and analysis, something which Alan has planned to do for a long time (and says so on his web site). We shall visit the nursery tomorrow morning.

While they were talking I told Toshiko and Kenichi about my mother's removal to an old people's home and subsequent death and the problems of her will. Learnt that Japanese children have a proportional right to parents' property that cannot be altered. Furthermore, if parents give money to their children they are taxed on it immediately so there is no real incentive to help children during life. The value of property is fixed at a certain time regardless of whether the house at sale realizes more or less, which means that the tax paid on the house is known beforehand but may cripple the heirs later as it has to be paid and the house may not cover the tax so the heirs lose rather than gain anything. The usual way is for all the heirs to give up their rights and then the estate is declared bankrupt and sold to pay creditors ie. the state. Our system is much more flexible and generous and we are freer to do what we like with our money.

Long talk over supper with Dr Chen on the current fears that children are becoming involved in horrendous crimes. Dr Chen's view is that child-rearing behaviour may give a child little moral sense as the parents tend to take the bad behaviour of the child as their fault and not the child's. He has conducted experiments when mothers with 7 month old babies come in to play together where he gets the mothers to leave for a minute. At

once the child will cry and when the mother is called back she will apologise to the child for leaving it. This strong identification with the feelings of the child is exacerbated in the home where a young mother is alone much of the time with the baby, and the father, even when at home, will only want to play with the child in a good mood. If there are problems then the father returns the baby to the mother. The very strong bond between mother and child, particularly mothers and sons ('amai'), has led to significant numbers of cases of mother-son incest, instigated by the mother as a service to her son on the excuse that he is working so hard he has no time to find another outlet for sex. This may also indicate why mother-in-law daughter-in-law relations are, generally speaking, so bad.

Toshiko and Kenichi see a general malaise in young people (based on their own children). They are no longer motivated to press on with a career but are happy to take dead-end, part-time jobs and just drift. They see this as a result of pessimism for the future but it may be that Japanese society has relaxed, the pressure to succeed reduced, and their children are just enjoying their years of freedom before marriage and family pushes them to be responsible providers and nurturers. Also discussed the future of Taiwan and what might happen to China. Again, they were all more pessimistic than us but we have the luxury of distance which means we can be more objective.



Alan and Toshiko

14th July 2003

Alan's second lecture embracing population, family and disease. His opponent (for this is how they are thought of) was Ohsawa Masachi, a youngish (certainly young looking) associate professor from Kyoto University. Sadly he was not up to the challenge, partly because he was not knowledgeable in the fields, but also because he had not done enough background thinking to make any real criticisms. Ben Middleton (the young Australian), as before made the best, most thoughtful questions. Interestingly there was much less humming round him by Japanese scholars than with Watanabe. I felt sorry for him walking behind the main group,

alone, when we went to the restaurant and after. I filmed a little of Alan and all of Ohsawa so it will be possible to check these impressions.

As it was Toshiko and Kenichi's silver wedding anniversary they paid for everyone's supper at a restaurant at the top of a building that turns every hour so one can see Sapporo in all directions without moving. As we were also moving from dusk to dark it was very beautiful at times. I was at the end of the table with Toshiko and, among other things, we talked about their projected stay in Cambridge in 2005. Toshiko wants to get six month's leave but this means she has to get someone else to give her lectures. She can manage three months without as she can give her lecture on her return. She seems very keen to write a single book on Fukuzawa with Alan. She was worried at the thought that Alan might be retiring then but I explained that retirement for him would not mean withdrawing from the university, nor would he be powerless as a patron.

Ben walked back with us and he and Alan were loath to finish their conversation so he came up for some 'sake'. However, we learnt that the "sake" we were drinking was not rice wine but 'shochu', a wheat spirit about half the proof of whisky - 25o. He questioned Alan on his research and writing methods, and Alan answered very fully and eloquently with little bits of advice to him. Next time we must try to get him to talk.



Ohsawa Masachi



View over Sapporo from the tower restaurant



Kenichi and Toshiko



Dinner party

15th July 2003

We spent the morning at the nursery attached to the Department of Developmental Psychology. I filmed the children at play and then we went with them to the university farm to see pigs, chicken and penned donkeys. The pigs looked quite happy but the chicken were in cages and looked dreadfully bedraggled. Two children refused to go in and others were subdued. We couldn't eat chicken for lunch or supper. The nursery is for 4.5-5 year olds, so about Rosa's age, but there is no teaching done here. There are kindergartens which only teach and nurseries, like this, which don't. Formal teaching starts at 6-7. Nurseries are controlled by the Ministry of Health and Social Security and kindergartens by the Education Ministry. They are thinking of amalgamating them. Professor Chen thinks it a good idea.

Alan had time to discuss possible collaboration over film with him. He joined us and Toshiko for lunch and then we went with them to Mitsukoshi where we saw an exhibition of tea ceremony pots made by Morihiro Hosokawa, a previous Prime Minister of Japan who retired in 1993. Kenichi told us that his mother was related to the Royal family but died and his father and stepmother hold her money. He will have to wait until they die to inherit. Then, says Kenichi, he will give up pot making and form a new political party with his inheritance and try to get back into power. Pots nice but not startling - very expensive, with Shigaraki-style water jars priced at 600,000Y, tea bowls 3- 500,000Y, and sake bottle 100,000Y.

Told Toshiko about Brian Moeran's thesis and his observation that exhibiting in such a place would not benefit the exhibitor financially but only enhances his reputation. Spoke to Hosokawa, and Alan photographed with him. I think he must have been rather startled to be approached by us. His silence made us say all sorts of things which, on reflection, seem pretty stupid such as inviting him to Lode to see Matt's pottery. Poor Toshiko, who was watching, must have been cringing with embarrassment. Bought some summer jelly for the secretary who gave us the Noh tickets and a smaller number of pots for the other. Odd to see how much Japanese will pay for something so ordinary - 175Y for pots what would be quarter the amount that Lily and Rosa would consume in a bowl for tea. We took a train back to Mets and went out later to a nice meal in a small

restaurant nearby. Sent email to Inge in response to one from her. All well, but very hot at home. She has not got the research job. They seem to have run out of money. I don't think she is too disappointed.

Reflecting on Hosokawa's pots, they were all derivative - nothing in the slightest bit startling, in fact authenticity comes now from copying tea bowl styles. This meant that there was nothing that Matt would call a racer yet they were priced with a value-added that means that the cost of production must be negligible - 5% at most. The name and reputation allows him to add even more than another, better, but less well connected potter. Yet without room for innovation and experiment these can never be as exciting as Matt's. This sort of Japanese pottery is one of Alan's deepest form of trap.

Returning to the nursery. There were 19 children, only six boys and two of them were foreign, one Russian and the other Ukrainian. Talking with Dr Chen about the problems of young isolated mothers he said there were self-help groups which advertise on the internet. "Park Debut" women take their babies to a nearby park where they can meet other mothers with babies to chat and compare experiences. But the social rules still apply and mothers have to "fit" a stereotype. Many don't go for fear of failing to fit. Professor Chen told of an experience his wife related. She is a paediatrician and in her clinic she observed that a seven month old baby was breathing rather fast. In another situation a mother might have acted on the observation and taken the child to a doctor. This mother said the child always breathed fast and spoke as though the baby agreed with her - "don't you". She then took the baby's hand and patted her own arm with it as though to confirm it was the baby's fault, not hers. One of the factors in the nursery is that mothers come in and have their own room where they chat and drink tea. They did not involve themselves with the children but left them in the care of the three nursery assistants.





Nursery and the visit to the University farm



Alan with Morihiro Hosokawa, a previous Prime Minister of Japan, now a potter

16th July 2003

Still very cool here and unusually wet and cold in all Japan this year. Conversely, Europe and Britain suffering extreme heat. Kenichi filled in further the Hosokawa story. He comes from central Kyushu, from Kumamoto province where he is "Daimyo". He became Governor and then went into Parliament after his mother died. He did get her money and it was with this that he launched his political party. As leader of the smallest party (Nihan Shinto) he stepped into the role of Prime Minister in a coalition government. After he resigned he took up potting. As all his inheritance was wasted he has to wait for his father and stepmother's death for a second chance at politics. Kenichi described him as "purifying" himself by becoming a potter. Of the exhibition, one can see that he may not fit the Moeran model in relation to the amount he pays Mitsukoshi. Kenichi rather mischievously suggested that some other, better, potter might have produced some of the pots to raise his reputation, but this seems a dangerous ploy because if found out he would lose all he hopes to gain from self-advertisement.

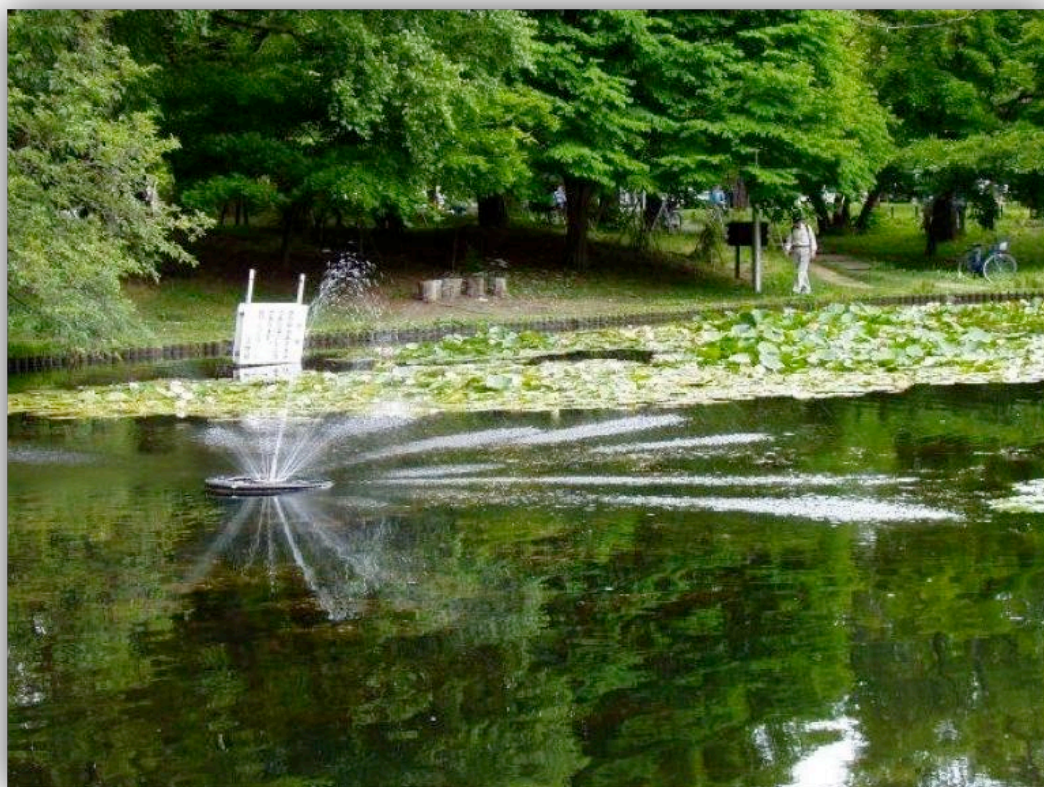
Speaking of Mitsukoshi, Kenichi expounded something Toshiko told us yesterday. His mother fitted Yuri with full kimono and accoutrements there and then had her photographed. These photos she will keep until Yuri is ready to marry then her grandmother will try to match her appropriately. Elderly ladies will swap photos of eligible partners, shuffling them about and managing the introduction. One reason why Toshiko and his mother don't get on is that Kenichi chose for himself and chose an unsuitable woman. Toshiko's mother has talked about matchmaking herself. Her own daughter-in-law was matched with Jun. She is from a family of hereditary chamberlains to the Royal family, so very well connected. The relationship between her and Toshiko's mother is very good. Kenichi said that Yuri wants him to arrange a marriage for Subaru.

Had lunch with a young female colleague of Kenichi's, Asako Kuwahara, an expert on Heian law. She is researching the work of poet-lawyers ('myoboka') of the C9 who were advisors to the rulers and have left a legacy of thought in 'waka' verse written in 'kanji'. My notes are not clear enough to try to fill in more. Seems from these and the image of the Genji a century later that this was the highest point in Japanese culture. She was very nervous but Alan talked with her about coming to Oxford or Cambridge, and how she should write directly to scholars who interested her and hope for an interview with them. If they were enthused by her ideas then they would help her with the formalities as he had done most recently with Xiaoxiao.

The next event was filming Anna, Ken Endo's daughter. She arrived with Hilda at 5pm and Alan took her to a quiet room to interview her. He played the last half to us afterwards and its very charming and thoughtful. She even ends by talking directly to Lily and Rosa. They may meet as Ken is keen that Anna improves her English and has been intending to go to US or England next summer. I think Hilda would like to go to Cambridge. During the filming I talked with Hilda and Naomi, the secretary, about Hilda's work on women. Naomi now 32 is unmarried but is looking for a husband. However, she doesn't want to change her name and her most serious boyfriend would not agree to this if he married her. She gave a feeling of being a little desperate and obsessed by the difficulty of finding anyone sympathetic as she clearly does not want to end up an old maid. Talked about the different aspirations of males and females. She is the same generation as the young women we met here on our last visit whom we noted then thought so differently about marriage than men. The Cinderella-Prince Charming complex which disappears after the honeymoon. Had supper with Anna and Hilda. (Ken was at home supervising builders). Later, when we were already in 'yakuta', Ben Middleton called with a bottle of better 'shochu' and we talked until after 11pm. This time, more about him and his history, but also on wider political issues.



Anna (wearing Alan's hat) and Alan



Lake at the University



Alan at the ice cream vending machine

17th July 2003

Read two more chapters and the new introduction to 'Letters'. I have only the conclusion to read and a revision of the law chapter. It feels like a good book especially if it follows the new pattern set by the introduction of attempting to explain the world to Lily in the future. Apart from this Kenichi and Alan worked out our trips to Tokyo and Kyoto so we know what we will be doing and where we shall be each day. The secretary who had given us the Noh tickets brought in a CD of koto music. Her husband is a professional player and she has arranged for him to come in tomorrow at lunch time to play for us. We listened on a CD player she'd produced for the rest of the afternoon.

Supper with Ben Middleton and a colleague, Asahiko Hanzawa, who did a Ph.D. in Oxford on the UN and the British Empire. Ben took us to 'Voyage', the original soup curry restaurant in the same group as 'Picante'. Noticed the same man serving there though wearing a blue apron here instead of the red at 'Picante'. The menu was the same except there were four degrees of curry heat rather than five at 'Picante'. On our way back we all went to a lovely tea house where we drank Chinese and Korean teas and admired tea pots and cups from both countries. Pleasant way to round off an evening. Learnt that dry steamed tea ('fukamushi cha') can be burnt as incense.



Soup Curry restaurant



Alan drinking tea



Tea



Japanese tea ware

18th July 2003

The high point of the day was a performance for us of koto music and an introduction to the instrument by Koichiro Tanaka, the husband of the secretary who'd given us the No tickets. Felt very privileged as he clearly is no amateur and the playing was lovely. He gave us three CDs to add to the one his wife give us so we had a lovely afternoon listening to them all as we worked. Tanaka began learning the piano at six. Before the Murumachi period koto was only played by the nobility, but from the Edo period all could play, men and women. Only the Royal Gagaku orchestra excluded women. He does concerts all over Japan but it can't be easy to make a living however good you are.



Koichiro Tanaka



Alan trying to play the koto

Had a talk with Naomi, the secretary, about her family. Her mother's grandparents came from North East Honshu, an area constantly hit by famine, to work in coal mines. Coal, called "black diamonds", was necessary for winters in Hokkaido, but many mines were very dangerous. Migrants were given land which they had to clear and farm. Very hard. Her parents live near Hakkodate. I have finished all the 'Letters' now and have read enough of the additional piece on "paths" to think that Alan has the beginnings of a very nice intellectual biography. We came back to do washing and packing before we leave for Tokyo tomorrow.



Hokkaido University grounds

CHIBA

19th July 2003

Near disaster when Alan missed his hat when we were leaving the Mets. He rushed off to the restaurant we ate in last night. In the meantime I found the hat behind a curtain. Lucky, as Alan returned very disappointed as the restaurant was closed up. Easy journey to Tokyo and Chiba. Toshiko's mother, Humiko and son, Jun, her brother, wife and daughter, Ayako, all came to supper. Very friendly and generous with their attention. Lots of talk on wide-ranging subjects such as Iraq, but most interesting on the Second World war. Toshiko's mother's account of being bombed out in Tokyo. Her husband was injured just before he was due to go to war. The troop ship he was due to go on was sunk. Kenichi described Toshiko's mother as upper Samurai, thus educated and relatively free to do and think as she pleased. She explained that before and during the war she followed blindly the Emperor's command. His radio broadcast at the end of the war shocked her utterly and she felt the Japanese people had been deceived into war. She is now a pacifist so opposed, as are most Japanese, to America's adventure in Iraq.

On the train earlier, Kenichi tried to explain the Japanese view of what was happening in North Korea. Seems that a great game is being played where the Americans are the most ignorant and can be manipulated. Apparently they only have two Korean speakers in their special team of twelve monitoring affairs in Korea so rely on the Japanese for information supplied to their embassy in Tokyo. Kenichi suggested that China, South Korea and Japan are much more sanguine about Kim Jong Il. They are not even convinced that his weapons of mass destruction are not just bluster. In 1988 Kenichi was involved in a visit of the author of 'Juche' from North Korea. Rather a dangerous assignment as there was a threat of assassination. Toshiko was unaware where Kenichi was, and particularly hard for her as her father died unexpectedly at that point. She was very upset and angry.

All the women prepared the meal. Lots of small delicious dishes and good conversation. Toshiko's brother had said he would like to arrange a marriage for Ayako. She is now 27, and apart from helping in a nursery school and teaching four piano students, she has no job and lives at home. She has learnt to play the harpsichord

and is now learning the lute. Talking with her, she would like to marry and had a boyfriend who was a photographer but, like her, has no real job. She would like to marry an artist or an artisan but her parents want her to marry a professional person with a secure job. As they left they handed a photo of Ayako to Toshiko and Kenichi for them to look for an academic husband. She would like to marry a foreigner but her mother and grandmother fear they would not be able to communicate with him so are opposed to the idea but not for any racial reason.

We talked about Israel and Palestine. They said that the Japanese knew little about the problem as they didn't understand how Judaism worked and what the strength of their right to the Holy Land was. Our talk about war led to a discussion on family violence. Toshiko thought that parent-child violence was a very modern phenomena, but Kenichi thought it was very old in Japanese peasant society. What could be more violent than killing your child or selling it into slavery? He thought that a gentle attitude to children could only be afforded by the Samurai class. We also talked about Burakamin and whether they were anything like Jews. Kenichi thought not and doubted they were a racial group but that Burakamin were outcasts from various political pressures over time. One current thesis is that they were supporters of Godaigo who fell with him. Kenichi doubts all the purity/caste explanations.

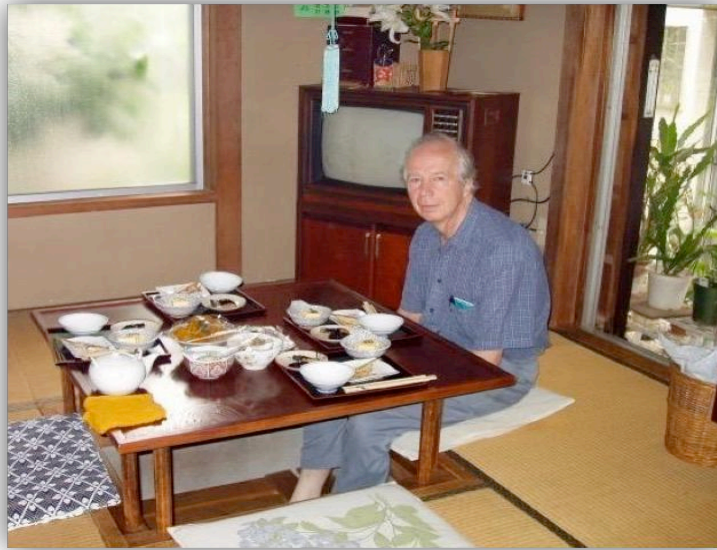
Humiko showed us photos of a sushi bar she had just finished designing and building. Both her sons are wanting to be architects though Jun, the elder, has already trained as a horticulturalist and is just starting an architectural course. Again, they have no real jobs and live at home. This echoes the problem that Toshiko and Kenichi fear with their daughters. Toshiko's mother liked Matt's vase and it is now standing in the tokonoma. Alan showed the pictures we took in Sapporo, especially the photo of Ben Middleton for Ayako, and then to bed in the tokonoma room.



Kenichi, Toshiko, Ayako, Mrs Kashiwagi and Alan

20th July 2003

A real Japanese breakfast with 'natto'. Toshiko left for a conference quite early so her mother worrying about whether we had eaten enough. She showed us one of the pickles we were eating in its flower form from an album of water colour paintings. Learnt they were by her. Very good, with 'haiku' attached. Kenichi said that the origin of 'haiku' was as a summary of a picture so the first 'haiku' writers were artists. Toshiko's mother took up painting recently as well as computers. She is 84 now but still manages well. She does not wear glasses, is short-sighted but notes that her eyesight is getting longer, thus better.



Japanese breakfast





Mrs Kashiwagi

TOKYO

Went to Ueno to an exhibition of automata and scientific instruments. Presented a picture of people full of curiosity, happy to explore any ideas that came from the West through Deshima. Museum very crowded as it is the weekend. After lunch took a train to Mitako station where Yoh and Himako met us. They look just the same, Himako, with luscious dark-dyed hair, must be in her mid-sixties. Realize how old Toshiko looks with grey hair as she is only 47. Went to the wooden house we remembered, full of knick-knacks and Liberty fabrics, but this will be the last time we see it as they are pulling down both this and their son's house and building two houses for their son and daughter on the site. They are moving to the house in Kamakura. Kenichi had not realized that both he and Himako had been born in the same town.

Had a very pleasant time plied with food and drink, chicken legs, for instance, had come from Kamakura and Himako had gone down specially to buy them for us. They are prepared in a way especially liked by the Emperor. Talk combative and fun. Yoh is retiring finally when they go to Kamakura but wants to write on Japaneseness, trying to identify the deep underlying characteristics which include faith. He has been trying to inform himself on religions and went to Iran to look at Zoroastrism. He and Himako also went to India a year and a half ago but he was unfortunate enough to break a vertebrae in his upper spine and had to be brought back to Tokyo to hospital. He feared at that time that he would never walk again but it now playing golf and drives a very smart yellow beetle (VW). He has finished a monumental work on the Nagasaki boat building industry which he started in 1982. This is the third volume of the pre-announced trilogy. Unfortunately he wants to add another volume but the publisher is unsure.

Alan talked to them about his idea of giving his books and papers to a Chinese university. Both Yoh and Kenichi cautioned him. They both felt that the status of universities in China was so undermined through Mao that they have yet to regain an authority that would make such a gift safe. They are also less sure about China's future. They still feel it is a controlled state and reminded us about the Western visitors to Russia in the thirties, and how enthusiastic they were, but they were being manipulated and hoodwinked and only shown what Stalin wanted them to see. We must be more observant and critical in October.

They drove us back to Mitake and we came here to International Guest House in Roppongi where we will stay for two nights.

21st July 2003

Had breakfast with Toshiko and Kenichi but then Toshiko went to her conference and Kenichi to his mother's. He lived in Roppongi for ten years as a youth so this is home ground for him. His first scholarship for university came from International House. He did physics first at Todai and then switched to politics, a popular choice at such a time of ferment. He went to the equivalent of an English public school and his mother now lives in a smart part of Tokyo, so although he describes his father as a railway engineer he was obviously no ordinary railway man.

Masako came at 11.00am. The morning was wet but we went first to an internet cafe and then to Komaba. Couldn't recognise it as all the old disreputable student blocks have been pulled down and a huge new library built. Similarly, new buildings are springing up round the campus although we did find our old office building and went down the path by the tennis courts. Saw no cats although Masako says they are still there. Raining heavily so we went into a nice little restaurant on the hill and had lunch and talked. Then made a sentimental return visit to Yanagi's 'Mingei' museum. Did not see the same Hameda plate nor Korean tea bowl that I remember so deduce that they have a much larger store of artefacts than can be seen in the museum. Particularly liked the bowls by Kasai, a contemporary of Hameda. Masako's sister is having an exhibition at Mitsukoshi (everyone is, it seems). I tested Brian Moeran's thesis on her but she was doubtful. She said her sister needed the money so could not afford to give it away in buying goods she didn't want from Mitsukoshi. Masako confirmed that you have to be invited to show there although, of course, there may be negotiations by a third party before the invitation is sent. (My thought, not her suggestion).

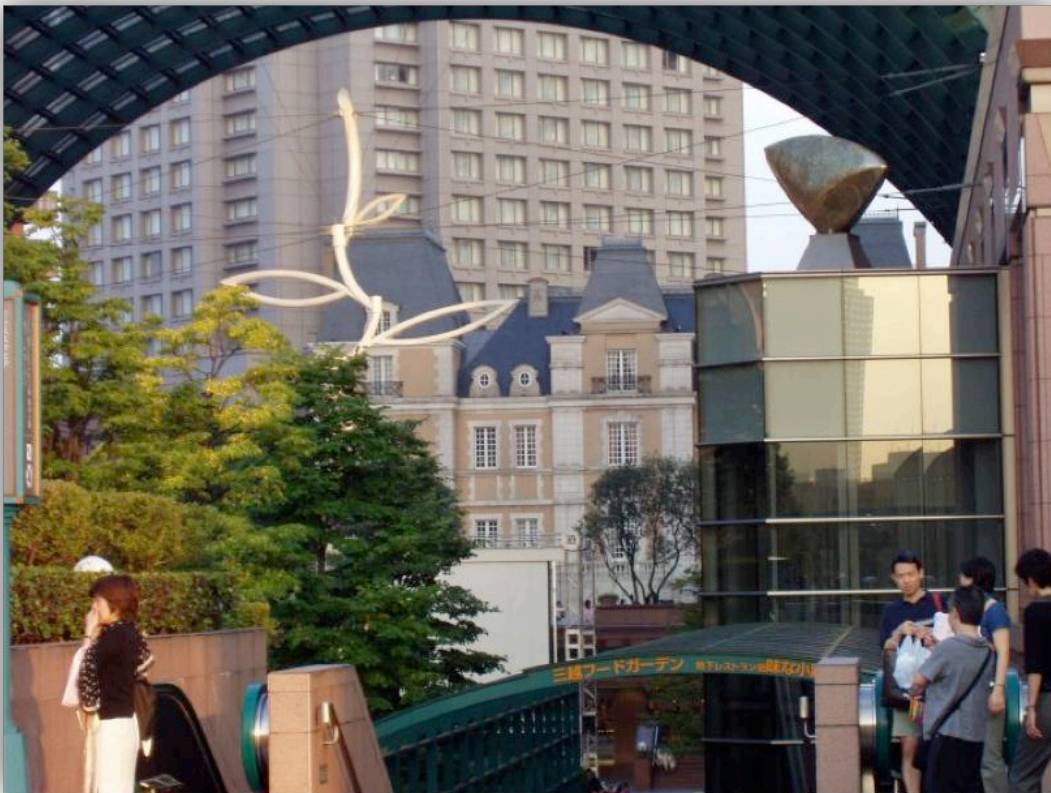
We looked in the bookshop below Komaba but could see no books of interest to us. As it was so wet we did not extend our sentimental journey to Mitakadai but instead went to look for a chain and cup drainpipe at Tokyo Hands in Shibuya. Amazed by the number of young people in fashionable casual wear, most with auburn tints or completely dyed hair, looking very self-confident and modern. Girls with girls, girls with boys, boys with boys, but no sense of division. Hard to imagine the population balance has become so heavily aged as Alan and I appeared to be the only grey heads there. Found a copper chain drain - very expensive (40,000Y = £220) but will, we think be an appropriate memory of Japan.

We met Osamu Saito at Ebisa station and he took us all (Masako included) to a very smart tea place in the new centre of Ebisa. It was the site of the Tokyo branch of the Sapporo brewery. When last we were here there were only the old beer tanks, apparently, giving whiffs of beer whenever the wind was in a certain direction. Now they have gone and there is a really huge shop and restaurant development with a mock French chateau restaurant and German-style beer parlours - ("bars" would not indicate their sophistication). Alan gave the tea book to Saito and Glass to Masako and talked about the supporting web material for both books.

Supper with Osamu and Nobuko at their house. Nobuko greeted us jumping up and down by the gate. We had a pleasant time reminiscing about Peter Laslett, and Osamu described his work on Asian demographics. Nobuko's father is getting very frail at 92 and is clearly a bit of a burden for her. Described my mother's decline and the feelings of sadness and irritation I had, which Nobuko echoed. Returned on our own to International House, Alan having accurately memorised the route the night before.



Ebisa



22nd July 2003

Kenichi very kindly paid our bill here as he can claim it from the project because of our meeting with Yoh Nakanishi. Airi arrived at 11.00am wearing a delightful summer kimono made of banana leaf fibre from Okinawa - celadon green, grey and white. We were delighted to see her in it as she had never worn one in Cambridge. She said that our requests that she wear one when she was there made her think that she ought to try and she unearthed all the kimonos her mother had bought her long ago. This was one of them. Sadly the weaving technique is dying out in Okinawa. Toshiko surprised us by saying that she now thinks she'll wear kimono when we first meet her, he avowed that she would never do so.

Kabuki was delightful. The first we saw was a very slow dance based on a No drama about an old woman who falls in love with a young man. She dies and comes back as a ghost and pursues him. A moral tale as she cannot reach the Buddhist heaven without renouncing the things of the earth. Her love and lust sends her to hell. The second full play was about Dogan, a criminal masseur, but is entitled "Firemen of Edo". Very splendid performance.. Between plays we ate 'bento' and afterwards went to an old-established restaurant in Ginza to eat summer fruits and talk. Airi hopes, yet again, to come to Cambridge in the Spring. She has been to Israel and Palestine recently, and is shifting her fieldwork area from Tunisia to Malta, mainly because of the threat of terrorist violence. German tourists at a synagogue were attacked recently.



With Airi Tamura at the Kabuki

Met Toshiko and Kenichi and Toshiko's mother at Chiba station and went with them to eat a Chinese meal. Toshiko was apparently astounded to hear how her mother was related to the Maeda clan who built the gates of Tokyo University which figured in the last act of the Kabuki we saw in the afternoon. Another of her Maeda relatives built a church in Kanagawa, the central city of the clan. A son of his learnt English and taught it to the Japanese Navy. He was so esteemed that he then taught the Emperor's brother. Toshiko was very surprised to hear her mother likes Christian churches and had wanted to be a Christian as a child.



Meal with Mrs Kashiwagi, Toshiko and Kenichi

KYOTO

23rd July 2003

Went by Shinkansen to Kyoto. Tired, as for some reason I couldn't sleep the night before. Nothing to do with the futon which was very comfortable. I have promised to make a book of photographs for Mrs Kashiwagi. Subaru met us at the station and she and Kenichi took our large bags and computer to "Three Sisters" while we went with Toshiko on a tour of the Royal palace. We could only see outside the buildings but most were like long stages anyway, for show rather than comfort, although the Imperial family lived here until c1868 with the fall of the Shogun. Since then they rarely visit. The present Emperor's father had his coronation there, but that was the last. After him coronations are held in Tokyo. Went from there to the Ninomura Palace of the Shogun which we could enter. Lots of beautiful screen doors painted with images of cedar trees, tigers (based on skins), cranes and blossoms. The administration rooms had ducks in their motif. Rather nice. The Royal Palace, like Ise, constantly rebuilt on the early Heian model, had wooden floors. The Shogun's palace built in 1623 had tatami, but the corridors were all wooden and squeaked so that the Shogun knew when someone was outside even if the screen doors were shut. Both had lovely gardens which were not really diminished because of the rain which was pretty constant. Not a problem getting wet as it is warm and seems to dry quite quickly.



Palaces and gardens





Next went to Subaru's flat which is no student hovel but a very smart apartment. Each girl has her own room and the living room is full of electronic equipment - each has a different type of computer. Toshiko said that three can live here as cheaply as two students living on their own. They are generous parents. Went to a

traditional Japanese restaurant and ate a delicious meal - ours mainly tofu including a device where liquid tofu was boiled and we ate the skin (as on boiled milk) with soya sauce and pickle. Then a rennet-type thickening agent was added and it turned into a creamy tofu. Nice energetic talk with the girls - in English. Ai's is least good but she can manage very well. Then back to "Three Sisters". Same proprietress and husband cooking breakfast. Good night's sleep.



Kyoto subway



Japanese meal

24th July 2003

Picked up the three girls at their flat and walked to the main shrine in Gion where there was supposed to be a procession of a great wheeled shrine ('hoko'), but it had been called off because of yesterday's rain. However, a series of dances to the shrine kami was to take place later so we walked, weather improving as we did so, to Sho-Ren-Nin temple, one we had particularly liked on our first visit, though we had no idea that it was Toshiko's favourite too. It's small and beautiful with a garden one can just sit and look over without stress. We walked back to the shrine to watch dances with Kenichi and Yuri. Toshiko and the others went to see Shugakuin Imperial villa which is owned by the Government so free to visit with permission. The dances Alan filmed were of maiko and professionally trained children, and very charming. The dances were directed towards the shrine and have been done since the Heian period when they first did them to propitiate the gods to cure sickness (Ekjninsai festival).

Lunch, and then taxi for our visit to Shugakuin. Glorious place with three small villas which one reaches through rice fields. Very simple buildings including a tea house at the top. Kenichi found a very small climb taxing and Toshiko had even advised him not to go after experiencing it herself. By then the weather was not threatening - cloud and sun - so the views particularly striking down to Kyoto below and over forests all around. Massive man-made lake at the top of the hill and all so artless and perfect. Went back to meet Toshiko and girls in a department store where we ate, and then went out to see a mikoshi procession. Here they do not carry them but pull them on wheels. Spent time walking round and bought tea and dolls before going back to the shrine to see the mikoshi brought back. Before the shrine they did lift the mikoshi off the wheels and turn it on their shoulders a number of times. They do not do the little springing dance step we saw at Mitakadai in 1997. Kenichi so exhausted he went back to the hotel before the last part, but Toshiko soldiered on and enjoyed it all. Very nice way to spend our wedding anniversary.

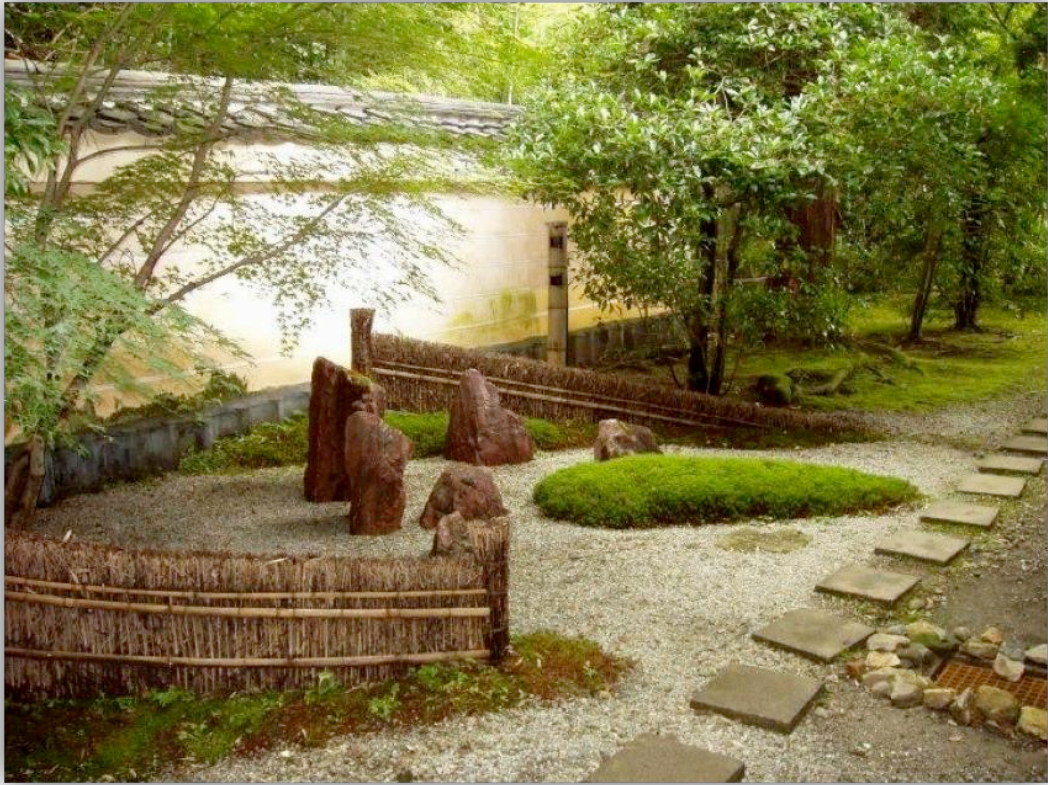


Sho-Ren Nin Temple



Chain drain









Gion Shrine



Shugakuin Imperial Villa





Tea house



Pachinko parlour



Mikoshi procession

25th July 2003

Left our luggage at "Three Sisters" as we are spending tonight at a ryoken in the Gion area. Alan and I walked down the "Philosopher's Path". Pleasant, with very few people as the Matsuri festival has ended and it is not a holiday season. Went in to the Ginkakaji temple (silver) at the end of the path having bought a new bell for the Morse House on the hill leading up to it. Again, quiet enough to enjoy, unlike our previous visit in Autumn. Photographed a little the pile of white sand representing Mount Fuji and the adjoining "waves". We then went to the Hakusasonso gardens where Alan was filmed for "The Day the World Took Off". We sat in front of the tea house for some time. Charmed by a kingfisher and the peace. Then took a taxi to a restaurant near the university where we met Toshiko and Kenichi and Emiko Ochaiae and Masaki Ohsawa, the man who was the respondent at Alan's second lecture in Hokkudai. Lunch rather strained as the table was big and we were too distant for easy conversation. Neither Toshiko nor Kenichi had met Emiko before. Alan's talk went well. An audience of over 40 from Kyushu and Shikoku as well as Kyoto. Quite a good range of questions and Alan was enthusiastically followed by students wanting to ask further questions.

We had to leave on time as Toshiko and Kenichi were awaiting us at a ryoken in the Gion district, very near the main geiko shrine, where we were to see a maiko dance. Emiko drove us there by taxi and Toshiko and Kenichi were waiting on the pavement as the maiko had already arrived. We sped off with the maiko, a seventeen year old who had trained for a year and for the last two months had been performing. She was tall but elegant. She had no lipstick on her upper lip and red eye makeup, both distinguishing marks of new maiko. Through Toshiko we asked what her parents had thought when she left home to become a maiko. She said they cried and were not happy. However, most of their worry was over the very taxing and constant training they need to endure to eventually (within five years) become a geiko (so called in Kyoto, geisha elsewhere). She wore a trailing obi. Hair combs are changed every month to reflect the seasons. The summer kimono weighs 6kg and the winter, 10kg. The maiko obi is seven metres long. The most valuable part of the ensemble is the pochuri, a jewelled buckle worn in the middle of the obi. Her own hair is used - geiko wear wigs. Their numbers have declined. In the early Meiji there were 3000 maiko, in early Taisho, 1000, fifty years ago 100, and now only 50-60. Maiko in the past used to be young girls from the age of ten. The current maiko costume is based on a child's kimono. She can make up her face in thirty minutes. She has classes four days a week with one hour's dancing and three hours watching other maiko. Her dance mistress is the daughter of a National Treasure. These women are held in very high esteem and not thought of as prostitutes in any sense.

After watching the maiko perform two dances (Alan filmed) we went to a private room for supper then walked over the river to see an old market house - Shyo Kyomachiya (see leaflet). There are no baths or showers in the rooms at the ryoken. There are bathrooms in the corridors but also an onsen downstairs. I funk'd the onsen and used the private bathroom. This ryoken is not as pleasant as "Three Sisters" but Toshiko and Kenichi preferred it.



Ginkakaji - Silver Temple



On the Philosopher's Walk



Meeting a Maiko in Gion

26th July 2003

Emiko met us at the ryoken and we went with her to Yagi, a town about 15 miles from Nara within which is an old market town - Imai-cho. It was very pleasant to walk in this small town of long, straight, streets - empty for the most part - and charming small houses. By luck we managed to get into an old house that was still producing soy sauce and were taken to see the vats where beans are fermented over a period of twelve months. Attached to it was an old house (100 years) which was built to house serving maids to the Empress when the Imperial family travelled. It had a delightful garden and some attractive screens inside. Lunched in another old house on soba. Entered several more houses in similar style. Hot by then.

We left with time enough to see a goldfish farm and then went to Nara park. Glorious evening. Emiko had arranged a meal for us all in a charming traditional restaurant called "Horses Eye". The only sad thing was that it served mainly sushi so Alan couldn't eat much, but the ambience, the pleasure at being together, and good conversation made it a memorable way to end this visit to Japan. Plans for future collaboration include Toshiko and Alan writing a book together on Fukuzawa and Kenichi translating "Letters to Lily", which receives enthusiastic responses from everyone. Also sorted out the sale of Dore's books with Kenichi, so a very successful visit.



Soy sauce maker



Nara Park



Dinner with Emiko Ochiae

Writing 'Japan Through the Looking Glass'

The next two chapters describe the writing of the first draft of my book *Japan through the Looking Glass*, finally published in 2007. This was the culmination of our sixteen years of exploration of Japan and its people. It was a book I had been trying to write from 1991, after our first visit, but had never found a way of capturing our impressions and growing understanding and confusion. I took inspiration, in the end, from Lafcadio Hearn's observation.

'Long ago the best and dearest Japanese friend I ever had said to me, a little before his death: "When you find, in four or five years more, that you cannot understand the Japanese at all then you will begin to know something about them" After having realised the truth of my friend's prediction, – after having discovered that I cannot understand the Japanese at all, – I feel better qualified to attempt this essay.' (Hearn, *Japan – An interpretation* (1904), 9-10)

In fact, as shown below, in the first couple of weeks of the visit by Toshiko in 2005, I had no idea that, at last, I would write a general book on Japan and the Japanese. Toshiko and I had planned to work on Fukuzawa. Yet this very soon changed. I then went through an extraordinary five months of creative writing, based on intense inter-actions with Toshiko, Kenichi and Sarah, which took me in many new directions. I have only experienced this type of mental revolution to its full extent once before, when I was writing *The Origins of English Individualism* in 1977.

I try to lay out here what happened as the many half-resolved ideas and images of fifteen years rushed out onto the pages and took me into a magical world which I had hardly suspected to exist as we began to work together.



Sarah and Toshiko at the launch party for *Letters to Lily*, April 7th 2005

12th April 2005

Toshiko came to work with Alan and stayed for lunch.

[As we worked together, it became clear that a joint book on Fukuzawa would not be easy. Toshiko laid out some of the difficulties on 15th May, to which I replied the following day.]

Email from Toshiko 15th April 2005

Dear Alan,

While I was reading your book on Fukuzawa to include into my chapters, I realized that there was some gap of understanding him especially on western ideas. For example, as I told you, about the history of civilization. In a sense he believed it to progress. But from the Japanese point of view, if it progresses naturally, the latecomer must always be behind the forerunners. And thinking about China, it was once a very advanced civilization but they stayed at the same stage without trying more and conquered by western countries. So he never thought it advance naturally. Page 206 in your book, you quoted Craig that Fukuzawa lost his faith in law of nations and natural rights. I think he never had his 'faith' in natural law or natural right. It relates to your description on page 208 about the civilization and political independence. If you take the civilization as the Western civilization, it will be problematic but he rather took democracy and liberalism of western countries as the *realpolitik*. It is very important that he sensed and understood the Christianity roots of those ideas, and thought that it would be applied only within the Christian world. And if he did not think of history of civilization that had the ideal world far beyond the Western stage, it would have been difficult to believe that we could catch up using our own tradition as the expedient means. The history made the Western civilization relative and made the gap between Japan and west relatively small. So my interpretation is a bit different from yours. But I think it makes interesting combination by different points of view. I don't include much of your description in to my part and leave them to the last chapters. After you finish your part, we must have precise discussion what I and you think and what is the difference. Perhaps it reflects the difference between Japanese and western people at the time of Fukuzawa.

Best wishes, Toshiko

Email from Alan 15th April

Dear Toshiko,

I am very glad to hear from you. Yes, I think we do see things differently, which may be enlightening for readers. I have also been re-thinking how to do the book and am coming up with something different which I would like to discuss with you. How about having lunch on Monday - say 1 pm. in my room in King's, to see where we are?

19th April 2005 [GTB]

[From time to time I would write in what I termed my 'Great Thoughts Book' [GTB]. This was a place to take stock every few months or so, to review what I had been doing and to plan ahead. Here is the entry for this date with such thoughts. I first summarized what I had been doing recently, then asked what I should next do. I considered various possible books.]

One is Fukuzawa and Maruyama, which I have mapped out with Toshiko. (Possible title: 'Yukichi Fukuzawa and the Riddle of Modern Japan'). Not a huge amount to do, as much of it is covered in *The Making of the Modern World*. But some few weeks of work reading Maruyama and working on Toshiko's section. Hope to have a full draft of short book of about 42,000 words by the time she leaves.

There should be plenty of time since I do not happen to have any more lectures for the next 9 months! [I was on sabbatical in the autumn term]. So have plenty of spare time. Allowing 2 months for China, 1 month for exams/admin/teaching, still have 6 months for research and writing the above. Good times ahead? [Continued below on 22nd April]

Email from Toshiko 21st April 2005

Dear Alan,

.....And also thank you for rethinking about the book. I come to think that it might be much better and interesting for readers to write just how we come to know about Japan and Japanese family through Fukuzawa and you and our dialogue. best wishes, Toshiko

22nd April 2005 [GTB]

Sitting on Morse House step, the little ones [grand-daughters] round for a too-brief run round the cherry blossom paths. Have tidied up lots of things and spent the morning writing a bit on Japan. Made me wonder whether something that would be fun over the next few years would be to continue the intellectual autobiography started in a way by 'Walks' [A series of explanations of how I wrote 'Letters' to Lily], by focusing on the four great intellectual journeys of my life, namely England, Nepal, Japan and now China.

Started on Japan (to work on with Toshiko) this morning and immediately saw that now one can put the detail on the web-site, it is fun and worthwhile to use these last 7 or so mature years to 70 in trying to synthesize what we have learnt from all our investigations. There is a temptation to spend all one's life collecting and too little time synthesizing and making available. So it would be nice to use all those detailed workings with a proper intellectual autobiography in terms of various journeys, walks, explorations. I would not write an interesting conventional autobiography, but the blend of puzzles and solutions is what I really enjoy. And it would bridge the move over to retirement. It would also be valuable to provide a structure to the web-site, which contains the detail.

Email from Alan 22nd April 2005

Dear Toshiko,

It was good to meet. Your ideas have set me thinking further about the shape of the book, which I think we should both widen and make lighter at the same time. When we meet next I shall explain. But it does not affect our current work on Fukuzawa. Best wishes, Alan

Email from Toshiko 22nd April 2005

Dear Alan,

Thank you for the mail. I agree, I will change my chapters perhaps about how I compare Japanese family (Fukuzawa's idea) and English family and explain a bit about the analysis. that would make an interesting story and show how we can use your framework. If you could write more of your analysis on Japan, it will make readers understand Japan better. It is what I want to do by the book. best wishes, Toshiko

Letter written on 22nd April 2005

JAPAN AND THE WEST

Dear Toshiko and Kenichi,

You have reminded me that our intention is to use your visit to Cambridge as a chance to start writing a wider book on Japan and the West. In the fifteen years this July since we have known each

other, we have tried in our travels together, our long talks, exchanges of writings, to tease out some of the similarities and differences between our respective cultures. You have tried to teach Sarah and I something about Japan, we have tried to do the same for the West, and particularly England.

This long ‘conversation’ across cultures has led to some shared understanding and some continued bewilderment. I have tried to crystallize what we have slowly learnt in a number of articles, books, films, diaries and notes. These are spread over my web-site or in large bulging folders behind me.

It is now the moment to start to gather all this together in one short statement of what we have found. I had thought of doing so on my web-site and that might indeed be the place for the detail. Yet it seems worth thinking of writing a short, clear, book which sketches in some of the main things we have discovered on our intellectual and physical journeys. Those who want to follow in greater detail can then go to the web-site.

The style and level might not be too different from *Letters to Lily* and indeed I may aim it at Lily’s younger sister Rosa (assumed to be about eighteen), to whom I have promised a book and who has always been particularly interested in Japan. Ever since she was a little child, when we brought her back a Japanese doll from Kyoto called Kimi, and she pleaded with us to dye her hair black and give her upturned eyes, she has been intrigued by Japan. Here I can take her with me to your country on an imaginary journey.

Adopting this device, I will try to write as simply as possible about what I think are the main similarities and differences in the history and culture of Japanese and Western civilization, and in particular Japan and England. Of course, also implicit in all this are other comparisons, with Europe, with Nepal and China and elsewhere. Yet the focus would be on Rosa’s own culture, England, which I know quite well and of the Japanese, which you know as insiders.

Into this scheme we would weave our work on Fukuzawa. He would no longer be the central subject of a biography, but rather one of our informants, someone who accompanies us on our voyage of mutual discovery in order to provide insights and guidance. He made two extended voyages to the West – America and Europe – in the second half of the nineteenth century. His puzzlement and then his attempt to synthesize western and Japanese thought and institutions in many books and arrangements, in particular in his *Autobiography* and *Theory of Civilization* is in many ways very similar to what we are attempting to do here. I shall be making a parallel voyage to that of Fukuzawa, except that it is from Europe to Japan, rather than the other way round. I may also weave in a little from his philosophic successor, Maruyama Masao.

It is, of course, impossible to predict whether this approach will work, whether it will be fun, whether I shall remember enough, whether we shall be able to say anything fresh and new. Certainly if it is to have a chance of success I must resist the temptation to use the computer to import blocks of text from my numerous earlier writings, usually addressed to a fairly narrow academic audience. *Lily* worked because I withdrew and wrote from the heart and from a distance. This is what I shall attempt to do here.

There is no particular rush. I do have to write the Maruyama lectures this summer,¹⁰ but otherwise we have as long as it takes. I believe that you are both happy to continue our exploration of similarities and differences and do not need to finish this quickly. Hence, as long as we have begun something fruitful this summer, sketches which we can work up together, that will be a good start.

My current state of life is that, four years off retirement, I am in the ‘tidying up and making more widely known’ phase of my life. Sarah and I are tidying up and putting on the web-site many things such as the Earls Colne records, interviews with over fifty anthropologists, the films taken for a television series, the multi-media Naga videodisc, materials about the Himalayas and China. *Lily* synthesized many of my thoughts. The current book would be part of this gathering together project.

Email from Toshiko 23rd April 2005

Dear Alan,

I think it was the mistake that we concentrated only on Fukuzawa even though we always thought by comparison. So it will be better if we write it as the comparative work. i.e. Fukuzawa went to

¹⁰ I had been invited to give the prestigious Maruyama Lectures, in memory of Maruyama Masao, at the Japan Centre at Berkeley California in the autumn.

western world with his framework of thinking and tried to understand Japanese situation. You went to Japan with your work behind and try to understand Japan. And what did he or you find? Was it the same or not? I will be a kind of mediator and translator (as I always was) and speak on behalf of Fukuzawa and write a bit of my field on family and women using your method. If we contain comparative analysis both on England and Japan, it will be easy for readers for both sides to start, and also very original. How about it? Best wishes, Toshiko

30th April 2005

... Toshiko came after lunch and we talked and walked through to supper. Had discovered that another book on Fukuzawa has been published so it was lucky that we had decided not to write a book just about him. So started to consider a book that will try to summarize all the work we have done together over about 12 years. 'Japan in an English mirror'. In fact, even though it is the start of term, I have started to write this book and have sketched out the first few chapters. Feels as if it will be fun and Toshiko is quite happy with ideas of the shape - a comparative study...

Email from Toshiko 1st May 2005

Dear Alan and Sarah, Thank you very much for the nice evening. I really enjoyed it. I am reading the copy of your document and find it still very interesting. I think there was or will never be any foreign scholar to meet so many people from wide range to interview. It contains full of richness, so must be a valuable experience to be shared with. I hope you will not oversimplify your experience and write to Rosa in her high school or undergraduate course. I find even the same argument as Fukuzawa's in it. Perhaps we can discuss before writing about Fukuzawa what points must be written about him. I think the book should have link with web site is a good idea. I can put my analysis in the web site for full discussion. So Kenichi may come after finishing his work at home. With best wishes, Toshiko

1st May 2005

A beautiful day. Wrote in the morning - more of the book in Japan which is now re-named 'Japan through the Looking Glass' - with obvious parallels to Alice - a satire/critique of the West & with Fukuzawa as the White Rabbit...

Email from Andrew Morgan 13th May 2005

Dear Alan,

Many thanks for your last letter and enclosures. I was very glad too to have the copy of your letter to your Japanese colleagues [of 22nd April], and most intrigued and excited at the prospect of yet another Macfarlane opus on its way, and, even more, at the ever-flattering invitation to have sight of it periodically on its way. That would be marvellous for me, for I am still, despite my acquaintance with your Savage Wars, Riddle and Making, very ignorant of Japanese history and society. Indeed I am still locked in my generation's narrow view of them as a ruthless, fanatical warrior society dedicated to imperial aggrandizement in the spirit of "If the West can do it, we can do it too - and even better." I shall be delighted to have this limited perception of that nation corrected. I say all this so that you are forewarned of the "platform" from which this reader will be viewing your chapters as and when they begin to flow.

However, "as of now" (ugh! what a phrase!) my first knee-jerk reaction to your sketch-plan of intentions is to welcome the project with great interest and expectation, but simultaneously to express worry whether there isn't a hazardous mutual contradiction in your proposed methodology. Your aim - and blessed it is - is to write, as for Lily, but now to Rosa as an intelligent but comparatively ignorant general reader who wants to know WHAT CONCLUSIONS you have come to. The road to those conclusions, I humbly suggest, however exciting it may have been for you at the time, is not for Rosa, nor for the general reader, nor for ignorant me. The way you reached those conclusions is for the historian of ideas, for the specialist anthropologist, for your biographer.

I recognise that this criticism, if valid, leaves a problem for you: how best, then, to tell your story? You want to tell of your journey thither, your delusions, your discoveries etc and the ultimate Damascene experience, the better to make clear, powerful and dramatic the final vision. I, as a general reader, want the final vision, tout court. This simpleton asks, "What's the matter with that?". Well obviously it's a less satisfying and exciting book for you to write, but I ask (in other words), "Isn't your planned METHOD inimical to your AIM?" (Airport radar operators might be using such ungenerous terms as "clutter" at this point.)

I write, and deliberately send this without reflection or considered second thoughts, as sometimes first reactions can be helpful. My apologies if it is not.

With love and all good wishes to you both, Andrew. P.S. Does Japan have anything comparable to the British Isles' diversity, their internal conflicts and creative tensions (geological, ethnic, historical, political.)

14th May 2005

A good week... the main thing has been writing very quickly about 20,000 words of the major part of a possible book on 'Japan Through the Looking Glass'. As usual had no real intention of this. Thought I would just cut down the articles I already had, redoing quotes and leave as is. Instead found myself writing on all the contradictions and hybridities and strangeness of Japan. Really enjoyed it and it may be the start of 'Riddles for Rosa' if it continues to develop well - and perhaps even a worthy second part to 'Letters to Lily', dealing in comparisons in time rather than movements through time - comparative models rather than tendencies. But again showing people of the West the odd world we live in, seen through a Japanese mirror. Very odd how the mind has its own paths which it insists on leading me. I had never imagined only about 2 weeks ago when I gave up the idea of Fukuzawa book that I would quickly move into such an intriguing territory that took me through all our Japanese experiences in a new and exciting way.

15th May 2005

Final Thoughts on this Impressionistic Tour

It occurs to me that this book may revolve around Riddles and Reflections (as in Mirrors). That is to say its sub-title, or dedication, Riddles for Rosa, may be very apposite, a continuation in other worlds, of the *Riddle of the Modern World*. The riddling contradictions of Pope that have haunted me, 'created half to rise and half to fall...' finds no more puzzling expression than in Japan. And by looking in the reflecting mirror of Japan we see this in a way that is invisible to us normally. The invisible curiosity and strangeness of our own lives are suddenly made visible through the distorting Japanese mirror.

So what I might do is to explain to Rosa, in a grandfatherly way, what it would have meant if she had indeed achieved her fervent wish at some point to be a Japanese 'Kimi'. If she had been looking out of the Japanese mirror, what would she have seen, what would she have thought of westerners and what would westerners have thought of her?

The idea of riddles might suggest that each very short piece, a few pages, might start with a Riddle, perhaps a favourite quotations such as 'The Sound of One Hand Clapping' or 'The most violent and most peaceful of civilizations' or whatever. And then it would try to answer the riddle. In dissolving it, we would be taken back into ourselves and start to see that it is not Japan that is odd and peculiar, but equally ourselves, all of us, because human beings are full of contradictions, as Pope pointed out. So the topsy-turvyness is pan-human, and only strikes us when we look at the other.

So the book would consist not only of the solving of riddles and puzzles and the highlighting of the ways in which we classify and think, but also a chance to reflect on themes not dissimilar to Lily, but from a different angle. So though it would be ostensibly about Japan, it is another book in the rough field of philosophy.

The approach would again be to eschew all the academic writings and to write as someone who is trying to explain something to an intelligent reader. Taking the reader by the hand, so to speak, and guiding him or her around another civilization and thereby teaching her something about her own world. It would also teach how to employ the comparative method and to relativize her own world.

It would hopefully give her a framework for understanding, as Lily did with tendencies explained, but in this case by stretching out ideal types. The various continua, grids, variations and ideal type models which I have learnt over the years would be briefly explained on the basis of the rest of the world and history and then lightly set up against Japan. As Weber did, or Tocqueville, I will use all I know comparatively to provide a grid or back-cloth which brings out the essential features of a civilization which has so far eluded comprehension.

So the tone would be deliberately informal, in the first person, talking directly and drawing on snatches of personal anecdote, the conversations with Kenichi and Toshiko, the sudden understandings.

This also suggests, combined with Andrews Morgan's comment on the fact that people do not want the scaffolding, that they do not want to know about the journey so much as the conclusions. So my previous idea of having the first half of the book as the journey and the second half on discoveries, should probably be scrapped. More likely I should weave them together.

The book might have an introduction concerning the invitation and first impressions. But it should not then, as at present, isolate out the conversations as unconnected puzzles. The conversations, if possible, should be woven in, along with experiences, into the attempts to resolve or understand what we saw. And since all the detail can go on the web-site, this should all be done quite lightly.

At first I was reluctant to repeat the *Letters to Lily* approach because it is always dangerous to repeat things, and it seemed rather too limited and a little academic. But it will be good to try to write a spontaneous and informal book. As the theme grows more elaborate and world-embracing, looking at ourselves through a Japanese looking glass as much as the other way round, it is much closer to Alice through the Looking Glass than an academic survey of Japan. So let me see. The trouble with making these connections/lumpings, e.g. technology with economy etc. is they re-infuse and depend upon exactly those disastrously inadequate classifications which Japan forces apart/refuses to fit in. So it may be better to think of some other ordering – or outer to inner, or something else which avoids this problem. One cannot do, as in Lily, and have sections – e.g. aesthetics – where should this go?

So the question is, should one start with effects and then work back to possible causes .e.g. the oddness of individualism, etc, and then go back to institutions as explanation, or the other way round? The advantage of effects is to set up puzzles in the reader's mind, which are gradually clarified as one proceeds. But if one starts with geography & ecology & politics etc., is one going to turn off the reader with boring bit first?

Perhaps the solution is to start with a little bit of mystery/teasing/etc as from confusions and lack of understandings – perhaps first impressions/conversations etc. And then go to the geography, institutions etc. Then some of the strange effects go to the geography, institutions etc. Then some of the strange effects (bodies, purity etc.), and then end up with Fukuzawa & co.

What does one want to create in Rosa's mind? A sense of wonder and surprise at first (as Adam Smith) then a dawning understanding of the background of ecology, politics etc. then further surprises & hybrids, and then final reflections. Perhaps that could work.

So, in a nutshell, how shall I proceed? I think the simplest approach is a bead necklace. The thread is Japan, the beads are the topics and what I want to say on each of them. The book does not want to be too over-stuffed or heavy. Just a shimmering necklace of impressions.

22nd May 2005

...The main part of the week went well and I started to type in the hand-written section on 'Japan Through the Looking Glass' - did some 14,000 words in 4 days, so worked very hard. It was fun and I have the feeling that there is something really worthwhile there. A new way of continuing 'Letters to Lily' - reflecting on ourselves through thinking of Japan.

29th May 2005

... I finished re-typing my reflections on Japan - about 27,500 words - and have written c.70,000 words in all. Some of it feels good...

I wrote the first draft of the book, as usual, in long-hand, sometimes copying out and sometimes pinning the slips with facts and quotations laid out on a board on my knee. I worked in the Japanese-style tea house in our garden which was built in 1994, after our second trip to Japan, and named after the Japanese expert Edward S. Morse, whose book *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, had been used as the basis for it's design.

This was a very peaceful place with no interruptions and the mixture of new connections and ideas, combined with inspiration from the books and conversations I had accumulated over the previous fifteen years, was highly stimulating.



The garden beyond the Morse House



The Morse House



In the Morse House, sorting slips

Some of the first draft of the writing was then done by arranging the slips under headings and composing a connecting argument.

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Using Number + asymmetry

In worlds where the social structure has, so to speak, settled down at a fixed, institutionalized form, then the cosmology this generates is reflected in the sense of number + symmetry. The favourite numbers tend to be even ones, with matched pairs or multiples of pairs. The Japanese, however, in a civilization where everything is partial, dependent on the other, relational, have opted for numbers + systems which emphasize the dependence on something else, never specified completely, to fill the gap.

Edward Tansley noted this love of asymmetry + lack of completeness in Japanese architecture.

Art in Japan. "This room illustrates very clearly a peculiar feature in Japanese decoration, - that of avoiding, as far as possible, bi-lateral symmetry".
Morse Homes 135

Art in Japan. "In fact everywhere, in mats, ceiling, and other details, a two-sided symmetry is carefully avoided".
Morse Homes 136

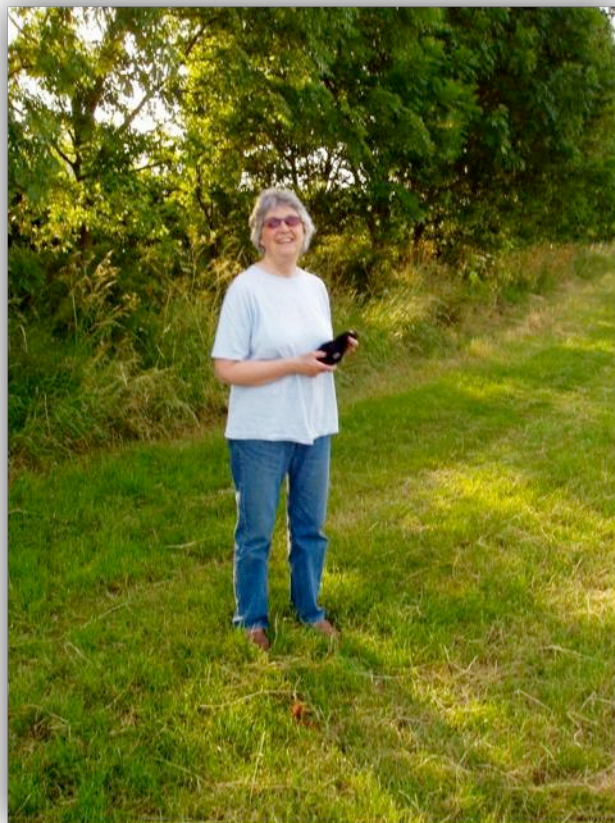
Inkensis, much later, Singer tried to explain what is happening

Asymmetry. 'A geometrical array of lines, ideas or virtues makes the Japanese feel as if shut off from the springs of life. He delights in asymmetry, in what seems to be done in a haphazard way.'
Singer Sword and Jewel 115

Asymmetry. 'The Japanese preference for the asymmetrical is related to their love of the Not Quite Finished, the Not Altogether Perfect - a tendency sometimes carried to bizarre and artificially primitive extremes.'
Singer Sword and Jewel 144

There is always some unfinished business, a yearning for the other side which would be significant to the end - death - but also new things.
~~As Yama~~

Love of irregularity and incompleteness in Japan. "It is typical of the unintelligent man to insist on assembling complete sets of everything. Imperfect sets are better".
everything, no matter what it may be, uniformity is undesirable. Leaving something incomplete makes it interesting, and gives one the feeling that there is room for growth".
Yamamura Cambridge 3 473



Walks in the fens were key occasions for discussions.

10th July 2005

...Did some revisions of two sections of Japan book and have now finished the first two parts, second draft, some 21,000 words. Think it is thickening out well.

16th July 2005

...A lovely day - warm and sunny, and did not do a stroke of work. Felt pretty exhausted and so spent the day with Lily and Rosa - especially former. Absolutely delightful as ever - walks, treasure hunts and much chat. In the week got quite a bit more of the Japan book done. Now have 2nd draft of Economy, Politics, Society and Art almost done. Delighted that both Toshiko and Kenichi independently said that what they had read of the book so far suggested it was very worthwhile.

The next week, between the 20th and 26th July, was perhaps the most exciting and revealing period in all my thinking about Japan. I wrote swiftly, by hand, and tried to go down into the deepest part of Japan – its ideology. It was this week's work which finally made me, and Toshiko and Kenichi, realize that, by chance, I had really entered the Japanese mirror.

23rd July 2005

...Did some useful writing – sketches of bits of the religion bit. Earlier in week finished off 'Arts' and wrote a draft of the concluding chapter - with a new sketch of how Japan developed. So feel I am getting Japan into focus at last and mind active...

The absolute kernel or centre of my difficulty was addressed in a long piece written on 23rd, and a couple of days after, the anniversary of Sarah and my wedding. It is long, so I will only include the first quarter, just to show how my ideas were developing. These are the real break-through sections

24th July 2005

...I went on trying to sort out Japanese 'Religion'. Very difficult and really beyond my comprehension.

27 July 2005

...Toshiko and Kenichi here with Yuri all day, teasing out aspects of Alan's book on Japan. Very rich discussion which we all enjoyed. Kenichi cooked soba for lunch and we took them to the Indian restaurant in Bottisham for supper so that we could go on talking. Wet day.

Conversation at Lode on 27 July 2005. Kenichi, Toshiko, Yuri, Alan and Sarah

At the end of their stay, Kenichi said that it was at this meeting that he suddenly realized, when I talked about tribalism, shamanism etc, that I was onto something. Before that he was absorbed in his own work and thought of the book on Japan as basically one between Toshiko and myself. A sudden revelation occurred and he understood many things which had hitherto been puzzling. So it was a key meeting.

They started by saying that the draft I had sent to them was interesting and indeed inspiring. They stressed that my sense of wonder and puzzlement is very important and should be made as strong and explicit as possible.

The books should be about 'what we (Japanese) are and what you (Westerners) are.'

The puzzle concerns the fact that in Japan there is no God, no ethics [morality] and yet no crime.

They said that Jaspers' work had been translated into Japanese, but they had not heard of his theory of the Axial Age. (Clearly this idea appealed to them very much and along with the ideas of animism and disenchantment became the centre of all our subsequent discussions).

They were puzzled as to why we are so obsessed with our god schema. My questions also puzzle them. Kenichi was puzzled by the concept of hierarchy. In relation to the use of quotations in the book, they thought that some concerning the first innocent western shock of Japan were fine, but it would be best not to use modern observers. They thought that my observations and impressions are much more weighty and important. My insights as anthropologist and historian are really interesting.

I pointed out my bias and lack of knowledge, but Toshiko said very forcefully that my bias was important. I should retain it.

Kenichi referred to the Japanese taboo on expressing oneself too strongly.

A "name" is personal and kept within the family.

It is shameful to talk too much about yourself.

We stressed how difficult it is to work with Japanese, because they normally will not talk about themselves (hence the good fortune of meeting Toshiko and Kenichi - Alan)

Foreigners are rejected if they get too close to the Japanese.

They felt that the methodology of the book should be more explicit – the process of coming to terms with Japan.

Toshiko felt that the book's conclusion (i.e. non-Axial, tribal etc) is right. Kenichi is at this point not sure (though as our discussions progressed he became more and more persuaded I think).

At this stage the book had a 5-fold structure (4 institutions and Arts). Toshiko preferred the 4-fold structure for it reflected my ideas of the central division between (Economy, Polity, Society and Ideology.)

We talked about the separation of the four spheres and Fukuzawa's realization of its importance. But, as Toshiko observed, the Japanese do not divide the world into the 4 spheres.

She asked what the principal division is and I stressed Economy, Politics, Society but said I had added 2 more because as well as Religion, Arts and Categories were important. (At our last meeting they stressed that what was most important for them was this bit. Many people have written on Japanese polity and economy, but if I can show how the Japanese themselves view their world, I will have achieved something new.)

We discussed the way in which English society is a mirror, just as Japanese society is a mirror. They urged me to set up the idea of the mirror more explicitly and hence the methodology for the study.

The book is a journey of understanding, but it cannot be written chronologically.

Kenichi thinks religion is very important, though Fukuzawa left this out. Also the family is very important, needs attention. Children and old age are linked.

Toshiko stated that the individual is not so independent in Japan.

Kenichi said that the life cycle is very important. A child is born unfocalized, everything is permitted them. Gradually they reach maturity. You end up as an empty circle – a person is a mirror, reflecting everyone else. You cannot be egoistic, but you build up layers around you.

At retirement the burdens disappear, social relations disappear. Novelists express themselves re. this.

Yuri experienced England as a child and hence learnt to express herself. Such self-expression does not happen in Japan.

People are patterned – outcastes cannot read the signals properly.

The life-cycle can be envisaged as an egg-timer, a little like the English class system. Childhood is wild, loose, the middle part is contained and restrained and selfless. In old age and retirement you are free and unconstrained again.

Alan talked and read out bits of Jaspers to show what he meant by Axiality. Kenichi can understand Aristotle (Descartes - parts), Hobbes & Machiavelli also the Scottish Enlightenment and the adaptations to the scientific revolution. But the theological writers like St Augustine, proclaimers of world religions, he finds incomprehensible. As a Japanese he cannot see the need for religion. Confesses that his views are half and half, not really Axial. They thought that in the conclusion I

should stress the Basso Ostinato pedal of continuities (Maruyama). Yet Japan also needed the higher notes – the influences from the outside.

We talked of the dangers of *nihonjinron*.

Over lunch we discussed the problem of warfare and how to understand the Japanese behaviour in the 2nd World War. They said that for the Japanese war is a last resort. They are slow to go to war, but when they do, it is total war, with no quarter given. For westerners, war seems to be a game. For the Japanese, there is no surrender. They could not understand the limited war of the West.

Young women in Japan now have no incentive to marry. They want children but without marriage.

In terms of political control of the market, the Shogunate would give licences to traders, then they were pretty free to do what they liked. They mentioned again the futures market in rice.

I asked about the Evil Eye and they confirmed that there was absolutely no concept of the Evil Eye.

I asked Yuri what idea she had of heaven, and she confirmed that she had no idea of heaven. In relation to religion, she said 'we don't have religion'. She and others go to shrines to relieve themselves from anxiety, though she doesn't really believe that it has any efficacy. Just that people would feel anxious if they don't put up a message in the shrines to whatever is there. They do the ritualistic things to obtain good things and not to avoid bad things. They do hang little things in care to protect them. Kenichi buys these charms for the children to encourage and relieve himself. He stressed again that Christians in the Western sense do not really exist in Japan.

The word for religion is 'shu-ko', a Meiji word, *shu* means sect, and *ko* means teaching.

Some high status schools have religious affiliation and religious teaching – but when pressed, he said that the teaching was really just about the life of selected good persons.

'No sex, no sects. We are Japanese.' (Kenichi)

Some private schools were established by religious sects. Kenichi's school was established by Canadian Methodists. The girl's school had a chapel, otherwise nothing else was done.

I asked Yuri what she would think of as a cause if something went wrong. She said she would think she 'hadn't done thing right in life' – she would look for an explanation. Also just bad luck. Toshiko said she would only consider it bad luck.

Kenichi admired rationality – if he was ill, it was old age or unfitness.

Kali (Indian goddess) was introduced into Japan, and lion-like goddess eating children – but transferred in Japan into the role of "mother" to dead babies!

Perhaps if one of the girls died then they might look for causes that were quite practical.

Kenichi feels a kind of "sacred" responsibility.

The Fujiwara family built shrines to appease violent spirits. Kenichi here, and often, spoke as if events of the C6-C7 were still fully relevant today. Their mothers might think that an ancestor or ghost caused a bad thing to happen.

Astrology, *feng shui*, bad luck was associated with this.

"Tengu" is the Japanese devil, missing children are captured by "tengu".

There are forest sprits called "Kami Kakshi", "Kami Kids".

The Christians use "Tengu" as equivalent to devils, though they are really rather different.

"Oni" another Devil in Heian period, was red and green. They were really bandits. They had golden eyes with horns and teeth. Their body was red. Inhabited northern Honshu among the minority peoples – had a mace with spikes.

The Fox god – Inari – in Japan, a familiar wild animal, believed that a white fox messenger of god. They sometimes send a message. So people give nice things at the fox shrine. This would bring blessings, for example a good harvest.

The Fox tries to trick us, change into a bride. When there is rain with sunshine, it is caused by the wedding of a fox.

The Japanese are animistic.

Japan is a contextualized world, without an original creator or with any absolutes, western science and art is random.

There are no fundamental causes.

There is no faith in a grand design.

The Chinese are half way between the West and Japan.

Kenichi said that New Guinea and Japan had no scientific revolution.

Alan asked what the West could learn from Japan. It is the only real alternative to capitalism. It is good on conservatism, since there is only this world.

Kenichi talked of the need for an alternative to western models, otherwise one suffers from a "saturation of the imagination".

Japan managed to relativize world religion.

We talked about continuing our worked together next March/April (we have fixed dates and proposed project. Leave on Saturday afternoon and arrive back on April 5th).

[we continued the discussion at an Indian restaurant in Bottisham!]

Toshiko thought that 'To see ourselves as others see us' would be a good epigram.

We discussed *sumo*. They are delighted when small wrestlers win against large ones.

They talked about the importance of baseball. The high school baseball tournament is very important with over 4000 schools taking part. The hero is the pitcher of losing teams. You should not win. Great sympathy with the losers, that is beautiful, the picture of the loser is what the Japanese love, not the winner. In Kamakura shogunate they love the younger brother who was killed.

In the kojiki, the worlds of the dead, in a cave under the earth – Hell is fire – Buddhism Kamakura - hell fire.

The world of the dead is continuity.

The Shinto interpretation is of another world, but never practiced in detail. Mirrors reflect the self-after death people are on the other side the mirror and can see through.

An eternal world – this screen between us and eternal.

A similar world to this, but without pain (ie. like the Tribal Heaven of the Gurungs]

A more beautiful world (in Uji). Heavenly girls playing pies. Our (western) world when we forget everything - an Alzheimer's world.

Agreed (a) We would try to visit Japan for 2-3 weeks in 2006.

(b) The book would be collaborative, ie. 'AM in collaboration with...'

(c) They would make the Japanese version quite different, at least in terms of examples and evidence, though not in its basic argument.

The session started at 10.45 and lasted to about 9.45 pm!

Email from Alan 28th July 2005

Dear Toshiko, Kenichi and Yuri,

It was lovely to see you yesterday and thank you SO MUCH for all your helpful comments and thoughts. Sarah and I felt re-invigorated and excited after our meeting and I am greatly relieved that you found the draft was going in the right direction. It was a fascinating conversation and I look forward to more. On Sunday, there is a bus to Lode (probably to the Cross Roads at the top) at 18.10. If you get single tickets, we shall take you back, but as I have to fetch the Gowlands, it would be very helpful if you could come out by bus. Is that ok? Dress informal, of course. See you soon, and thanks again for all your wise observations.

Alan

Email from Toshiko on 28th July 2005

Dear Alan and Sarah,

Thank you for yesterday. It was very exciting and we found some new aspect of English thought, especially on the idea of 'war'. We felt it would explain a lot more about the different attitude toward war between British and Japanese. We will talk next time. We shall come to you by 18.10 bus on Sunday.

See you then, Toshiko

[The following day I wrote another key first draft on the categories within which the Japanese think. Again, it is so different to my own categories that it was difficult to express in word.]

29th July 2005

Some thoughts on surprise, wonder and the method of the book

Kenichi and Toshiko stressed that I should make a virtue of my own shock and puzzlement over Japan. I shall make the book into an account of my own observations and my attempt to fit Japan within my own mental world. This should be done throughout the chapters and not just in a methodological piece at the start. It should tell the story of a mind that was already set in a particular mould which encountered a civilization that challenged that mould.

Perhaps one of the interesting things is that when I went to Japan in 1990 I could hardly be accused of being just an ethnocentric British person whose models were very limited and that this explains my sense of shock when encountering Japan. It was not just the feeling of strangeness at moving out of the one culture I had known into something different.

It is true that I had worked a lot on European and British history and culture and I had lived in England for over forty years. Yet I have also spent over 18 months in Nepal and visited my fieldwork area there some five times, travelling through India on the way. I had read about and taught students and supervised doctoral theses on many tribal, peasant and other cultures around the world and absorbed many of the relativistic anthropological truths. Yet it is now clear to me that I did have a number of largely unexamined assumptions at a somewhat deeper level.

When I went to Japan I thought there were only two major forms of civilization. There were organic, holistic, integrated, largely oral, 'tribal' worlds, such as the ones I had read about or visited in India, Nepal, Africa, South America and the Pacific. These societies were enchanted, embedded, inter-connected and without institutional divisions. These were the core of what anthropologists had tried to understand, small, often peripheral, worlds struggling to retain an 'otherness' on the fringes of larger civilizations.

After the rise of 'civilizations', that is larger societies with writing, cities, settled agriculture, states, formal religions, all this changed. Although the dissociations and separations were not completed until perhaps the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, the great world civilizations were at least partially dis-enchanted, de-familized, dis-embedded. This transition was the great divide in my mind. I thought not so much in terms of pre and post-industrial, as tribal and civilizational.

This scheme lay rather untested and unexamined in my mind. So what I expected to find in Japan was a civilization which was in essence totally removed from the tribal 'holism' type. Whatever its form, it would nevertheless be a variant on the great civilizational systems around the world. Thus while France, England, America, India or China were all very different, they were clearly within a similar order of world history, that is to say there had been a great deal of institutional separation. Even if they were not entirely 'modern', they had elements of modernity in their constitutions.

The first impressions I had of Japan through reading and talking to people did not lead me to question this schema. Nor did I feel any real sense of shock as I stepped through the mirror into Japan. The surface of the world we encountered when we arrived in Narita airport and then settled into our flat in Sapporo was less strange than going to India in 1986 or China in 1996. The smells, sights, sounds, shapes were different it is true, but of a similar order to those I was familiar with. It felt a million miles from the structures of tribal, oral, integrated societies I had encountered elsewhere.

Arriving as late as 1990 in Japan, when the country had absorbed so much of western technology and was at the height of its prosperity, I felt a sense of disappointment that I had travelled all that way to visit a place not much different from London or Paris. There was nothing notably exotic or strange. The world on the other side of the mirror looked just the same as that in which I had been living. I would learn nothing much to alter my assumptions or broaden my views.

It has only been gradually, as I talked and experienced Japan along many dimensions, learnt about its history, and absorbed its culture, and later compared it to China, that a sort of tingling feeling went through me. I felt as if I were walking through a forest which seemed very familiar, but then began to notice that what I thought were leaves were in fact millions of little faces, that tree trunks were creatures on the move, that the animals were totally unfamiliar species. The familiar became unfamiliar and the recognizable became incomprehensible.

Encountering Japan was the opposite of the normal experience of culture shock. Usually, when you go to an unfamiliar country, one starts with a shock of difference, and then gradually everything becomes familiar. With Japan I found that everything seemed familiar, and then began to become unfamiliar.

As this dissolution of certainties began to occur on our first and second visits and conversations with close friends, I tried to make sense of the deepening sense of otherness by imposing order on it through an attempt to fit Japan into a wider sociological grid.

Western philosophy and social sciences have created a large net, or set of measuring tables, so that we can absorb and sort out the amazing variety of social forms, beliefs and technologies that were encountered from the first serious explorations outwards in the time of Marco Polo. So I thought that what I could do was to bring back my Japanese specimens and then measure them, weigh them, dissect them and arrange them alongside other examples and see where they fitted, something along the lines of what the anthropologist Edmund Leach described as 'butterfly collecting'.

So I would take my kit of measuring rods or models and place aspects of Japan against them. I would judge how capitalist or communitarian, sacred or profane, full of gifts or of commodities, state or stateless, peasant or industrial, hierarchical or egalitarian, individualist or group, rational or irrational Japan is when compared to other great civilizations.

The four first sections of this book will show what happens when I applied such an approach. It will try to bring the Japanese case within my understanding and that of the West by applying one or more of these famous models or oppositions as a translation device.

Trying to do this turns out to be a helpful procedure, but not for the reasons which I had expected. I had assumed that Japan would fit in along the *continua* or on these scales, and then it could be comprehended. What in fact the procedure shows is that the scales themselves are very ethnocentric and limited, for Japan does not fit.

Japan cannot be placed on the measuring rods by shuffling it to the middle, a bit of each feature, for it does not fit on the scale at all. This has happened again and again, and as I successively discovered this, I began to despair. It is a pleasant game to show that our nets of understanding completely miss the point of Japan, but this is a very negative conclusion. It means that ultimately we have nothing to say. We know, perhaps helpfully what Japan is *not*. What is it?

It is here that the Axiality argument and the Japan as a tribal society argument, which I have started to explore in the conclusion, become important. Japanese thought, culture and social structure do not fit at all into western categories. The absence of compatibility reminds me of the non-fit of the people of Mt Hagen, the Nuer or the Yanomamo. This is because while Japan looks as if it is a civilization of the general class of India, Europe, Russia,

America, it is, in fact, structurally a tribal society (though covered over with writing, technology and ‘westernism’).

What I mean is that Japan begins to come into focus if we see it as a holistic, relational, largely undifferentiated, enchanted, economically embedded, familistic society where there are no closed off institutional spheres. Through some extraordinary miracle, one great tribal society of about 120 million people has survived alongside the Axial civilizations. That is the fact which the book should illuminate. Once we have understood this, we can begin to understand Japan.

The second question is how Japan managed to achieve something so ‘against the grain’. When most of Eur-Asia and the New World gave in to Axiality and all it entailed, how did Japan manage to subvert modernity and, as Maruyama saw, never become modern? Here the historical account I am giving, of the process of vaccination against outside influences, the slow importation, the dripping, subverting, filtering, the *basso ostinato*, the ‘great river absorbing’ arguments come in.

With this over-arching theory, the book could begin to look like an exploration and a progress, an argument and a thesis, rather than a set of disparate pieces on the curiosity of Japan. So it would be good to explain this further, that is the revealing of the deeper cultural logic of the most extreme alternative to the Axial systems of mainland Eur-Asia. I say ‘most extreme’ because of the case of China.

In my earlier thinking along these lines, I had assumed that Japan did all the ‘filtering out’ of Axiality. In fact, it may be as Weber argued in his book on *Chinese Religion*, and is implied in the structural nature of Chinese thought as revealed in Needham’s work and the book by Granet, that China itself was only partially Axialized. China’s Daoist and Confucian tradition is not really Axial and it also filtered Buddhism and changed it. So the general situation in China is very far from the Indo-European ‘Religions of the Book’.

If this is true, then China itself provided the first line of defence, a break-water, (hence the lack of interest in Christian missions and western things for a long time). When the subdued wave of Axiality reached Japan, already diminished by its passage through China, it was finally stripped of the final residues of Axiality. This would be another important factor in explaining the extreme Japanese case.

If I pursue the idea that Japan managed to avoid the separations of modernity, it becomes necessary to explain how this was achieved. It is all very well for the Nuer or the Gurungs to be embedded, enchanted, familistic. But how is it possible to run a huge, prosperous, country in such a way? Is not the effect of money, markets, State power, Religions of the Book, to destroy the cohesion and to separate the spheres? Can a large civilization work effectively if things are holistic? This suggests that I should look at the ways in which the various institutions – kinship, economy, religion, politics, were made flexible enough to withstand the full separations.

For example, kinship was strengthened by the *ie* system, but then made very flexible by the artificial nature of the *ie* which allowed non-kin adoption, disinheritance and so on. Kinship-like sentiment spread into all aspects of life, while actual kin groups were relatively weak. Or again, the political system was made flexible and elastic by feudalism, which both centralized and delegated power at the same time, and which slightly dominated kinship, without extinguishing it. Likewise religion was partly incorporated to fill some of the space for religious needs (rituals, morals, after-life, explanation) but not given a separate realm or allowed any hegemony. Likewise, economic activities were encouraged and supported, but never dis-embedded from social obligations.

This way of trying to see how each area of life coped with the problems of organically adapting to a mixed, non-separated world, while delivering the benefits usually achieved by separation, may well be the way to integrate the chapters or sections. While each section

would look at a particular part (economy, polity and so on), there could be a short connecting piece showing how the basically holistic, 'tribal', non-Axial solution was furthered.

If I can explain how this works, the Japanese solution, living in the modern world yet retaining meaning, human warmth, order and beauty, would partly help to overcome Gellner's dichotomy, where he argued that we can either have efficiency or warmth, but not both. The Japanese, despite many difficulties, have evolved a package which ensures a great deal of order, stability, safety, meaning, beauty and comfort. It is the only plausible such package on offer.

Islam is too religious and shares many of the features of intolerance of other religions of the book. There is a strand of fanaticism, a tendency toward anti-intellectualism, to bureaucratic corruption and economic inefficiency which has at times sent Islamic societies towards the same dire situation as their Christian alternatives. It has its attractions, but it is not intrinsically better as a total package than western capitalism. It is morally more co-ordinated, but intellectually (and for many women) not very satisfactory.

Likewise communism, despite its high ideals, has shown a great set of weaknesses. It does not work very effectively as a way of organizing the economy. It can lead to another form of absolutism and savage brutality towards its minorities and dissidents. It has lost its allure.

So, without the case of Japan, the 'saturation of the imagination' which Kenichi referred to, faces us. There is no ideal or alternative in the world. There are no utopias. Curiously, while Japan has no tradition of Utopian thought, according to Kenichi, this may be because it is such a Utopian society, hence allowing little room for imagining radical alternatives. The Utopianism, the goal of perfections, is well documented by John Clammer and others. What is less commented on, though again Clammer implies this, is that Japan could be seen as a Utopian experiment from which we can all learn.

*

It is clear that many of those who visited Japan from developed modern nations in the West, for example E.L.Morse, Isabella Bird and Griffiths, found Japanese civilization was 'good to think with'. What they experienced challenged all their assumptions and stretched their ideas of the natural and normal. For us, too, it can be good to think with.

We may not wish to be Japanese, yet we cannot but admire the Japanese struggle to create a decent, beautiful and meaningful society along lines totally different to that of western, individualistic, capitalism. It suggests alternatives to the modern western way in its attitudes to ecology, polity, society and religion. We learn that we do not have to consume so much, to empty our life of meaning, to become ever more unequal, to believe in a single God, to have high crime rates and a lawyer-dominated society. The Japanese example provides us with choices, though whether they can be picked off one by one, as was hoped with Japanese management practices, or can only be absorbed as a bundle is not yet clear.

The book I am writing would be just like *Alice Through the Looking Glass*. It would literally be a 'Utopian' portrait, another world which we can explore. Yet what is fascinating is that instead of having to invent it, as with the two Alice books, or Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* or the imagined lands of *Gulliver's Travels*, *Robinson Crusoe*, or the original *Utopia* of Thomas More, it exists already in all its deceptive simplicity.

As with a mirror, all we have to do is to enter it. If we stand outside and gaze at it, all we will see is ourselves, as many visitors find. We will just find our own American or European culture around us. There is nothing special or interesting. Yet if we take the trouble to enter the mirror, like Alice, then the Utopian other-land crowds in on us.

It is true that we will be confused by what we find and never fully understand what is around us. We will at times despair and at other times be shocked. Yet the 'saturated

imagination' of a world where there is only one plausible kind of civilization will be refreshed. Whole new apparently impossible things and relationships will become available, the equivalent to the talking cats, playing cards that move around, eggs on walls and other fabled creatures that stretched Alice's logic. We will find just as strange forms of logic and association, but really existing rather than having to be invented.

After we have travelled through the mirror, and then through mirrors within mirrors, we may come out, as Lily did when she came out of the 'Narnia' wardrobe, and explain 'But the whole world has changed'. We may, as with other Utopian adventures come back with a deepened understanding of our own peculiarity and all too easy assumptions about the normal.

Making us think like this has long been the aim of anthropology, which is dedicated to taking us for a while out of our own ethno and tempero-centric worlds. Yet the challenge posed by a great civilization like Japan cannot be as easily brushed aside as the alternatives suggested by the Nuer, Hageners, Gurungs or others. So I shall try to see how our world works by taking us into, through and out of, as strange a world as any I have encountered in the most far-flung tribal society. We shall turn all of our assumptions upside down, shake them about, and then put them back onto our mental beds. Perhaps we shall sleep better for it.

30th July 2005

Wednesday 10 hours with Kenichi and Toshiko, who were very positive about the Japan book and looks very hopeful. And I finished the 'Religion' section and have had further good ideas and two good days of writing on Japan.

31st July 2005

A nice supper with Vera and Neil Gowland and Toshiko, Kenichi and Yuri. Discussed tensions, law, international politics etc. and all seemed to get on very well. Lasted from 4-30 to 11pm, so quite a lot of talk. Now a quiet week ahead in which I hope to take the Japan writing further.

31st July 2005 Further thoughts on the shape of the book

Am beginning to wonder whether a way to give some cohesion to the argument, to provide a theme and impetus, would be to develop the following approach.

The first part, 'Into the Mirror', would give an idea of what I expected of Japan. I had assumed that it would be another example of the uniform patterns of movement towards the modern world. I knew that Japan was very precocious, an extremely earlier modernizer. I knew that it was extremely successful as a manufacturing economy. I knew that it was one of the most 'ultra-modern' of societies in its dense urbanism and high-technology products.

Yet while I realized that Japan must have started from a different origin to western countries, I assumed it had gradually converged with the West. I further assumed that it would converge still further until it became more or less identical to other 'modern' nations.

The essence of what I assumed had, and is, happening in Japan was the revolutionary separation of spheres, or institutionalization of life. This I would describe briefly, the disembedding of the family, the freeing of politics, the de-familization of society, the disenchantment of religion. This is what I had discovered in the Western experience and particularly in England. It seemed to be the only way to be 'modern'. This was my framework. The tools of the social sciences, from Sir Henry Maine to David Riesman and

beyond were based on this normal development. I would be able to take my theoretical tape-measures and then measure how far Japan had got along this trail.

When I received the invitation to visit Japan, I went out there with the half-conscious decision to try to fit Japan into this grand story. The first impressions of Tokyo and Sapporo seemed to fit with my assumptions. It was very westernized, almost hyper efficient and modern.

Gradually, however, the certainties dissolved and I realized something strange was emerging. Yet I could not understand the strange shape that was failing to fit my expectations. I was reluctant to abandon my modernizing framework, yet it did not seem to work properly. So I continued to try to cram the data I was collecting into a grid, despite the fact that it did not fit. This is a very normal story in anthropology, and it is only the scale that is different from what I and many other anthropologists have found when entering tribal societies. What was odd was that it should happen in a place which I expected to be much more easily comprehensible, far from tribal or exotic.

The best way I can think of to show what troubled me is to start with the four themes or areas of my western analysis. These are economics, politics, society and religion. I will show how I tried to fit Japan within them. As I explore these, it will begin to become clear that we are dealing with a world which does not fit the grid. The materials, as students find when they write about tribal societies, struggle to escape, leaking across the boundaries that we have erected.

What we learn is that the economy is not disembedded, rather it is part of the larger whole and mixed up with social, moral and political considerations. We discover that politics is not free of social and other considerations and, for example, law and crime take shapes that suggest a similarity to African tribal legal systems rather than those of the West. We find the society is not a separate sphere so that, for example, the family ideology spreads out into politics and education and economics, while economic contractual behaviour is found in the heart of the family. Likewise, there is no separate sphere for religion so that sacredness is found in almost all of life, and 'real religion' simultaneously nowhere.

So by the end of the four sections we discover that the dissociations and separations have not occurred as we expected. Maruyama is right. Japan is not a modern society in the sense of division of institutions. It is a holistic, tribal, society of the kind familiar to anthropologists.

This is a rather amazing result, for it makes Japan the only one of its kind like this. It is the only great civilization which feels like a giant, pre-literate, pre-Axial, pre-neolithic, civilization. It is like some remote New Guinea tribe, but numbering over 120 million people, full of great cities and a modern technology and education system. This throws up two further questions.

The first is, how did this happen? The chapter 'Bounded but Leaky', would probably start this next section off, then the whole historical account of the rejection of separations, including bits of the non-Axialization account.

Basically this will show that, like England, which veered away from the resurgent Roman absolutism and hence brought us 'modernity', but in a much more radical way, the great river of Japanese civilization was not thrown off its course, the *basso ostinato* remained. So this account will very briefly show what happened historically because of Japan's Galapagos-like situation. It filtered and kept at a distance the great *tsunami* of the West, and earlier filtered out even much of Chinese civilization. So it remained 'tribal' while most of the rest of the world went for 'modernity'.

The second question is how the Japanese managed to achieve this in their day-to-day life. For the thesis of western social sciences, from Marx, Weber and Durkheim through to Ernest Gellner, is that it is impossible to combine economic efficiency and a non-alienated and holistic approach. It seemed to all these thinkers that the Iron Cage of over-rationality

awaited us, though Marx thought he had found a solution which was, in effect, much like that of Japan – a return to the tribalism before civilization emerged.

Maitland (and Tocqueville) had partially solved the problem with the next best solution, associations which bridged status and contract, feeling and choice. But this only mitigates the alienation. How had the Japanese overcome, without reverting to full-blown communism, the apparently irreconcilable oppositions between the head and the heart, the mind and the body, the other world and this world, social warmth and economic efficiency?

So the next section will explore the way in which the joints which hold together the economy, polity, religion and society work, like joints in a Japanese house. These joints, which are what is unique in Japanese culture, are things such as aesthetics, the views on nature, purity, sincerity, inside and outside, surface and depth, non-specific linguistic codes, non-exclusive logic, extremely developed etiquette, gift giving and wrapping.

These are topics which have always attracted the attention of outside observers from the early observations of travellers and writers such as Hearn and Chamberlain, through generations of anthropologists, most famously Benedict. They seemed special and to be doing something special. Yet there has never been any convincing explanation of what they are doing and why they are necessary. Like Japanese house joints, they are amazingly subtle, flexible, economical ways of enabling everything to be inter-connected and nothing to be fully separate. They are a sort of ‘root binding’ on a huge scale.

So, by the end of this section we can see how very different Japan is and why it both kept this difference against all the pressures to separate institutions, and how it works.

The last section, ‘out of the looking glass’, will come back into the non-Japanese world to see how ‘our whole world has changed’ (Lily). For the implications of what we find in Japan are immense. It provides the one other currently existing scheme of how to run the world which can compete with individualistic Anglo-American capitalism. Where fascism and communism has failed, and Islam limps, Japanese holism is a viable alternative.

Like all systems there are costs and exclusions and things which the solution prohibits. This was the theme of Fukuzawa and Maruyama’s analysis as they tried to open up the system a bit. Yet because it is neither absolutist nor embedded in the reactionary way of fascism or communism, or fundamentalist religions, it gives us a picture of alternatives. It is a thought-experiment, a refreshing force for our saturated imaginations.

So the book would not be just about Japan, but also about ourselves, and about a method of comparison which is large enough to encompass all of the Western philosophies and rise above them. To just use western thought in order to understand Japan leads to frustration, for it cracks under the burden. We need something at a higher level which both makes Japan and western social theory the object of similar anthropological attention.

This book, therefore, would be much more than just a study of Japan. Rather, I would try to make it part of my wider search for the meaning of what it is to be human and how we got here. It will be a book of philosophy as much as anthropology, of history and comparative studies. It will be short, simple, but hopefully deep and wide. It will be for Rosa, to show her that there is more than one way in which we can live, even in our post-industrial world, and that history is far from ended.

Email from Toshiko 1st August 2005

Dear Alan,

Thank you for yesterday evening. We think our analysis on Japan is coming to the point one by one. The idea of 'shaman' is very understandable. Kenichi himself thinks he might himself be a shaman! The idea of law perhaps relates to the idea of war. We think we had better discuss about the very basic ideas next time. What is war, what is law, what is animism, what is sin, what is nature, what is human,

what is body, what is sex and so on. The idea of tribal society might help all of them. looking forward to discussing them next time.

Toshiko

Email from Alan 1st August 2005

Dear Toshiko,

It was lovely to see you all, and I hope that you found your tent in the Beehive Car Park was still there and comfortable! Just the place for a shaman such as Kenichi to live! Yes, I think we are getting somewhere and it is very exciting. I am writing fresh thoughts down about tribalism etc., and it would indeed be good to go through the basics of war, law, nature etc. So we look forward to that. Let us know when you are back and we shall arrange another session. Incidentally, we were wondering whether in terms of visiting you next year there is a period in the first half of April when you are free. We have our Easter vacation then and have never been to Japan at that time - and it would make the summer less crowded. When do you have a break? With best wishes and have a great trip.

Alan

Thoughts at Hatfield House, 6th August 2005

Out of the Looking Glass

The structure is simple and dialectical.

Before: my assumptions and world view before I went to Japan, the normal trajectory and tragedy of the world. The anomie, alienation, separations and loss of innocence, all my childhood, university, life experience of capitalism. No escape from the contradictions of capitalism.

Dis-aggregation – the trip to Japan. Into the looking glass.

Inside the Looking Glass: Liminality and Wonder

The assumption I had was that Japan was roughly the same as elsewhere, but gradually I realized that it is very 'other'. What it is, the four institutions, and how it got there, the non-Axiality, how it maintains this, the mechanisms for separating. The looking glass world of Japan, is it the dream or are we dreaming (Chinese butterfly story).

Re-aggregation – 'Fled is that music...' Back to our world of separations. How all our world seems totally transformed by this vision. All we took for granted as inevitable and necessary is not so. What are the implications for other developing countries, especially China, as an alternative exists more in line with its history than the Western experience? It is a better compromise.

Thus the book would follow the classic van Genepian¹¹ dialectic of all rituals of transition.

This perhaps means building up the first part somewhat into the tragedy of modernity, similar to Gellner and the social sciences: wealth without meaning, knowledge for no end. One retreat from this is fundamentalism of one form or another – communism, fascism, extreme Islam or extreme Protestantism or Hinduism. Is there anything else?

In 1990, at the age of 48, when I went to Japan, the communist answer had collapsed, so we all thought that M. Thatcher might be right with her T.I.N.A. message (There Is No Alternative). History had Ended.¹² The Imagination and the Possibilities were exhausted. So when I went to Japan I had no expectations of anything other than a variant of the West. What I knew was that I was visiting a very modern, efficient, sort of society. There were a few

¹¹ The theory about the three stages in all rituals by Arnold van Gennep in his book 'The Rites of Passage'.

¹² 'History Had Ended', an allusion to the book by Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History*.

oddnesses, but basically it had more or less converged with our world. It could not have survived the crushing impact of western technology and institutions, just as, more dramatically, I had seen the tribal worlds of Nepal crumble.

My first impressions inside the Looking Glass seemed to confirm this, but gradually I realized that the familiar was becoming unfamiliar. How was I to understand it? At first I tried to apply the grid of the classical separations (economy/society etc). But I soon began to realize that they did not fit. At first (1993) I just thought there were a number of cross-cuttings, but did not understand what was behind them, for it was just a moment of confusion when things did not fit.

Only after seeing normal patterns (in work on political philosophy – culminating in *Lily*) (and China) that I began to see the larger picture, namely the non-Axialization theory of the miraculous survival of a tribal and holistic world.

But what was I to do with such dawning knowledge? There is the danger of falling for the Japanese myth of peculiarity and continuity (*nihonjinron*), or of offending Japanese sensibilities. So I was hesitant. On the other hand, these insights may help Japanese and outsiders if they understand the extraordinary thing that has happened.

Why has this not been noticed before? Perhaps in order to discover it the analyst needs to have a combination of a varied background.

1. An interest in meta-theory in philosophy (from Montesquieu to Gellner) and particularly the Enlightenment.
2. The experience of living in a holistic civilization and teaching extensively about such tribal worlds is necessary (Gurungs, Nagas and teaching).
3. Interest in the sixteenth to eighteenth century Cartesian splitting apart with science – the metaphysicals, Wordsworth and the Romantics, Yeatsian problem of disenchantment and the nature and birth of the modern world which splits up things.
4. A combination of anthropology, to make one aware of the cultural dimensions, with history, to give an overview of how it happened.
5. The work on the history of England (especially Maitland) was needed to see how islands can deviate from continents and set up micro-climates and separate trajectories.
6. The good fortune of meeting Kenichi and Toshiko, such unusual and reflective Japanese.
7. The growing knowledge of China as a parallel, originating, but very different world.
8. The influence of structuralism (Leach and Levi Strauss), and of post-modernism, and the interest in relationality in French thought generally (Montesquieu, Tocqueville, Dumont, Bourdieu).
9. *Letters to Lily*, as a practice and model of the way of writing in a simple, direct, tender way and of a total approach to all aspects of life.
10. Sarah's invaluable help in processing materials, film, databases, discussions.
11. Lily and Rosa as reminders of what magic and enchantment are about.
12. Teaching, supervising Ph.D's on Japan, various insights into their mentality
13. The involvement with various projects on world history – the seminars we have held with Japanologists etc. and comparative thinkers.
14. The conversations, interest and support in so many ways of Gerry Martin.
15. The necessary visits to Japan on five occasions – especially filming there.

In other words, there has been a conjuncture of many factors which had to come together in time and place in order to make these insights possible. Half a dozen of them would not be enough. Hence Ruth Benedict was not able to see this because she had never visited China or

Japan, had little historical knowledge, did not have the English example, though she did have experience of holism and thought of 'patterns of culture'.

Ronald Dore had the linguistic and social skills and the contacts and some comparative knowledge. But as a sociologist rather than an anthropologist or historian he could not go right into the system.

Chie Nakane as an anthropologist with a background knowledge of India and holism was moderately equipped. But no history, little knowledge of China and the disadvantages in some respects of being Japanese (as Ohnuki-Tierney).

These are just a few, and others have the same advantages and disadvantages, so there is nothing like this book. No plumbing of these particular depths.

Email from Toshiko on 7th August 2005

Dear Alan,

We came back from Vienna. We very much enjoyed, especially Muskie and History of Art museum where Kenichi had wanted to go in his life time. I read some of your new draft. I like the plan of structure of the book. It must be very interesting book. We think it might be better to have concentrating sessions on basic ideas two or three times. How about it? best wishes, Toshiko

Email from Alan on 7th August 2005

Dear Toshiko,

Very glad you had such a good time. And I'm very pleased you like the way the structure of the book is evolving. Yes, let us meet for some more sessions. Are you busy this week-end? For example, could you come out on Saturday 13th - say on the 10.10 bus? When is Ai coming? Perhaps we can have a soba and evening meal day as before - we shall see how it goes. As you say, perhaps we can divide up into three sessions. The first would be to go through carefully your comments on the four institutional areas: economy, polity, society and religion (religion I only sent you recently) A second would be around art/aesthetics and the long section on representations and categories (logic, language, gender, age, time, space, which I am currently working on). And if we have the energy, a third on the over-all structure, the introduction, conclusion, ideas of non-Axial, tribal and general approach. What do you think? With best wishes and see you soon, Alan

Email from Toshiko 8th August 2005

Dear Alan, Thank you. We are reading the draft on religion. I think it was well done. we have some basic questions on Christianity itself. Religion is the most difficult part, so Kenichi says, we had better do it first. We think now we must think of the differences of the basic ideas relation to the world. Ai is coming tomorrow. I think we can come on Saturday, but after she comes, we will decide and let you know. best wishes, Toshiko

[During the days from 3rd to 7th August I made another attempt to write about the most difficult part of Japan, its system of thought. The text was typed into the computer a week later, as below. I just include the first of several sections.

Bounded infinity

[Many a book could be written about Japanese categories. Here I shall just make a start by looking at four aspects of this intriguing and almost incomprehensible area, space, time, number and categories. Here is a small section of what I wrote as an example of my writing that summer.]

Reason beyond Reason

One way to consider rationality is to see it as the ability of people to think clearly about problems without letting 'irrelevant' considerations cloud their analysis. In the modern west, therefore, it is often thought of as synonymous with the separation of different parts of our lives.

If we are pursuing an economic goal, for instance trying to sell a house or buy a car, we should not let other considerations deflect our judgement. If our local politician, our local clergyman, or even one of our relatives asks us to alter the price dramatically in return for political, religious or sentimental favours, we turn them away. Business is business. Likewise, if we are taking a political or religious or family decision, we tend to try to keep other things out of it.

In other words, there is a mental division of labour such that the means we use and the ends we seek are brought ever closer together. This is not only 'rational' to us but also seems to work. 'Superstition', 'corruption', 'sentimentality', all are reduced and we pursue our 'rational' and single-stranded and logically clear way towards what we want to achieve.

'Rationality' here is supposed to be one of the great achievements of the modern world. We have freed the world from magic, we have got rid of enchantment. Our science and our thought is no longer embedded in other things. The pressures of the family, the priests, the rulers which circumscribe and bend thought in strange directions in most historical societies have been whittled away. This is one of the things which we mean when we say we are 'modern'.

This is what I believed when I went to Japan and so I was curious to find out where Japan fitted in all of this. Is it a 'modern' and 'rational' society in this sense, or an embedded and situational and emotionally entangled society, as are most civilizations of which I knew?

Logic

While we no longer believe in the existence of 'pre-logical' mentalities in the way suggested by Levi-Bruhl, different societies do organize their thinking according to different logics. For example, the logic of Azande witchcraft beliefs is different to that of the majority western tradition, just as the logic of early Chinese medicine is different from that of modern western medicine.

Given what I have discovered so far, I would expect there to be very marked features of Japanese logic which would help thought to preserve its 'non-modern' shape. For example, it is unlikely to proceed by binary oppositions, but by 'both/and' logic. It is unlikely to place much emphasis on syntagmatic chains of argument that if A, then necessarily B. It is likely to be impossible to be certain that one can deduce from cause to effect, for there is great randomness in the world.

The logic is likely to place objects into categories in a preliminary and provisional way, but be prepared to move them around if necessity determines. It is likely to place as much, if not more, emphasis on intuition and emotion as upon logic and reason itself since almost everything 'depends' on other things, is contextual, non-absolute.

So, in sum, the logic should proceed in a non-axiomatic, non-binary, intuitive and emotional way which enables it, like language, to provide a highly efficient lubricant to allow the Japanese to cope with holism. This is the kind of system, suffused with magic and strange statements like 'the cucumber is an ox' or 'twins are birds' or 'she is both a person and a werewolf', which we find in many tribal societies.

Will we find under the apparently scientific and rational surface of Japan some traces of these logics, which indicate a world that has never been 'modern'? This is a subject which I

will pursue more carefully after reading Nakamura and others. But here are one or two preliminary observations culled from others.

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I should emphasize that I am not suggesting that the Japanese have pre-logical or non-logical thought. Nor do I believe that they are, or have ever been, uninterested in how the real world works. As Morse observed after very careful attention, ‘No people on earth is keener in search of exact knowledge... No people on earth excels the Japanese in clarity or subtlety of logical thought’.¹³ It is rather a case of different logical procedures.

One element of this is partly grasped by the idea of ‘circular’ rather than ‘linear’ logic, which is a counterpart to the idea that without tenses and without a future-directed religion, there is very little linearity of time. Things go in a circle rather than along a line. As Matsumoto puts it, ‘Logic, since Socrates, is mind-centred. It goes straight and linearly. Visceral logic goes circularly. The majority of Orientals, particularly Japanese are circularly (*hara*) logical’. *Yin* and *yang* in Chinese thought is circular rather than binary or linear, and the Japanese have developed this.

Another features of a very marked kind is the avoidance of all absolute and binary thought. The oppositions which are deeply embedded in monotheistic and Greek-derived systems are not popular. We have seen this in relation to ‘yes’ and ‘no’, and in many aspects of religious thought. Maraini sums up a number of the absences as follows. ‘In Japan one is rarely confronted with those cleaving dualisms that typify Western thought: God and man, creator and creature, spirit and matter, body and soul, good and evil, nature and supernatural reality, the sacred and profane. In Shinto, men the world and the gods all belong to what is essentially a single vital continuum’.¹⁴ The highest goal is not distinctions, but synthesis and harmony. ‘Harmony consists in not making distinctions; if a distinction between good and bad can be made, there ‘*wa*’ does not exist’.¹⁵

Many writers have noted the fact that context is more important than some kind of abstract, absolute, set of logical laws. Matsumoto suggested that ‘in Japan, situation takes precedence over reason. What Japanese call “reason beyond reason” (*rigai no ri*)...’ He suggests that ‘...the Japanese do not seem to possess principles, if the word “principle” is to be defined from the logic-oriented western perspective. Logic is considered to be “cold” or “unemotional” in Japan and certainly not identical to the truth.’¹⁶

As in many non-divided worlds, social relations come first. The Japanese are prepared ‘... to forgo universalistic knowledge, skeptical observation and individual reflection in order to sustain a close and coherent community inherited from the long past.’¹⁷ It is similar to my daughter’s reaction when someone looks like they will tell her something which will shatter part of her self-image or image of others – she does not want to know, even if it is true, for ‘it is too much information’. As in most non-modern societies, people’s individual rationality and perception of the world becomes molded/bent by the social structure. Social relations are more important than dispassionate cognitive truth. Nothing is absolute. Everything bends and depends on the relationships.

If two ideas clash or contradict each other according to strict logic, that can be overlooked, for reason is fallible and inferior to emotion and intuition. A Japanese is able to hold contradictory views without conflict. As Nakamura, whom I shall examine further, comments there is ‘a

¹³ Morse, *Day*, ii, 435

¹⁴ Maraini, *Tokyo*, 39

¹⁵ Ono Siichiro, quoted by Smith, *Japanese*, 41

¹⁶ Matsumoto, *Haragei*, 8

¹⁷ Smith, *Japanese*, 113

tendency toward an absence of theoretical or systematic thinking, along with an emphasis upon an aesthetic and intuitive and concrete, rather than a strictly logical orientation.¹⁸ The parts may clash, but the whole still works, as with a work of art, where irregularities and imperfections are made whole in the final synthesis.

One effect of all this has been to avoid metaphysics and those kinds of speculation related to religion which are so popular in the west. The questions people ask tend not to be of the 'why' kind, for a situation exists as it exists and there is no point in asking why. As Singer comments, 'Metaphysics have never stirred the intellectual passion of the Japanese; who tend to take pragmatist attitudes and are always eager to shorten the circuit from one action to another.'¹⁹

Reason is less important than emotion and intuition. The social relationship is more important than abstract principles, as we would expect in a hierarchical society. Logical contradictions are not a threat to the system. The powerful tools for constructing causal chains based on either induction or deduction are not favoured.

There is enough here to show that the systems seems to fit with a world where the Japanese are trying to keep open the myriad connections of a holistic system, rather than adopting discrete sub-systems, each with its absolute logic.

The Japanese would think that it is not they, but westerners, who are irrational for two major reasons. Firstly, westerners constantly allow 'religious' truths of a non-verifiable kind to enter into their metaphysics, assuming a creator God, hidden rules and 'laws' behind phenomena which cannot be proved, and other leaps of faith which the Japanese do not take. They see us as very superstitious, almost magical in our thinking.

Secondly, we may strive for logical consistency within our spheres, for example within an instituted economy driven by the rules of the market, or the implausible assumption of perfect knowledge of the choices to be made combined with individual profit maximization. Yet the price we pay is a form of higher irrationality, for we have to pretend that there really are separations when all we have done is to construct them for our convenience. In fact, and in real life, parts of our world are not separated off in this way and everything is interconnected. It is somewhat similar to Max Weber's distinction. Formal rationality, that is means-ends relations, are highly rational, but substantive rationality, the goals we pursue, are often crazy, like killing each other or the pursuit of wealth as an end in itself.

The Japanese behave in a way not dissimilar to that enshrined in the English Common Law, that is to say they do not try to set out rules and laws of a detailed, universal, kind which they feel are bound to become rigid and unworkable as contexts change. Rather, the system is *ad hoc*, unprincipled, case to case, flexible, based on 'common sense' or 'intuition' of a kind whose reasons are beyond reason. They may not be able to explain how their system works, but like riding a bicycle, they learn intuitively to make it do so.

Putting it in the frame we started with, Japanese thought feels very non-modern. It is embedded in social relations, there is no absolute truth, all is relative and context dependent. Logic has to be abandoned to other pressures such as power relations or etiquette.

The Japanese are constantly put into the situation of logical contradictions and half-truths of the young English curate asked by the Bishop's wife at breakfast as to whether his boiled egg was nice. The egg was in fact rotten, but if he said so, the displeasure of the Bishop's household might seriously damage his career. If he told a blank lie, his immortal soul would be at risk. So he famously answered that it was 'good in parts' – an illogical, but socially and spiritually satisfying way out. The Japanese live with an intertwined social structure and power relations in such a predicament every hour of every day. Their language and logic is full of 'good in parts'.

So Japanese logic, like that of China, is not particularly likely to encourage the development of modern empirical science or abstract philosophy. Yet, combined with the flexible language, it

¹⁸ Quoted in Smith, *Japanese*, 111

¹⁹ Singer, *Sword*, 118.

manages to hold together a series of contradictions and compromises which allows this tribal world to work as the base of the most impressive economy in the world. Their rationality is clearly other, but no more irrational in its own way than our own.

Absolute relativity

Japanese culture is very like one its most famous materials, the extremely tough, malleable, mulberry paper, which is made of millions of tiny fibres which can be moulded, when wet, into almost every shape. It can be made into waterproof clothing, windows, toys, wedding dresses. Likewise, Japanese culture can bind almost everything together, made out of millions of tiny gestures, sounds and interlinked personalities.

Or, like the amazing bamboo, the culture can be shaped into a thousand useful forms, immensely strong, yet when worked on also very elastic and flexible, woven into innumerable shapes, bending in its wild state to withstand the gales, and bent under human effort to make a thousand useful things. Every culture has an element of this. Yet the tough, elastic, resilience of Japan has to have certain special features because it internally overcomes the force of various contradictions within itself.

In the normal condition of modern societies, various absolutes are maintained within each of the separated spheres. The dictates of God, of political power, of the law, of the economy, of the family, each is almost absolute within its own sphere, but must not trespass beyond that sphere. Life consists of a constant attempt to prevent 'corruptions', that is the cross-seeping of one sphere into another. Every individual feels the constant tug of allegiances, each one of which can only be given a certain qualified allegiance. Different realms call for different roles, believer, voter, mother, worker, consumer, each is separated off. Within the bounds of one sphere, absolutes of a kind are possible.

In the tribal solution, no spheres demarcating 'economy' from 'polity' or 'religion' from 'family' exist and so everything seeps into everything else, simultaneously existing at various levels. This means that religion is everywhere, but nowhere is it uncontested, kinship is everywhere, but it is never free from an economic or religious dimension. This makes it impossible to have any absolutes. Even truth is relative.

This intermixed world is comprehensible within a small-scale, face to face, oral, culture where time, truth, reality are contingent, all to be interpreted within the wider context. Yet such societies only have to deal with a relatively simple situation characteristically involving a few thousand people, a simple technology, face to face communications, no cities, money, writing, universities, corporations.

Yet how can such a holistic, total, world possibly be preserved when millions of strangers surround a person, when many relationships are mediated through money, markets, complex technologies? For people in Japan have to deal with living in the most urbanized, industrialized, technologically advanced nation in the world, comprising over 120 million people apparently living by extremely rational, orderly and 'modern' standards. How can they do this?

Surely, it seemed to me, it must be necessary to maintain efficiency by the artificial representation of the world as having bounded spheres. So I thought until I encountered Japan. There, like the alternate logics of *Alice* or other children's stories or science fiction, another solution began to emerge, involving subversion of the normal laws of time, space and other representations which I had taken for granted. The connections are different in Japan. The joins, like the sockets into which Japanese house poles were traditionally fitted to allow the house to rock with the earth-quakes, have to be both strong, but also flexible.

It would not do to have no rules or customs at all. Indeed, as we find in Japan, there is a multitude of them, as we can see in the punctilious rules of etiquette and interpersonal

behaviour. Yet each rule must also be situational and flexible. So Japan is constructed out of simple parts, like a meccano set or the fibres floating in the tubs of liquid that will dry and form mulberry paper. Yet each part can be put together in many ways, making a huge, tough, inter-supporting system. The individual parts, people, acts, remarks, become unimportant, for what is essential is the way the whole fits together, held together by their intersections.

All this makes sense of the contextuality one feels about all actions, the upwards and downwards flow of force through the hierarchies (Maruyama) and justifies the 'flexible rigidities' metaphor of Ronald Dore. For the test of my hypothesis of the relational, total, holistic and tribal nature of Japan will ultimately be if it makes sense of those many, hitherto little explained, aspects of Japanese culture such as the obsession with purity, inside and outside, and other things which have intrigued but baffled both the Japanese and their best friends.

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The essence of the undivided, holistic, situation in Japan is that everything is partially fused into everything else and no sphere is either dominant (infra-structure) or entirely separate (autonomous institutions). The only way this can work is if all aspects of life are very flexible and every gesture, action, thought, can be interpreted in a number of ways, multi-level symbols with extreme contextuality.

Everything has to be relative, not absolute; time, truth, space, personhood, status, rather than being fixed and absolute and external is fluid, non-absolute, contextual. Likewise all thought and all morality must be situational and relative, bending with situation, negotiable, provisional, unfinished, evolving and never completed.

Rules are not fixed, but change from case to case. While principles may appear to be reasonable, they are quite likely to cause obstructions and blockages since, like rocks in a stream, they break up the flow of the ever-changing reality of life. In the absence of any God or absolute moral authority, it is easier to see how such fluidity is maintained.

We have seen this developed in every sphere of life, for example in law or inter-personal relations. Absolute codes are not trusted, for how can they bring justice in a changing world? We are told that 'no human laws, no elaborate clauses in human contracts, can cover the infinitely large variety of actual situations... In this sense Japanese can be called "realists" because they never fully trust "logos", "principles", or "laws", either natural or human'.²⁰

This applies to morality, which cannot be fixed, formal and based on ideas such as the Ten Commandments of Christianity. 'For the Japanese, goodness or badness is a relative matter, relative to social situation and impact, whose complexity may often be beyond any judge's comprehension.'²¹ Thus, as we do, but more so, the Japanese believe that 'Indulgence in food, drink and sex may be reprehensible in one context and acceptable in another. Time, place, occasion, age, social position – basically all these things determine what is proper or improper in conduct and behaviour.'²²

Analysts have called this morality based on social relativism by various names such as 'situationalism', 'situational ethic', 'situational morality', or 'contextualism'. The essence of it is that nothing is fixed, and the external world is unstable, floating, changing and everyone has to constantly adapt themselves to it. Individuals themselves are not fixed and absolute, and like bamboos change shape with the winds of fortune.

²⁰ Matsumoto, *Haragei*, 67

²¹ Lebra, *Japanese*, 11

²² Maraini, *Tokyo*, 177

Other people from whom, in a relational culture, a person draws their own sense of self, are constantly changing and hence make the 'I' into a different shape. The mirror changes as in a hall of magical mirrors and what appears is thus shrunk, stretched, distorted. There is no 'true', uncontextual self.

Yet it is not just other people, and the notoriously shifting and unpredictable ecology that makes life somewhat like white water rafting, a constant avoiding of chaos and disaster, but also the capriciousness of the spirits. 'The Japanese feel comfortable with the notion that nature is situational and that man is situational, and at the same time, 'kami' (gods) are situational towards both man and nature.'²³

Everything depends on context and relation. Most obviously this is the case with rank, for everyone is higher or lower depending on context, from the poorest blind beggar to the Emperor who is himself a humble being in relation to Ameratsu, who is in turn lowly in relation to a higher God, and so *ad infinitum*.

This rubbery contextuality of power, an exact equivalent to the elastic morality and notions of the self and reality, was described by Fukuzawa. He wrote that 'power in the West is like iron; it does not readily expand or contract. On the other hand, the power of the Japanese warriors was as flexible as rubber, adapting itself to whatever it came in contact with. In contact with inferiors, it swelled up immensely; in contact with those above, it shrivelled up and shrank.'²⁴

A separate, but related question is how such a system can operate. Part of the explanation seems to lie in the technique already alluded to of having a surface, and an inner depth, a front (outside) and an inner truth. One's real, natural and inner desires may be one thing, while the outside rules or principles may be entirely different, and people need to discriminate very carefully which they follow. 'Insiders', close associates are shown one side of a person, outsiders another. Of course this is a feature of all societies to a certain extent, but in the Japanese case it is taken to the extreme.

Another method is the fact that all things, thoughts, actions, objects, are carefully prepared and wrapped up so that they have a protective covering which can conceal their inner self. Japan is famously a 'wrapping' and gift centred economy. 'In every gesture of daily life, in the system of conversation, in the proper form of giving a present, the main concern, it seems, is how to wrap up things, ideas, feelings.'²⁵ This is clearly something which keeps options open, for there is the outside meaning, the wrapping, and the inner meaning.

This is clearly related to the strong theme of concealment, of masks, mirrors, silences, absences, which is particularly strong in Japanese culture. It is present in many novels, and in the Noh drama where there is a great deal of darkness, concealment and masking.

Yet, paradoxically, while concealing and hiding, great stress is also laid on honourable, sincere, deep feelings. In some ways Japan has a very Protestant feeling. It is not actions which matter, but motives, 'true heart', sincerity, being true to oneself. Benedict noted that 'When modern Japanese have attempted to make someone moral virtue supreme over all the other "circles", they have usually selected "sincerity".'²⁶ Or again Maraini, who spent a long time in Japan, noted that 'The word *makoto* (sincerity) comes up constantly in the evaluation of one's own or other people's conduct, motives and thought'.²⁷

Yet what, exactly, is 'sincerity'? In the west, we might equate it with truthfulness, honesty, directness. Yet this is not the meaning. As Koestler notes, 'The Japanese use of the word "sincerity" – "*mago-koro, manoko*" – has always been a subject of puzzlement and controversy

²³ Matsumoto, *Haragei*, 89

²⁴ Fukuzawa, *Civilization* (xerox), 155

²⁵ Singer, *Sword*, 45

²⁶ Benedict, *Chrysanthemum*, 149

²⁷ Maraini, *Tokyo*, 153

among Westerners. Thus a man may be pretending and yet be “sincere” if his pretence conforms to the code of manners; and it is “insincere” to be too outspoken and direct’.²⁸ Thus the word seems to mean more like behaving with courtesy and empathy.

All this fits with intuition, emotion, reason beyond reason. One must sincerely try to do what one feels one has to do. In the end all calculations, principles, absolute commands fall away and the individual has to follow his sincere and true beliefs.

Again it is not easy for me to understand this. We are told that the Japanese are conformist, relational, unfixed in principle, yet they lay such stress on this rather non-conformist, individualistic, principled attitude that follows the prescription ‘to this own heart be true’. Each person should follow his or her own virtue and sincerity, yet constantly has to camouflage, wrap, package, imply, conceal, in order not to destroy the equally important prescription in Japanese society, which is to promote *wa*, or harmony. It is all rather confusing.

13th August 2005

A day mostly spent on a visit of the Nakamuras - Kenichi, Toshiko, Yuri and Ai from 10.30am to 10.30pm - 12 hours non-stop chat and discussion of the enigma of Japan. Again both deep and very helpful - on language, religion and many complex topics. But long cooperation has made it possible to communicate well. The week mainly devoted to writing the last section of the book - on categories (law, logic etc), fascinating if difficult. But feel happy to have got a first draft done.



Group discussion - Ai, Yuri, Toshiko and Kenichi in the Barn

²⁸ Koestler, *Lotus*, 219

Email from Alan 14th August 2005

Dear Toshiko and Kenichi,

Many thanks for your comments - it was lovely to see you all and, as always, we learnt an enormous amount from our discussion. I hope the girls got off safely to Florence. Sarah and I were wondering whether, if the weather is nice, it might be good to combine our discussion with a trip through Suffolk and perhaps to the sea-side. We can talk in the car and over meals as we explore a bit. What do you think?

Best wishes, Alan

Comments by Kenichi attached to email on 15th August 2005

Dear Alan and Sarah

Thank you very much for your kind reception of the 13th. Yuri, Ai, Toshiko and myself enjoy the discussions, and the Japanese tea ceremony of Alan's style as well as the Indian Dinner.

Is the 18th of August convenient to visit us for the next session of our discussion?

If it is all right for you, we would invite you to our flat (154 Sleaford Street) around 10:30 in the morning of the 18th.

We have some suggestions on your draft on Japan which will be discussed.

Firstly, on Categories,

- (1) The Japanese sense of history-future is, in a sense, different from your uni-dimensional sense of progress. Simply speaking, Japanese minds live in pre-modern, modern and post-modern at the same time. It is rather difficult to apply the stage theory like Kamakura as pre-modern, Edo and Meiji as modern and the contemporary Japan as post-modern. 'Change to change vs. Progress' might be a good category.
- (2) 'Reality vs. Fiction' is another potential candidate for your category section. Whenever I use the term 'pretend' to be modern, you might think that we just cheat you and we follow the way of democracy, capitalism and modernity only with superficial forms and that we do not so in reality. It is partly so but partly not so. It is true that Japanese regard these imported institutions as designs just as the clothes or the plays. But it is also true that the clothes and plays are the inevitable parts or are essential (substantial) parts of the body. Without them the system we belong are not workable and not complete. Therefore the democracy, according to Professor Maruyama, should be chosen as an 'essential fiction' which he would bet himself. The term identity and authenticity against false and fiction is difficult to feel for Japanese.
- (3) In the Japanese life-cycle (or life-stage), there are important categorical change of stages. Children under 3/5/7 were in high mortality and belong to 'Gods' world' which they are not yet humans. And children are children not yet grown-up, not the small-size adults but belonging to the different moral codes or the codes of conduct from the adult. The mentality of Japanese children is rather similar to the British labour-class. Adults need to finish the initiations and are supposed to be matured enough to behave yourself and 'self-made' person whose code of conducts is rather similar to the British middle-class. When you retire, you are the different kinds of person, *ro-jin*, *okina* whose code of conduct is similar to your upper-class. In Christian culture, humans are belonging to the God's world throughout their lifetime. With the sharp contrast with this, only under 3/5/7 and the dead are belonging to the world of Kami.
- (4) Border vs. Centre might be good category. One (binary division) vs. Multiple may be another one. Secondly, in final chapter, it might be good idea to include those thinkers such as Fukuzawa and Maruyama who understand the peculiarity of Japanese civilization or boldly speaking, 'half-Japaneseness/ half-design borrowed from outside' which has its own difficulty to sustain.

[From here Toshiko is writing].

I would like clarify the comparison of three models i.e. Western, Tribal and Japanese. Especially God-man-society relations. Which area does religion-morality-etiquette and aesthetics cover?

I am very glad that we reach thus far. I think now our analysis on Fukuzawa and Maruyama become original. and should be included in our book.

17th August 2005

...Took Toshiko and Kenichi on a tour through Suffolk - through Clare and Long Melford (where we had lunch after listening to a Schubert recital in the magnificent church). Went to Orwell and then to Aldeburgh where we queued for fish and chips at Toshiko's request. Wonderful weather and much talking on the book - so work done too.



Waiting for fish and chips (and taking notes), Alan, Kenichi and Toshiko

Email from Alan 17th August 2005

Dear Toshiko and Kenichi,

It was a really lovely day - one we shall remember for so many things for many years. Thanks for buying us all sorts of things, though I expect Sarah will try to pay you for some of them! And thanks for all your continued thoughts on the book. I am drafting out the ideas for my three American lectures and already feeding in things we discussed yesterday. We look forward to continuing the discussions and trips on Friday 26th.

20th August 2005

The first week for ages that I didn't go into Cambridge - so a productive writing week, intermingled with picking fruit and walking round the garden. On Monday finished off introductory and final chapter of 'Japan Looking Glass'. Have written a draft of 86,000 words and though it needs re-framing and working, quite a bit of it is reasonable I think, and the extraordinary finding that Japan is a pre-Axial, tribal, society makes it into a thriller. Wednesday a long day of sight-seeing with Toshiko and Kenichi. Some really excellent feed-back on the book. Then Thursday to today working on Maruyama Lecture and Seminar, and a talk for Stanford University. All on Japan. Have done the bulk of this now. Very pleasant to be deeply engrossed in the strange world of Japan. Reading Lafcadio Hearn.

[During August I was writing drafts of two lectures I would be giving later in the year in America. Alongside this, I was trying to synthesize some of my thoughts as follows.]

Reflections on a Japanese Mirror

(Originally written on 20th and 25th August 2005, and typed on 27th August)

A few thoughts on the first draft of the book.

There is a considerable similarity between my approach to Mirror Land and the ideas of Borges concerning the quirks of time and space and in particular his story about the mythical civilization which began to colonize the mind of the finder of the lost Encyclopedia of *Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius*. As bits of the lost world of Japan, or rather the underworld behind the mirror, start to emerge, other things shift so that a whole new landscape is revealed of which I was not aware. A lost civilization emerges, and I find in the work of Lafcadio Hearn and others an anticipation of this. Hearn, for example, before Jaspers, pre-figured the non-Axiality of Japan, and the continuous *basso ostinato* note of Maruyama and the deep ancient nature preserved in Japan.

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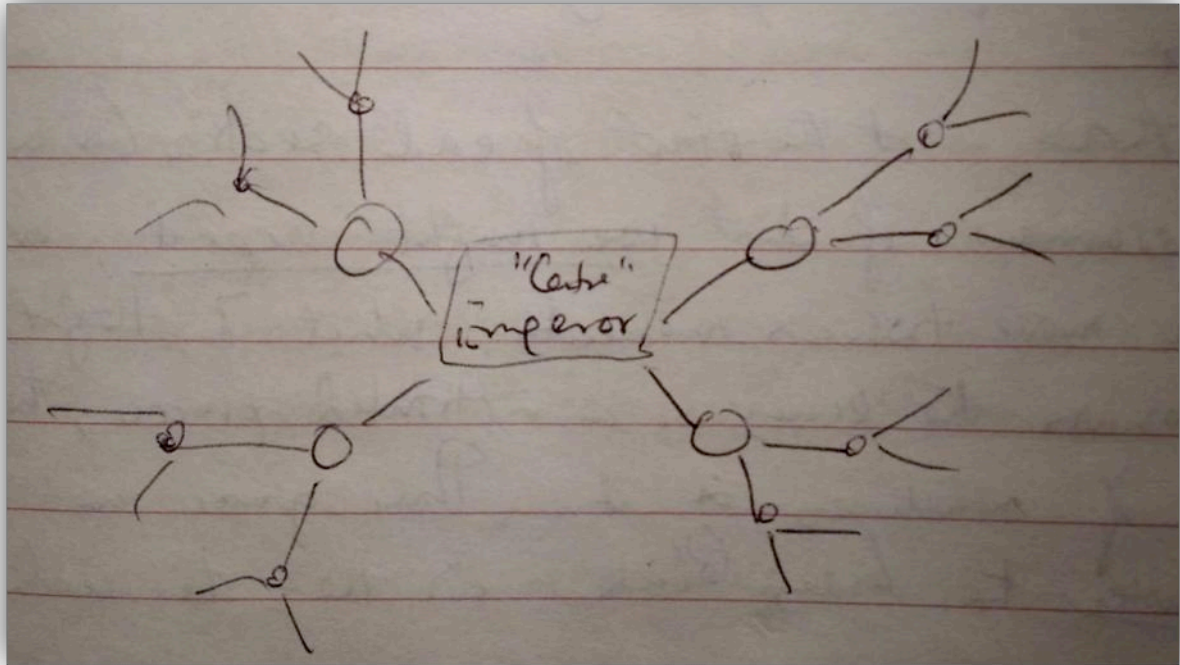
Another thought I had after watching a film on Hirohito and the atrocities committed by the Japanese in China etc., is of an image of the strange tribal creatures living in the rock pool which had lived a harmonious life within the pool. Yet when swept out across the coasts of China and East Asia, they behaved like tribesmen usually do – they slaughtered and destroyed in incomprehension and without mercy when faced with any opposition (as at Nanking). They were latter-day tribal or Mongolian hordes, with all the cruelty of Timur and Genghis.

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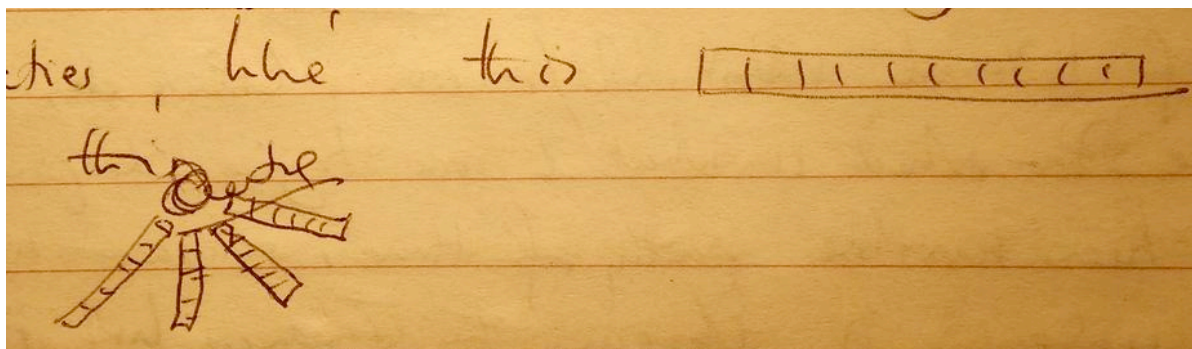
This talk of tribalism makes me think, that in imagining the response to the idea that Japan is a 'tribal' or (worse still) 'primitive' society, some in the audience may take it as a somewhat derogatory word nowadays. So it might be better to phrase the same point somewhat differently. There is also a problem with the word tribal since it also implies all the other things – the absence of the State, money, writing etc, and clearly Japan had these. Japan is not exactly tribal, but nor is it 'modern'.

Perhaps another way of thinking of Japan is to adopt and adapt Durkheim's distinction between mechanical and organic solidarity, that is segmental societies with a clan base, 'a repetition of like aggregates in them, analogous to the rings of an earthworm'. But if, instead

of thinking of it just like this, we add a little of the idea of verticality and also a spider's web, we have something like a centre with the Emperor, and then links outwards.



This is mechanical solidarity, in the sense that each part is more or less identical, 'like rings of an earthworm' (hence famous homogeneity of Japan), but it is not laid out flat, as in many tribal society, but rather somewhat hierarchical, with each strand or worm hanging down from the centre.



So it is structurally like mechanical solidarity, yet different. What it certainly is not is 'organic' in Durkheim's sense, ie. it is not individuated into separated functional institutions which are held together by oppositions. This idea, which may be worth developing, is what might be called a hierarchical or vertical or centrifugal mechanical model. Worth thinking about in relation to trying to understand Japan – as in Maruyama seminar.

It is worth expanding on the disembedding theme. At the start, or more likely at the end, of each major section I might include a section giving an overview of what we might expect, or rather what I personally expected from my training in anthropology and history, about the likely path towards modernity. What did I think I would find, for example the progress towards the economy as an instituted process, the alienation of labour, the increasing use of

machinery and so on. This will give an idea of Alice's prejudices as she enters the Looking Glass – or, if at the end of each section (better) – her readjustments in the light of what she had expected and what she (I) actually found.

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In essence what I seem to be discovering is the extraordinary existence of Atlantis or Utopia. What is emerging is a hitherto unknown world which exists, but is invisible to normal eyes. Like Narnia behind the wardrobe, Hogwarts beyond the wall of platform 7 and three quarters, *Tlón*, *Uqbar*, *Orbis Tertius*, the world beyond the Mirror, there is a parallel world when we drop through a crack. One needs eyes and a magic key to see this, which is what I am trying to provide.

The existence of such a world has been not known, unable to be seen, for Hume's reason – that it is impossible to apprehend because it is so strange. We cannot see it because we cannot understand it. Of course the Japanese live it, but they are neither willing nor able to explain it to others – and indeed they don't see it either since they have it all around them. It needs a sense of wonder and surprise to see it. But once seen, like fairy-land in Yeats (or Kubla Khan), it must be described as quickly as possible before it vanishes and the mirror becomes blank again. Time is of the essence.

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This suggests that in the few weeks I have before China,²⁹ I should write down as much as I can about this world – and not worry too much about the pruning and re-writing, even if it leaves Andrew Morgan (and Sarah?) with an early version to read.

So I shall try to get down as many thoughts as possible about Fairyland – and also productively use the presence of Kenichi and Toshiko while I am here. Everything else, including reading through all my diaries and notes, and further reading, is secondary. What I would like to do before going off to China is to sketch out the whole argument. Think later.³⁰

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The frame of the book does seem almost established – and that is the most important part. The story line is roughly as follow. Into the mirror describes the first stirrings of a sense that something lies behind the mirrored surface of Japanese westernness, then the discovery of other's surprise which gives further evidence of something below the surface. Then inside the parallel world, its nature and the surprises it produced in me. Then, ending up with a brief sketch of how it works, how it happened in history, and what its implications are. So it is a story of going into the parallel world, exploring it, and seeing how it seems to work to maintain itself and come to exist, and then come out of it.

If I can have sketched out the first draft by the end of my sabbatical, ie. by the end of December, then I can clean it up and do the second draft in between then and going to Japan,³¹ where we can discuss the revisions. And then the third draft next summer, and

²⁹ We were planning a long and complex tour to China, to take place straight after our visit to America to give the Maruyama Lectures in October. Th would include a visit to Nanning as the Joseph Needham Visiting Professor, lecturing at five universities across China as the Li Ka Sheng Visiting Professor, and filming on the Yangtze for a possible documentary.

³⁰ 'Write first, think later', a suggestion made by Ray Bradbury, which I have often found a useful idea.

³¹ We went in March/April 2006.

perhaps Kenichi and Toshiko's and others final comments and off to the publisher by the end of the year.

I think that at the end of each section, a way to synthesize what I had found and how surprising it is, I might have a section which sets Japan against the kind of framework which I have been teaching to my students and have absorbed as 'normal' over the years. This might be roughly as follows.

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Economy. The main framework I have is really from Polanyi.³² Basically his message (and that of most economic historians and anthropologists) is that there have been two great revolutions in history. The first is the creation of the 'economy as an instituted process', which is the separation out of a primitive market, money, property, with a set of independent officials, institutions, morality, laws etc. This is basically the move from what anthropologists call tribal to peasant economics, which has been much described by anthropologists in their work on Africa, India, Oceania etc. This has been their central concern, in fact, since much of their work lay on this interface. Anthropologists characteristically worked in tribal worlds where economic life was totally embedded within politics, kinship etc., but was next door to peasant worlds in which there was a market economy.

I find it difficult to decide at the moment whether Japan ever went through this stage at all. Although by the seventeenth century it had a very sophisticated market system in certain ways – great grain markets and futures markets, very early and sophisticated coinage, banks, taxation, privatized property, yet there is some odd feeling which I can't quite yet grasp which makes me hesitate to say that this was a market society in the same way as China or Europe. Something doesn't fit, an attitude towards money, transactions etc., which is distinctly anti-profit and anti-disembedded. I shall have to look into this more later.

Then the second revolution is basically the further disembedding which Marx, Weber and Polanyi (*Great Transformation*) deal with, in other words capitalist, that is the final separation of the social and economic. There is no question that this did not happen in Japan, and it has remained curiously pre or anti-capitalist. Yet how can it do this alongside its amazingly efficient industrial production? All the literature on Japanese economic life fits here, for it is clearly organized along different principles so that work, profit, material life is valued differently.

I suspect that there is no way in which Japan could have remained non-capitalist like this if it was just a matter of failing to move on from the high-level-peasant, instituted process, market-level-world. The divergence must have been much deeper in order to protect and insulate Japan and to make it resistant to the massive pressure which has forced all peasant civilizations towards capitalism. This is one of the clues which make me project the non-axialization of the economy, so to speak, as a feature of Japan.

So I suspect strongly that the economy as an instituted process, in other words the shift from tribal to peasant economy did not occur (explore in my Pt. 1 Economics lectures also?). So the great movement from tribal to peasant, which happened with the urban revolutions everywhere else in the world never happened. If this is so, it is amazing. Yet it is a necessary part of the early divergence which is essential if I am rightly to understand Japan as a continuing 'tribal', 'holistic' and 'mechanically integrated' society. For it would not be enough to say it was the same sort of peasant civilization as India, China, S.Europe and South America – the world of Eric Wolf – until 1800 – and then the others became modern, and Japan did not do so. It has never been economically modern because it has never been pre-

³² Karl Polanyi, sociologist, and author of numerous books including 'The Great Transformation'.

modern (peasant). It rejected not just the last stage of the journey, but rejected starting on this journey at all. The 'great divergence' occurred, as Hearn guesses in relation to religion, some three thousand or more years ago, in the refusal to start down the road of axial separations.

This is why Japan poses such a challenge to conventional economies. It is not merely non-capitalist, but also not communist – a third way. So it has not traversed any of the stages of economic development. It cannot be slotted into the normal sequence of Hunter-Gatherer-Tribal-Peasant-Industrial. There is no evidence of the HG bit, but it has remained Tribal, as much now in Tokyo and Osaka, as it was 3000 years ago.

It shows that while it may be true that the only route to modern industrial civilizations was the accidental, divided, one which England took, this is not the only way such a system, once reached, can be operated efficiently. Japan, I believe, would never have developed science or industrialisation without the West – there is no sign of this. But once they were available elsewhere, it could appropriate them and run a highly industrialized economy better than they were run in their homeland, precisely because the inner, non-axial, tribal system is actually more efficient (more co-ordinated, trusting, hard-working, co-operative) once the break-through has been made. This bodes well for China, who could (and is) doing the same thing, except on a far larger scale.

This partly explains the fears and reactions of America. American banks have more or less given up on Japan, or rather taken the attitude of 'when in Japan, do as the Japanese do'. Universalism is dead. Yet for a while Japan posed such a huge threat because it worked better than America. Yet now it has reached the limits of efficiency and productivity, given its size, so the next worry is China, ten times its size and, in many ways, economically even more talented. If China develops a form of organization which incorporates parts of the best experience of both the West and the East (America/Japan), it could be a new wonder of the world.

But I digress.

The main thing is that at the end of the section on Japanese economy I should write a kind of part I anthropology lectures overview³³ of what we would expect Japanese economic history and structure to be like – the stages. Against this expectation, the Japanese case stands out as not conforming or fitting at all. The surface of the mirror reflects western technology, science and production methods. Yet if we go inside we find everything is different and makes nonsense of western economics (esp. individual profit maximization) and rationality, in the same way as their political, social and religious systems make nonsense of western categories.

Political and legal framework.

I might sketch out the frameworks of legal and political developments from my Part I lectures and this would be helpful here. Basically, the normal human story is as follows.

Politics in the Western sense is absent in tribal society, there is no institutionalization of politics. The Leopard-skin-chief³⁴ (a.k.a. the Emperor of Japan) is someone without power – but with ritual authority. The society is held together by the famous clanship-cum-feuding mechanism described by Evans-Pritchard (and also Sahlins in 'Tribesmen'³⁵). Politics is embedded in kinship etc. Then, supposedly, state systems emerged where politics was

³³ This refers to the first year lectures in anthropology and sociology which I was giving at this time.

³⁴ The Leopard-skin-chief was the nominal leader of a leaderless ('headless' or acephalous) tribal group, the Nuer, described by Edward Evans-Pritchard in his book 'The Nuer'.

³⁵ Marshall Sahlins, *Tribesmen*.

institutionalized. This is the first great revolution, equivalent to economics as an instituted process or the axialization of religion.

Again, I am not sure that Japan went through this stage at all. True, it imported much of the Chinese administrative procedure etc., but only on the surface, as Maruyama and others point out. Deeper down it remained tribal, as in the 'feudal' period when it was all a kind of large 'Nuer' balance-of-forces situation. So the first revolution did not happen and when the second great confrontation took place with the West, it was a totally different situation to other peasantries.

The second great revolution is the further separation out of politics, the democratic revolution of England from the twelfth to the eighteenth century and the post French and American Revolution divisions. This consists of demarcating out politics still further, the separation of politics from religion above all, which it had remained embedded. So the second revolution completes the first, which had sliced the apple in half into politics-religion, society-economy (as in pt IIA of the Tripos) and then further sliced into pt IIB of the Tripos.

(An amusing parallel. In many ways world history is reflected in our teaching of undergraduates. Year one, is all Hunter Gatherers and Tribalism. Part IIA is peasantries and partial slicing (economy/society, politics/religion). Part IIB is modernity and the four institutions of economy, society, politics, religion. Then post-graduate, it is post-modernism or working in a holistic way as a field anthropologist – back to tribalism. Looked at in this way, the Japanese refuse to move from part I to IIA and IIB, claiming that they have leapt straight to a Ph.D. where all is united again!)

Back to the subject...

What I need to do is briefly to spell out this normal course of history, then to show how Japan deviated from the normal course, not merely like England which veered away from the tribal to peasant to modern at the level of the second revolution, but by avoiding the first, axial, and all subsequent, revolutions.

The same approach may work with law. The normal process is again a double revolution. The first is that of setting up law as an instituted process, as in Jack Goody's work on literacy,³⁶ and as described in my Law lectures – the history of law, the difference of tribal law and modern law etc. The embedded, African style, tribal law, where custom is king and there are many laws but no Law (as there is politics but no Politics and religion but no Religion). This is amazingly still the case in Japan because behind the mirror is a tribal legal world. Indeed by the C14, as Haley and others have argued, Japan has order without Law. There is hardly any development of a machinery for law enforcement, no lawyers (cf. England which is chock full of them) or of a national set of Laws. Everything has returned to oral, customary, laws.

Then, when the second wave of force hits with German-French, and then later Anglo-American law, the surface changes, but underneath it is much the same – tribal, arbitration, customs, contextual, all the things Bohannon and co describe are still true of Japan. It is still a country of multitudinous laws, but no Law (as Durham and co. describe of the tribal Balkans – quite a good parallel). It is very like the Balkans or Nagas – with a thin veneer of law. Note that most of those who go to the Tokyo Law School seem to go off and do something else, no career in Law in a society which has no Law!

So the separation out of law from status, Maine's shift from status to contract, has never occurred. The rights-bearing individual, abstracted from society, does not exist. Individuals and actions are all embedded in the wider framework, as they are in tribal societies. It is an

³⁶ Jack Goody, *The Logic of Writing*.

extraordinary situation of a Foucaultian kind – power is everywhere and nowhere, rippling up and down the ‘body politic’ in a way unimaginable in the West. It is a simple organism or jelly, non vertebrate, a gigantic Nuer or Balkan tribe. To talk of democracy here is absurd, not just that it does not ‘yet’ exist, but rather that it is not on the same plane as Japan now inhabits, it is a different order of things.

Social framework

The third great area to consider – though it should, in line with previous thinking, probably be placed second (beside economics), is the social. For the first break is the split between economy/society on the one hand and religion/politics on the other – leading to peasantry. This is the separation of society from religion and politics (with the State and instituted religion), while economy is still organized by society (Domestic Mode of Production), and then the second, capitalism and alienation, the second split leading to modernity.

The area of the social encompasses not only the family and kinship, but also such matters as individual/group relations, the nature of equality and hierarchies. Here there is roughly the same story as elsewhere, that is to say the two great movements are from tribal to peasant (from clan to domestic family) and the second from small group to individual in the C19. Likewise the first is from status-based equality to status-based inequality (peasant), and the second is from status-based inequality to contract-based equality. Alongside this are the separations first of society from religion

Working backwards once again, Japan does not fit within this framework in relation to the second transition. Famously it has never moved from small group to individualism, or from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft*, or from hierarchy to equality. It has never separated society out from the rest – from religion, economy and polity. This suggests that perhaps the first separation also never happened, in other words the isolation of society as an instituted process.

That this is the case might be seen, for example, in the way kinship is so odd in Japan. The *ie* is ‘kintract’, that is a mixture of political, ritual, economic and social. It is not just a domestic group, it is part of everything else, very different from a Chinese clan or Indian caste. It suggests that there never was the axial first separation of society/economy from polity/religion. They remained merged. There is no ‘society as an instituted process’, to paraphrase Polanyi. Clastres’ dream has come true, society never had to fight the State, since the two never became antagonistic and separate. Thus everything remained integrated. The process which Durkheim, for example, located, the loss of religion and kinship, did not occur, the anomie and alienation never happened.

It is this which explains my difficulty in fitting the famous nineteenth century dichotomies of Tonnies, Maine and others over Japan. They do not fit, not because Japan never moved on from peasant to modern, but more deeply because it had never been peasant at all.

Religion, morality and mentality

This is the heart of the matter and a huge area to consider, as Lafcadio Hearn realized. There are again two normal revolutions. The move from tribal to peasant religions is roughly synonymous with Jaspers’ Axial division, occurring in the period 800-300 BC. This never occurred in Japan, as Hearn, among others, realized. So when the missionaries arrived they were not just dealing with another Axial religion – as Hinduism or Islam – but with a non-Axialized world. No wonder they were confused – and were rejected. So the first transition had not occurred.

The second, the move to the Cartesian/Kantian/Open world of Gellner’s dream, ‘science’ and protestantism also never took place. Sure, the Japanese took on board bits of science and

technology, but the underlying separation out of religion from politics never occurred (in fact the Meiji was a re-integration) and religion and thought and society are still welded together. Tribal religion never became the Religion of the Book, and Religions of the Book never became the internalized private conscience of modernity. On the surface, as Robert Bellah has argued, the outward form of Zen and Quakerism look the same. But inside they are different and the path is different.

The relativity of all aspects of life – truth, time, space, memory, responsibility, morals, everything, is exactly as one would find in a tribal society, where nothing is fixed. This is all an abomination to the Gellnerians, though perhaps the later Wittgenstein would have approved. It has the same effect as post-modernism, by leading to the blurring of the division between fact and fantasy, dispelling all large frameworks, de-stabilizing truth etc. Yet it does so, as John Clammer says, in a very different way. So the surface on the mirror looks like post-modernism, but inside the mirror is another world (as with economy, society etc)

Since the way we think and believe affects everything else, this is the most important area to investigate with Japan, as Kenichi senses. It is important to show that the odd feeling that religion is everywhere and nowhere, is exactly the tribal feeling. A Nuer or Azande might have difficulty in answering the question ‘what is your religion?’, but watching such people and talking with them, one would get the sense that religion is everywhere. It is fairy-land, an enchanted world. There has been no disenchantment at either of the two great revolutions.

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Thinking further about the above, it does seem that it will be more useful to put the summary pieces on what did not happen, ie the absence of disenchantment etc. at the end of each major section, as a kind of brief synthesis or summary of the chapter. If it is put at the front, it will give away too much, and be too abstract. But once people have been through one section of the puzzle and absences, then they can put it together with the last bit. It will summarize up to that point the argument, a reprise, before going on.

They can see how, as Lowell and others have tried to say, Japan did not go down the same path as other civilizations. It is only seen as arrested development if (a) we think in terms of necessary evolutionary ‘stages’ or a race – which there are not (b) if we ignore the amazing achievements in terms of life style etc. that Japan has made even when following this path.

So the structure would be:

Into the mirror

Economy – no institutionalization

Society – same

Polity – same

Religion – same

Then, having shown the non-institutionalization and separation, it is necessary to see how the system holds together. This will be done in terms of art/aesthetics, mentalities/classifications. Once that has been shown, the final part will put forward a theory to explain how Japan remained on an alternative path, and some of the implications of this for the way we think about how the world works.

27th August 2005

Difficult to think what I have done this week - various bits to do with Japanese book etc. Toshiko and Kenichi yesterday etc. Am reading and enormously enjoying Lafcadio Hearn and Percival Lowell. The realization of the extraordinary looking glass world which I have by chance entered grows even stronger and keen to capture as much of the strange fairy land as quickly as possible before that music fades. Fascinating process of writing etc.

2nd September 2005

Very late to bed as we had Kenichi and Toshiko here till quite late. Very intense discussions about the book and they had done a great deal of helpful work and thinking. They are working out who else we should collaborate with - Maruyama's "grand-children's" generation. They seem genuinely enthusiastic and both said that this visit and working on the book had made it easier for them to understand England - for the first time. Very exciting and nice to have them around.

3rd September 2005

...In between, read through the current version of the book and tidied it up. It looks promising and I get little surges of excitement. For example, today decided to alter the order to bring nature etc. to the front, to hook people with the puzzle. More and more it seems to move in interesting directions, and to be the book I have long wanted to write on disenchantment. A strange feeling of having discovered a parallel, magic, land which no one else (except the Japanese) has discovered. The magic of the writing and the magic of the children mingle and mix together, cross-fertilizing each other. Reading Lafcadio Hearn who is ideal reading on the enchantment of Japan.

4th September 2005

An exquisite autumnal day. ... I read through the 'Categories' section of Japan book and also the five chapters of intro and conclusion. It reads well and feels as if it is moving in the right direction. Now I have a reasonable second draft - some 91,000 words in all, so will need to be cut. Totally unexpected outcome which I would never have guessed three months ago. I think the interpretation is both unexpected and fresh and original, and even if not entirely right, at least is a plausible way of making sense of some of the enigmas. It certainly has been fun and takes me back to many of the deep questions of an existential kind I've been asking myself since late teenage hood. Should be good for Rosa - suggesting a way out of the modernity trap of ennui and alienation.

5th September 2005

We went in late afternoon to meet Kenichi and Toshiko who leave on Wednesday for Japan. Had a meal at the Thai restaurant after Kenichi gave further thoughts on Alan's book. We went back to their flat to collect books and bring them back here for packing. Sad to see them go but Kenichi thinks he can get money for us to go to Japan in March next year.

Email from Alan about 9th September 2005

Dear Toshiko and Kenichi,

Miss you already - but it was a wonderful set of meetings. Thanks again for all your help, enthusiasm, insight and humour. We look forward very much to future collaboration and meetings. I thought you might be interested in this bit of news about the Japanese translation of Lily - is it good news?

(Softbank) Do hope your journey was easy and that there is not too much work awaiting you. Keep in touch, With our very warmest wishes, Alan

10th September 2005

On Monday finished of the draft of 'Japan Through the Looking Glass' and handed over to Kenichi and Toshiko when we said goodbye to them. Started on 22nd April, so in some 76 days of writing, (many other days on other things, and most of these only part-days) have sketched out what I think is an original and intriguing thesis in 92,000 words. And it seems to convince Kenichi and Toshiko and to fit well with Hearn, Lowell and Chamberlain. The week made specially delightful by wonderful golden days and the delight of

fairy-correspondence with Lily and Rosa. Amazing to see the way in which they can switch into an imagined world and believe in impossible things. A delight to exchange fairy letters with them.

Email from Toshiko on 10th September 2005

Dear Alan and Sarah,

Thank you for your mail. We arrived safely though a bit tired. Kenichi started to read the books on Japanese history and finds many new things about us! We hope to understand us much better until you come to Japan next time. with the best wishes, Toshiko.

[Before going to the Oxford Conference on 16th September, arranged to celebrate the centenary of the Oxford Department of Social Anthropology, I wrote the following.]

16th September 2005 [GTB]

Thoughts at end of summer before going to Oxford Conference and then China

I notice that in my last thoughts on previous page I mentioned as the last of the possible books one on *Japan and the Japanese* with Toshiko. In fact my work log states that it was two days before on 22/4 that I started to work on 'Japan' rather than 'Fukuzawa'. So, now nearly 5 months later, what have I been doing...

The Japanese book prosaically enough. Fukuzawa was proving uninteresting as it was already done – and so we reverted to a long-distant plan to try to write a comparative book on Japan. I had tried several times to write books on Japan (esp. in 1992-3) but failed. So I did not have particularly high hopes. I managed to resist the temptation to just cut and paste all my voluminous previous writings. I started off with a very methodological and autobiographical approach which Andrew Morgan thought too introverted. But there was to be a middle section where I analysed some topics. I sat down to write these from memory – economy, law, society etc – and they turned out much better. But still largely within the confines of what I already knew.

It was really when I started to write about art and aesthetics that I began to explore new areas I had not previously written about and that tingle of creativity occurred. So by the end of teaching – end of June or early July, I was launching out into new areas. It was in July, when I started to write on religion, which I'd not really dealt with before – but discussed greatly, and returned to the Axial thesis of Jaspers and Eisenstadt, that the book finally took off.

Then, as I wrote further and we had about 5 full-day sessions with Kenichi and Toshiko and their daughters between about July 27th and September 4th that I suddenly fell through the mirror and discovered the parallel universe of Japan. I discovered that Japan still is a tribal, integrated, non-modern society where the separations of modernity have not occurred. I suddenly grasped within a month or so not only how simple and elegant it all is – but why (bounded but leaky) it is like that. All the discussions with Gerry, all my childhood Wordsworthian visions, all my fantasy games with Lily and Rosa came together and I saw the Elf-land below the surface of the most efficient modern economy in the world.

It was, like writing *Individualism* and parts of *Letters To Lily* and *Tocqueville*, that magical experience of finding out through writing a whole new world of which one was not aware before. And it was shared with the Nakamuras because they were there and found it helped them understand themselves. As my guesses about shamanism, tribalism, non-Axiality came out they confirmed them and then, because I had the key, unlocked themselves and poured

out a whole lot more materials. So it was true collaboration. Meanwhile, Profile were keen and so we signed an agreement to publish.

Once one has created a rough net for gathering material, everything falls into place. Re-reading and reading books by Lowell, Hearn, Chamberlain, Singer and others as well as our Diaries and Conversations, all showed evidence of what my hunch/guess had suggested.

Japan is the only world civilization that has the integrated, holistic, tribal structure of childhood or simple societies. Its reflective surface covers this over with supposed modernity, but beneath that glittering reflection of whatever is going on outside (currently America and the West) the *basso ostinato* (for doing the Maruyama Lectures was a lucky coincidence), the 'deep structure' which integrated things is totally different.

Many anthropologists, historians and others have caught glimpses of this – as with Hearn, Benedict, Nakane and other, and they have never explained why it happened, and how the whole thing works. This I think we can now do in a light, amusing and insightful way.

It is a set of short vignettes for Rosa which shows how Fairy-land works. It is the exception that proves the rules of *Letters to Lily*. That shows how the world normally works – the normal logic. Japan posits the one great logical alternative.

I guess that one of the reason why this has been such a delight is that it shows that in the virtually enchanted world (parallel to Miyazaki) one can re-enter an un-alienated, un-anomic, un-cold world. My life's central problem of how to combine reason, liberty, efficiency, tolerance with warmth, enchantment etc, is given a new dimension by Japan.

The agonies of the Cartesian separation, the dissociation of sensibility, the cold rational worlds, the death of God, the emptiness, Durkheim's anomie, Weber's disenchantment and 'iron cage', Marx's alienation etc. is shown not to be necessary or the only way by Japan.

Taking due note of the dangers of Orientalization, sentimentality, wish-fulfillment, *nihonjinron* and all the other dangers, nevertheless I can now see that a large body of humans have retained a sort of paradise on earth. There are down-sides – stickiness, conformity and cruelty to minorities and outsiders. But it does give us a working alternative to consumer, individualistic, capitalism. It stretches the mind, gives us 'stereo vision' as Lowell puts it.

In order to do this I must try, like Alice, to take readers deep inside their other world, to make them unthink and unfeel their deepest assumptions and then bring them back to see whether their own world has changed. Certainly this 5 months has taken scales off my eyes. Beautiful summer days, Sarah, Lily and Rosa, Kenichi and Toshiko, the garden and many things have made it a wonderful period of further exploration.

A week in Oxford, then preparations for China and I shall do a little more. reading/gathering of materials from Japan. That will mean that when we return from China, hopefully with comments from Andrew Morgan and from the Berkeley trip, plus various additions from reading, in the 2 months between return and start of Lent term, I shall have time to do another version of the book – perhaps taking it to its longest extent (now 92,000 – perhaps up to 120,000) before I then begin to cut back again to 80,000 in the Spring. The longest version, which will have all the quotes in it, could be the one that goes on the website... So spend a month or so on that (as I also have to write lectures).

Then we go off to Berkeley/Stanford for a week, and then on our China tour. ...Ideally, however will re-do Japan up to about end Jan and then send to Mark [Turin], Toshiko and Kenichi. We will meet up in later March/April for further sessions. I shall then re-write/shorten etc. April-July or August and send off final version to Profile in autumn 2007 – before deadline. But we shall see.

16th September 2005

Looking back on a beautiful, but autumnly crisp day, over a busy summer, it seems to have been a very happy and productive period. Much of it has been suffused by the delight of further loving games and expeditions and imaginary worlds explored with Lily and Rosa – recently in relation to fairies. I am sure that this has indirectly fed into another great burst of pleasurable and surprising creativity.

It has combined with the stimulating and encouraging pleasure of having Kenichi and Toshiko over here to lay the foundations for a totally unexpected new book. Alongside the completion of a working 'Bamboo' (update to Muscat) database, and a lot of excellent indexing and sorting out by Sarah, it has made it a very rich summer – alongside the usual business of being Senior Examiner, supervising Ph.D.s, setting up the China project and other such things.

9th October 2005

Some reflections in Hong Kong airport after visit to U.S. to talk on Japan

After fourteen hours flight etc., a bit spaced out, but before the American memories fade out and as we move towards China, would be good to get down a few impressions.

Berkeley was far nicer than we expected – leafy and attractive campus, very friendly and intelligent faculty. The Ladies Faculty House had an Old Girtonian charm and we had many animated conversations, saw San Francisco and Stanford. Sarah's diary will cover all this so I shall just stick to comments about the Maruyama Lectures etc.

There were a set of excerpts from the introductory chapters, which I set up the 'Through the Looking Glass' thesis. This was given to Stanford. Then parts of 'Bounded but leaky', 'Tribal' and 'Conclusions' were incorporated into the Maruyama Lecture and Seminar. Though Stanford was least successful, on the whole the reaction was very positive. Both people's comments after the lectures, chats to people, and above all Sarah's reaction, suggest that the approach is intriguing and works. People were attentive and interested and the arguments seemed to hang together.

There were two main criticisms, which came up several times, and which will emerge when I see the transcript of the lectures (which were recorded).

The first was about *nihonjinron* (or the discourse on Japaneseness). Despite my caveats, as Jun warned, I will need to expand what I find good and bad about *nihonjinron*. What is good is that it treats Japan as a whole; it does reflect the extreme peculiarity of Japan; it gave the Japanese a sense of pride in themselves, confidence in the fact of American dominance; it gave them a sense of continuity and history. The down-side is nationalism, chauvinism, occasional unhealthy nostalgia.

The way to deal with the feelings of queasiness of some of the audience is to emphasize the diversity within Japan, that it does change hugely, that its origins are diverse, that its appearance is historical, accidental and not innate in any way. So break up the Japaneseness by time, space and topic, but do not lose its essential insight, namely that there is a 'Japaneseness' which is strange, other and worth preserving.

Related to this, whenever I suggested that Japan might act as a model for us, and particularly for China, it caused nervousness. Partly this is because it harked back to discussions of the 1930's (when the Japanese tried to impose their way on large parts of eastern and south-eastern Asia). Partly because it seems impossible to achieve. So I shall have to be very careful with such talk of examples, alternatives to western capitalism etc.

A third area of concern was that I stressed the positive side – the enchantment, meaning, absence of anomie etc – too much and did not give enough weight to the negative. Three negative features in particular were given. The fact that one million young Japanese spend

years locked up in their bedrooms and will not go out – a recent phenomenon. Secondly that many young Japanese are not marrying – it was implied because they were so depressed about the future (though this is a world phenomenon in fact). The third was the frustration of women at being treated as inferiors and not having the same job opportunities as men.

In fact in my talks I did stress the stickiness, the conformity, the upwards and downwards oppression. But I probably need to increase the emphasis on this side of things.

So as one expert said, he thought I was about three quarters right about Japan, and if I take these matters into account, I might get to four fifths – which, as far as I am concerned, is good enough. As Einstein says, ‘Better to be roughly right rather than precisely wrong’.

In general, it was a very good launch and I was given some useful references, like Bellah’s *Imagining Japan* and other things. No-one pointed to anything that completely undermined the theses, or any books or authors who had anticipated what I was arguing. Given the diversity and academic quality of the audiences, this is all helpful and optimistic.

[We returned from China on November 14th.]

26th November 2005

...I am gathering some final bits for the Japan book. The book is already about 100,000 words and odd to be collecting more - but probably will put in everything and then prune back. Need to keep pressure before I turn to China. It seems to be going well.

A few thoughts on the costs of enchantment

I write this to explain to readers that my interpretation of Japan is not unaffected by my wider personality and needs. Like many others, I am searching for solutions to the problems of living as an adult in an individualistic and capitalistic modern world. The danger of constructing a fantasy Japan which heals some of the wounds of what Max Weber calls the iron cage is always present. It is therefore worth stressing that the Japanese enchantment has its costs.

As in all accounts of entering magic lands, from Keats to Yeats and outwards tell us, there are huge advantages and delights in fairyland. As when we have a wonderful holiday, the anxieties, responsibilities, clashes of conscience, are often suspended. Yet after a while the holiday can become a burden, fairyland becomes prosaic, or claustrophobic, and we want to return to a more divided yet freer world. So it is with Japan.

An exploration within the magic mirror reveals many delights as this book shows. We find a world of great beauty, of optimism about human nature, of an absence of many of the divisions and separations which deaden life in modern societies. It is in some ways out of space and time, Utopian.

Yet there are also huge costs which we can see in the bi-products of Japanese civilization. There are the large number of young people who develop agoraphobia and refuse to leave their rooms or get work. There are the high suicide rates among young children who feel they cannot achieve the success that others expect of them. There is a widespread fear of the strange and unknown. There is an unwillingness to accept responsibility for past mistakes. There is sometimes an distrust of logic and rationality.

Women and certain almost invisible groups, such as the Burakumin, Ainu, Koreans and migrant workers, are often marginalized and treated as second class citizens. There is enormous pressure to conform to the wishes of those above, to the side, and below. The escape into violent and pornographic fantasies is quite widespread. There is a difficulty of

distinguishing reality from fiction. There is an unquestioning acceptance of power. There is sudden despair and self-hate.

In many ways I had hoped that Japan would show me a way out of my life's central problem – having to choose between becoming a divided adult with its responsibilities and indecisions, but also its rewards and freedom, or remaining in a Wordsworthian, child-like and meaningful world, but having to reject much of what I knew to be true and right. In a way Japan does show that it is possible to live both an enchanted and a highly efficient and 'modern' life. Yet there is no free lunch, or *bento* box. The devices of language, social structure, childrearing, categorical alterations which allow the Japanese to combine the apparently un-combinable come at a price. Enchantment is not for free.

We can wander in pursuit of apple blossom maidens (or youths), we can travel faery lands forlorn, we can merge with rocks and trees, but there is danger in this. This was, for example, Lafcadio Hearn's problem. On his first arrival, Japan healed many of the wounds of his fractured existence in Europe and America. It seemed like paradise. But gradually the magic receded and the costs became more apparent.

The Japanese solution appears to work for many Japanese, they gain all the benefits of an undivided world which outweigh the disadvantages. Yet for many outsiders who have tried to enter, after a while, like Alice, they begin to feel rejected and alienated. Japan is a wonderful thought experiment of what a perfect, non-alienated yet affluent world might be like. Sadly, for many, it suggests that Paradise, the Garden of Eden, is not inhabitable by mere mortals, only by the living gods themselves.

Email from Alan 27th November 2005

Dear Toshiko,

I hope you and all the family are very well, and that teaching and admin. are not exhausting you both too much. Sarah tells me that you were asking about our book. I hope to have a fairly full (and over-length) draft by the end of the year. Shall I send it to you then as attachments so you have two and a half months to read and annotate and, if you think it helpful, to send to other people? Then, we can discuss in March. I am currently incorporating some of the very useful comments you and Kenichi and the girls made over the summer. With very best wishes to you all, Alan

Email from Toshiko on 28th November 2005

Dear Alan,

Thanks. If your draft will be very different from the one we have already, it will be nice to read before you come. I am trying to read about the history of family and women in general and more broader context, so there will be a lot of things to talk together. We met prof. Watanabe in October. He said he was free to study this year. He wrote an article on Tocqueville comparing with Japanese situation. So we think it will be good for him to talk with you. Please take care and have a nice winter. best wishes, Toshiko

[I made one of my many plans of where I was and future thoughts on 2nd December 2005.]

(2.12.05)

JAPAN THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS

Alan Macfarlane

In collaboration with Kenichi and Toshiko Nakamura

(File names in brackets)

A world in a mirror

Into the Mirror
A Looking Glass World
Disturbed Reflections

	(invitation)	2800	} 8000	6500
	(confusion)	3100		
	(reflections)	2800 2000		
			1700	(-500)

Enchanted islands

Strange beauty
Artificial nature
Sacred sports
Innocent bodies
Visual eating
Urbane villagers

	(art)	2600	2500	} 13,900	(-300)
	(nature)	3000			
	(entertainment)	2800	2600		
	(body)	2400			
	(cooking)	1400			
	(city)	1700			

Human gods

Religion without God
Pointless pain
Empty Ancestors
Ethics without morality
Human religion

	(god)	2900	} 11,700	(-400)
	(suffering)	1500		
	(ritual)	2000		
	(morality)	1700		
	(religion)	3600		
		3200		

Fluid reason

Bounded infinity
Silent speech
Reason beyond Reason
Intimate formality
Pure disorder
Absolute relativity

	(categories)	3400	} 14,400	(-300)
	(language)	2400		
	(reason)	1600		
	(gestures)	1700		
	(purity)	2800		
	(relativity)	2300		
		2500		

Artificial communities

The lonely crowd
Unfamiliar families
Married strangers
Growing young
Fluid divisions
Joyful workers
Vertical equality

	(individualism)	3200	} 15,400	(-400)
	(families)	1600		
	(marriage)	2700		
	(age)	2400		
	(gender)	1800		
	(work)	2100		
	(equality)	1900		
		2000		
				+ 2000 = 17,800

Flexible rigidities

(communities)

Diffused power

Ordered anarchy
Mandarin warriors
Poetic peasants
Fierce calmness
Lawless legality
Curious criminality

(political) - 1800
~~2000~~
(bureaucracy) - 1400
(education) - 1300
(war) - 2500
(law) - 1400
(crime) - 2000
} 10,600 (-200)

Untold wealth

Plentiful scarcity
Factories without chimneys
Absent-minded technologists
Markets without competition
Capitalist communism
Life without birth
Ascetic affluence

(ecology) - 1100
(agriculture) - 1900
(technology) - 1500
(economy) - 1400
(property) - 1200
(population) - 1600
(material) - 1800
} 10,900

Central, substantive, path-
76,900

Out of the mirror

Bounded but leaky
Two visions
An enchanted world
Thinking the unthinkable
An alternative world

(bounded)
(visions) enchanted
(tribal) ^{tribal}
(understandable) ✓
(conclusion)

[currently c. 106,000 words - 2.12.05; 80,000 words due to publishers, Profile Press, 12/ 2006]

Un-Secularizing
~~the mirror~~ the mirror

Two reflections on the mirror

The Deep ~~note~~ note
Bounded but leaky
~~An enchanted world~~
Thinking the unthinkable

(visions) - 2500
(deep) - 1900
(leaky) - 2700
~~(understandable)~~
(understandable) - 2300
} 10,600 (-2300)
8,300

Out of the mirror

(An Enchanted World)
Parallel Lives

2200 } 3,500
4100 }
6,300
- 2800

- 4,400
so far

hus = c. 93,000 words = 7/14/05 TOTAL = c. 100,000 words!

4,400 so far
- 7000

Email to the Nakamuras 9th December 2005

Dear Toshiko and Kenichi,

I have decided to put 'Japan Through the Looking Glass' on one side for a while as I must write some lectures for next term etc. Anyway, it seems to have reached a resting point. There is more to read and possibly add/change, especially on philosophy and language, but I think it is in a state where it can be read by people and comments would be valuable. So I am sending what there is so far as a set of attachments.

The whole book is attached as one file, book_all_9Dec05. It is 970k in size, which is quite big. It contains 196 pages (in 11pt print, which is a little bit smaller than I have done the separate sections). It may be the easiest thing to send to anyone else who you think should read the whole thing, and for you to print out. I will not ask any of my other Japanese friends (e.g. Takeo, Airi, Osamu) to read it unless I hear from you that you think that would be a good idea.

I am also sending the eight separate sections as individual files since you may only want to print out parts, or to read some of it.

I realize that you will change it quite a bit for the Japanese version. So for the English version I just need any comments on things I should not have said, or things I have misunderstood etc. It also needs to be cut by about 15,000 words, so if you think of things I should leave out, let me know. But Sarah will help me on that and is very good at cutting. I hope you enjoy it.

10th December 2005

A lovely relaxing day - just what I need after a pretty strenuous burst on the Japanese book. But yesterday put final touches to the current version, which weighs in at 96,000 words - with about 200pp, 400+ footnotes, 8 sections, each with about 5 chapters. Feel I can send off to a few people to read and comment on and will get back to it halfway through next term perhaps when my main stint of lecturing is over. Feel it is a pretty good framework. An extraordinary business writing as at the start of the summer had no idea that the book on Japan would pour out on in such a strange and magical way. But feel it is one of my more interesting books. So, glad I did it and captured Japan now - probably soon the strange land within the mirror would have faded - "fled is that vision, do I wake or sleep?"

Email from Toshiko on 12th December 2005

Dear Alan, Thanks. I tried to print out your draft yesterday, and succeeded. Our winter holiday begins in the last week of December. and we will have time. So we will read them. We are focusing on the book with you very seriously, and we will be happy if you can come to Japan and stay for some weeks to discuss about it in March and April. It will be during the holiday for the new academic year, so we are rather free. I think Kenichi did have some arrangement to pay the cost of your stay. I will tell him to send e-mail about it if you think you have to buy tickets already. Please come! We have many things to discuss!

Best wishes, Toshiko

Email from Alan about 14th December 2005

Dear Toshiko,

Very glad you could print out the book. That is excellent. And delighted you would like us to come. Our term ends on 17th March, so we could fly over on 18th March or 19th, whatever suits. We have to be back for Lily's birthday on 7th April, so suggest we return 4th or 5th April. We don't need money in advance for the ticket, but if Kenichi can find any that could reimburse us for part or all of the tickets that would be great. No hurry about that. Best wishes to you all, Alan

[I heard that Kenichi had managed to raise money for our next visit and wrote again to Toshiko.]

Email from Alan about 15th December 2005

Dear Toshiko,

That is very good news - please thank Kenichi for his generous assistance, once again, and, of course, we are very happy to pay local costs - perhaps at the Mets! I have meetings until the end of the week March 18th. So, if it is possible to book a flight (Stansted is best, but I think it may only be possible from Heathrow) on Sunday March 19th. We talked about visiting Tokyo (to see your mother and talk to people there). We are happy to do that if you think it a good idea - whatever you think is best. Looking forward to further discussions. Warm wishes to all of you and for Christmas. Alan

Email from Kenichi 7th February 2006

Dear Alan,

It is a short reply just on the hotel booking. As it is easier to book at Mets than Aspen. If the weather-forecast changes, the snow starts to disappear in March, and you need not big boots in order to walk from our office to Mets, I would like to change the booking from Aspen to Mets.

On the dichotomy of the non-axial/axial, that of animism/monotheism and that of non-existence/existence of disenchantment, I get many related quotations such as Max Weber's Confucianism and Taoism. (Weber detected many 'animism' in Chinese "religions", and he also mentioned "the highly utilitarian tendency of Japanese religion" in another paper.)

But the most important one is as follows: In his long review of Robert Bellah's Tokugawa Religion, Maruyama says "Why the integrative process of Shintoism could not be one-way process from enchantment to disenchantment, and why even Buddhism an universalistic salvation religion, when Buddhism was Japanized, had to compromise widely with the enchant/magical elements? (While Bellah emphasizes the rationalizing aspect of Japanese religion, Maruyama says that Japanese modernization is both the process of disenchantment as well as enchantment.)

It is the central secret to be solved that the enchantment, both in top-elite and the bottom of Japanese mass, characterizes the rationalization/modernization of Japanese style and the enchantment promotes the process of the rationalization and modernization. If you have time, I would like to include both Weber and Maruyama. Yours, Kenichi

Visit to Japan in 2006

SAPPORO

20th March 2006

Arrived at Narita after a good flight having been upgraded to "super-economy" (larger seat and footrest). Airport seemed empty, unlike Heathrow, and wondered whether Japan was becoming isolated again. The domestic airport busier and more chaotic than I remember. Panicked a little when we learnt that, because of heavy snow, there was a chance we would not be able to land at Chitose and would go either to Hakodate or return to Tokyo. However, there was not a problem and the airport seemed pretty free from snow. Looks as though snow-clearing is done very efficiently, and Kenichi said that the council road workers are used as snow clearers in winter and repairers in summer. Met by Kenichi and Toshiko who brought us to the Sapporo Aspen Hotel. Had expected to stay at the Mets but Kenichi had heard bad things about it (prostitution etc.). This is much nearer the University so is easier for us with snow covering the pavements. Had a small meal and then slept, heavily at first but waking at 2am with only cat-napping afterwards.

21st March 2006

Did sleep until after 9am then had to hurry to get breakfast by 10am. We have a computer with internet link in our room so managed to do e-mails. Forgot to mention the one sad thing about our journey - Alan left his hat on the bus to Heathrow. He has sent messages to the bus company and Inge in the hope that it will be found and returned as he had begun to love it. This presented us with a further problem as it was snowing, so he wore my fur hat and I used my velvet scarf. Went by train to Kenichi and Toshiko's house in time for lunch. Talked with them about the book and Alan explained John Davey's idea that the book is actually in Alan's voice and that, if anything, their looking over his shoulder inhibits him. They agreed that there should be two different books, his and theirs, sharing some ideas but developing others independently to suit their own particular audience. Kenichi also implied that unless Alan changed certain things he would not want to put his name to it although he never explained which. They think that they should write a joint summary of the book, explaining where information has been found because Kenichi fears that Japanese readers will blame them for not schooling Alan properly. However he admitted it was very good for them to see through Alan's mirror but they need the model of a double mirror looking back from what Alan sees to their own interpretation. I feel that they lack self-confidence in the exercise as they spoke of trickling their ideas out slowly in a series of articles and responding to peer-criticism before finally producing a book. They also feel the need to work at trying to establish Alan as an accepted anthropologist of Japan probably to bolster their joint interpretations. Very few anthropologists are recognised here at all. Furthermore, they are not happy at the idea of Softbank publishing anything they are involved with as it sees books purely as a commodity. As academics they need the respect of their peers far more than money so will select the best academic publisher. Osamu Saito arrived mid-afternoon and we had a very pleasant time discussing ideas in the book from the perspective of an economic historian and demographer. He is a very gracious man. For our benefit all the conversation was in English which must be an added strain for them. Learnt that Nobuko's father had left his own father's papers to Hokkaido University as he had been one of the first student here, an honoured "ancestor". The link with Hokkaido also extends to the maternal side Nobuko's grandmother's father had been an officer serving in Hokkaido and her grandmother had lived here as a girl. Consequently there is a family graveyard north of Sapporo. It appeared that Japan settled places rather like the Chinese by sending soldiers with their families. Kenichi drove us back on very slippery roads cushioned at the side with high banks of snow. Osamu is staying at the Aspen too.

NOTES

Child-rearing. Alan had noted how a Japanese baby on the plane had emitted a high-pitched scream to attract its mother's attention and wondered if this was a particularly Japanese sound. Toshiko thought that it was a reflection of modern mothers who are not so attentive to their children as in her day. She would never have allowed her children to reach that stage. Then, children would walk in front and the mothers followed so that they could make sure the children didn't fall etc., now children walk behind their mothers and are expected to take care of themselves.

Life-time employment. Concept now coming back as the baby-boomers are reaching retirement and there is the beginning of a labour shortage so it is in the interest of businesses to hold onto good employees.

Continuity. Kenichi mentioned the argument in a book by Watanabe, using the accounts of early visitors to Japan that old Japan has completely disappeared which is contrary to Alan's perception.

Original settlement of Japan. Has multiple origins. The east and west of Japan are very different. Burakumin are only in the west. Dividing line is near Nagoya. Tokyo is east. East settlers may be predominantly from the north while western settlers from the south-west. Alan noted Hayami's line although Osamu's findings do not show such a distinct difference. Alan suggested they needed overlay maps to try to crystalize patterns.

Maruyama. Sadly, little translated. He starts with the Kojiki - myths written down in the 8th century to legitimize emperor but there is no reflection of Confucianism in the original myths so must date from before China's influence. Kenichi suggested the myths were shamanic, chanted by a female shaman although there is little evidence for this. K referred to an Empress-shaman (Kojo?) who commissioned the Nihongi, the Tenno - (Emperor) commissioned the Kojiki, each to justify own right to rule. Chinese emphasise heaven while Japanese emphasise the sun. Idea of *basso-ostinato* there from the first with "new music" ie. Confucianism, Buddhism coming in which is absorbed into the *basso-ostinato*. But the problem is whether the *basso-ostinato* changes it or is itself changed.

Divorce. Has always been easy. Although a man has to write a declaration of divorce, a woman can actually initiate it. Often happened where a man had been brought in as husband to a daughter-heiress. When her parents died she would divorce the man and usually marry again. No real evidence of how actively she would have sought a divorce or whether she was pushed to do so by relatives or a more attractive mate. Whichever it was, the heiress could maintain the 'ie'. Literary evidence suggests the most cruel thing to happen to a man is to be married to the daughter of a rich family as his situation was tenuous. Neither Toshiko, Kenichi nor Osamu were aware that divorce was very difficult in England until 1970. This is important as it may be the reason why English marriages are companionate and central and Japanese marriages appear flaky and peripheral.

Adoption and social mobility. Mechanism to allow a rich merchant's daughter to marry a Samurai was for another Samurai family to adopt her, she would become a Samurai by adoption and then could marry a Samurai. This overcame the Tokugawa prohibition on Samurai intermarrying with merchants etc.

Adoption. Now adoption is very rare as there is no need to preserve the family name. Toshiko feels that the very close relationship between parents and children in Japan makes adoption unattractive. You must feel the blood link. A description by Osamu of American neighbours who had already adopted two children then adopting a Japanese baby because she was cute amazed him and appalled Toshiko.

Koseki. Introduced by Meiji government. Before that there were population registers in temples. If one moved then a registration document was taken to a temple in the new area.

Manure In C17 cattle and horses were kept for manure and transport in the west especially. Neither were eaten, nor did they use the milk. They were not used for ploughing. Afforestation showed how the need for fodder exceeded the limited land which was mainly used for rice. Disappearance of animals has to do with loss of fodder.

Horse shoes Japanese horses were not shod with iron. We wondered if straw shoes were used although Osamu thought they could not be strong enough to last on all but the best roads.

Kojiki Toshiko talked about the Tenu Emperor legitimising himself through the Kojiki. His ritual purification meant that some people had to become "grey" to distinguish him as "white", and this could be the origin of Burakumin and other untouchables.

Religion Osamu said that the only time when religious belief had any meaning for the Japanese was during the Kamakura period. Then there was a distinct interest and concern about the after-life and other-world. It was a time of gloom preceded by years of harvest failure and famine. Is there something similar in Europe at about the same time with plague and famine and ideas of the end of the world? Toshiko mentioned a new edition of the Genji by a woman who later became a Buddhist nun. She suggested that monasteries and nunneries were seen only as places for retirement from the cares of the world at that time, not as places where you could prepare for an afterlife. She sees even the copying of sutras to be activities without real meaning.

Appearance of continuity Observation by Prof. T. Komori that English houses give an appearance from the outside of no change although the insides are modern, Japanese houses give the reverse.

Parallels between 'oya kabun' and businesses Osamu and Komori agree with Alan's observation that there is a similarity between the modern employment system and the 'oya kabun'. On retirement, an employee can take some stock from the main company and set up another which maintains a link though it is not the parent. Heads of big firms are insiders whereas in US and the West they tend to be new to the company.

Apprenticeship Osamu said in the Tokugawa period it was rare. Sons were trained at home. After the Tokugawa, with the introduction of machines, apprenticeship began and with it a labour market arose.

Adoption K. Yoshida said that in 1987 the adoption law was modified to bring it in line with the West, but very few adoptions.

Government involvement in business Osamu said that it is post 1940 when Unions were set up and there was more planning in the economy which was MITI led. This unlike the earlier role of the government which was very low-key.

NOTEBOOK

Agreement re. Co-authorship

Discussed with Kenichi and Toshiko the problem of authorship. We agreed:

- a. my English version would acknowledge their input in detail – what they had contributed – but would not have them as formal co-authors or collaborators (write a piece on and get approval).
- b. I can get my English version literally translated under my name, but choose a serious academic publisher for my reputation's sake – esp. Iwanami
- c. T and K would write a reciprocal Japanese version, in their name, but referring exactly to what they had learnt from me and exploring more the English side – and only concentrating on some aspects of the contrasts.

So this would be a two-way mirror, my mirror of Japan and their second mirror of England. So they would try to use the Amino, Maruyama and Macfarlane axes to help Japanese understand themselves and also other civilizations.



Testing an electronic relaxing chair in Toshiko and Kenichi's flat

22nd March 2006

Alan and Osamu presented papers at a small seminar convened in the University. Apart from us, Toshiko and Kenichi, there were 5-6 others including a professor of international law, T. Komori, professor of civil law, K. Yoshida and M. Matsuura whose discipline I did not catch. Those I have mentioned actually asked questions and in the order given above. Alan summarised the current structure of the book and explained his indebtedness to Kenichi and Toshiko for helping him to understand the complexities of Japan. I filmed Osamu's paper so will not summarize it here. Felt that the seriousness with which he treated Alan's work and the evident interest from the others suggests that they feel it is a worthwhile project. Got the impression that it is not usual for Japanese academics to try to think comparatively although these may well be exceptions. Had lunch in the faculty restaurant which looked very attractive with its plate glass windows looking out on virgin snow. I talked with Professor Yoshida about our impressions of China. He had been at Harvard and had come into contact with Tibet watchers there who had given him the impression of a suppressed people. I told him of our experience in Shangrila which gives a very different picture. Thinking too about borders in China and how the "barbarians" were a fluctuating border until the Europeans insisted on making a physical line of border posts. Furthermore, the "barbarian" border was porous so that the Chinese diaspora is on either side and penetrating through it. Very different from island Japan where the sea makes an absolute border and also inhibits diaspora

formation. Osamu left for Tokyo after lunch. We went to the office that has been assigned to us but did not stay long as our computers were at the hotel, also Alan needed a sleep. Found the restaurant recommended by Kenichi for supper - the 'Taj Mahal' - and had a very good meal. We spent part of the evening searching for a hat for Alan and eventually found something suitable and not too expensive. Amazed by how men's clothes have changed. Now young men dress like dandies in bright colours and fancy styles. Over half of the department store we went into is given to women's clothes so they are obviously the main market. Took some photos as illustration.



Osamu Saito, Kenichi and Alan



Seminar with Osamu Saito



SARAH'S NOTES

Appearance of continuity Observation by Prof. T. Komori that English houses give an appearance from the outside of no change although the insides are modern, Japanese houses give the reverse.

Parallels between 'oya kabun' and businesses Osamu and Komori agree with Alan's observation that there is a similarity between the modern employment system and the 'oya kabun'. On retirement, an employee can take some stock from the main company and set up another which maintains a link though it is not the parent. Heads of big firms are insiders whereas in US and the West they tend to be new to the company.

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Government involvement in business Osamu said that it is post 1940 when Unions were set up and there was more planning in the economy which was MITI led. This unlike the earlier role of the government which was very low-key.

23rd March 2006

Meeting with a lexicologist of Japanese, Anthony Backhouse. He was originally from Skipton but lived in Australia for over twenty years, and has been in Hokkaido some eight years. Alan read out his chapter on Japanese language and confirmed he was correct in most of it though his emphasis should change from what could be said in the language and what is said. I filmed nearly all of the conversation so won't try to summarise it further. We lunched with Kenichi and Alan asked what sort of timetable did he have for his version of the book and whether he and Toshiko would write jointly. He anticipates two years but he will publish up to three articles first to test the thesis. He would do so in 'Shiso', a serious monthly journal of the humanities, whose editor he admires. If the first article is satisfactorily received then he will go on to publish the book, if not he will test with other chapters. Iwanami is his preferred publisher. It is also a good distributor. It, with Heibonsha are the most prestigious academic publishers. Kodansha and Shogakan are nearer the mass market end but respectable. They would be right for Alan's version. He is unsure about writing with Toshiko.

He described his own ideas of the Japanese perception of "beauty" needing the appreciation of Europeans, firstly the French, of Japanese craft objects. He described this as the double mirror. This was boosted in Japan itself by Okakura and Fenollosa who tried to show the artistic value and beauty of Japanese crafts. He mentioned the errors of translation and understanding that equated kami with sublime in relation to the effect of the presence of kami in a beautiful object. In the early Meiji period the Japanese found they had nothing to trade but their crafts. When they industrialized they substituted craft work for cheap manufactured items. This gave rise to equating Japan with shoddy goods between the wars – aesthetically uninteresting. The body was prosaic not erotic. The first acclaimed painting of a nude was by a Japanese artist living in France and what was appreciated was the glow on the skin. So the prints that Emiko gave us which hang in our bathroom he would consider have no artistic merit. He also stressed that the Japanese did not find nude drawings interesting. Met Hilda and have arranged to have dinner with her and Anna tonight.

Had a very pleasant meeting with Hilda and Anna. They have succumbed to Anna's desire and now have a small dog, a dachshund, although it was Ken who was most persistent in the end and persuaded Hilda. Now she has been won over and finds it hard to leave it on its own for long. Sounds as though Japanese deal with the dog shit problem in the home. They have a dog "house" downstairs with both a sleeping compartment and a lavatory. A new slant on the words house-trained.



Antony Backhouse

NOTEBOOK

Kenichi described his own ideas of the Japanese perception of "beauty" needing the appreciation of Europeans, firstly the French, of Japanese craft objects. He described this as the double mirror. This was boosted in Japan itself by Okakura and Fenollosa who tried to show the artistic value and beauty of Japanese crafts. He mentioned the errors of translation and understanding that equated kami with sublime in relation to the effect of the presence of kami in a beautiful object. In the early Meiji period the Japanese found they had nothing to trade but their crafts. When they industrialized the substituted craft work for cheap manufactured items. This gave rise to equating Japan with shoddy goods between the wars. aesthetically interesting. The body was prosaic not erotic. The first acclaimed painting of a nude was by a Japanese artist living in France and what was appreciated was the glow on the skin. So the prints that Emiko gave us which hang in our bathroom he would consider have no artistic merit.

24th March 2006

Alan only slept spasmodically so feared he would feel dreadful but there was little evidence of a tired mind. We had two meetings today. The first was with a young associate professor, Tomoharu Yanagimachi, who was investigating second language proficiency and communications. He teaches Japanese to foreign students and has investigated and filmed one of them for a year. She is a Chinese scientist. Found that his interests were narrowed to specific behaviour and he was not interested in looking at the wider reasons for responses. I filmed the conversation as he spoke good English, having spent nine years in the U.S., and despite his narrowness of focus we did manage to tease out some interesting ideas. Kenichi thought Alan had been rather harsh on him in trying to make him expand his vision. Maybe it was because Kenichi could sense his nervousness and felt protective. Also he had arranged this dual. I have said I shall send him an MP4 of the conversation which seemed to please him. He did show us a bit of film he had taken of his Chinese subject although it was a little

difficult to see a point that it was supposed to be illustrating, namely the demonstration of rolling out cling-film. Sandwich lunch with Toshiko in our room.

Naomi Akaebashi, the secretary we had long conversations with in 2003, and with whom I had been in contact by e-mail came and gave us presents of tea and tea-ceremony sweets. She said she has just married and will be leaving Sapporo for her husband's home at Shizunai, a place famed for horses and cherry blossom, in April. She wants to have children. I remember that our conversation in 2003 was just about her fear of not finding a man. Interesting that although I had responded warmly to her e-mail with memories of our meeting she did not respond in kind but was entirely formal. Similarly, it was she that gave us envelopes of money on Wednesday without a flicker of recognition. So she exhibited a formal persona in her e-mail and at the seminar and could only relax today.

After our sandwiches we had a meeting with a professor of the Muramachi period, E. Sakurai. He has written on bell founders and money. He did speak a little English but preferred to communicate through Kenichi. I did not film this session although it was intensely interesting. One felt that he was a deep thinker and his ideas and observations were illuminating.

After that session we went to our room and Toshiko gave Alan her general impressions of the book. Seems that they found the thesis startling at first but as they thought about it more deeply they realized that Alan had captured something of the essence of who they were. Very consoling and gratifying for him. Toshiko wants more of Alan's voice so that all but the contemporary observations in Japan by foreigners which he uses as an historical source, can be summarized.

ALAN'S NOTES

Conversation with Toshiko

Japanese society remained very similar over the whole period from Muramachi up to 1960's and then great changes, but now seems to be reverting.

Comfort women - just for comfort. An extension of the geisha/floating world concepts of Japan. "We are very tolerant of sex - men need women - concubines, etc. so wives quite tolerant about this." (NB. not to be muddled with rape which was seen as retribution).

Divorce and the fragility of marriage - Toshiko was not aware of the weak legal state of marriage in Japan compared to England due to ease of divorce by men. She was not sure if women could legally initiate divorce proceedings.

Toshiko had thought and been taught that the Meiji Civil Code was very patriarchal, but when she examined it she found that it was not so patriarchal. She is beginning to realize that Fukazawa's writings on women are not reflecting the post-Meiji Civil Code but seem to reflect the more egalitarian world of the late Tokugawa period.

Toshiko is coming to realize that law and practice are very different in Japan.

We talked about impression of androgyny, both male and female, in Japan on the basis of the clothes that young people are wearing. Toshiko agreed. She thought this had always been the case until 1970's when increasing wealth and a Western approach to women, encouraged by the Americans after the war, confined women to the home and separated them from men. Since the economic downturn they have gradually reverted to the old way so there is a good deal more similarity between men and women. Toshiko said that before the 1970's women had always worked but, similar to Saito's observation on the invisibility of apprentices because fathers trained sons at home, the wives too were working alongside their husbands.

Comments on draft of Japan by Toshiko

Toshiko explained that the reason why she and Kenichi were taking my book so very seriously (and, implicitly, going to so much trouble) was that my insight that Japan is still a 'tribal' society has surprised them greatly – but helped them to understand themselves. It is an important insight. She would like me to explore this idea of tribalism further and to strengthen that argument [which I shall be able to do if I re-write with more explicit joins and argument].

The surprise comes from "the fact that we (Japanese) think we are very modern and very like western peoples, and do the same as them – whereas, in reality, we really are tribal peoples".

So my saying this is both very strange, but they believe I am right about it.

Toshiko believes that the anthropological point of view "is very usual and we think it is rather westernized as an approach". But if I see Japan as a tribal society, that is important. My own words and description are the important thing – more by me is needed – showing that Japan is not a modern world.

If my observation is that Japan is strange and non-modern, it accords well with representations of Japan in the Edo/Meiji observers and suggests that the Japanese have not changed a lot in their behaviour. "This is again very surprising for us, because we are told that the Meiji saw the revolutionary change from the feudal to the modern. This was what made Japan successful". But I show that the Japanese behaved in the same way. Why is this so? My argument is "very persuasive for us. Many think that Japanese people changed absolutely to the modern and westernized". T thinks that the most important period is the end of Edo through to the Meiji.

Some suggestions for improvement:

1. be very careful of using random evidence from different periods far apart. Perhaps stick to late Muromachi (1550's) up to the present
2. She wants my observations and far fewer quotations. [I suggested that I should keep the historically useful quotes, e.g. Bird, Fukuzawa etc. which are evidence, while leaving out almost all recent (post 2ndWW) quotes by anthropologists and historians which I would paraphrase.]

In general she said "We didn't understand ourselves until we read your book. And then we re-read Maruyama and Amino. We hadn't really understood them before. We look at ourselves differently because of your book and we can see Maruyama and Amino more clearly."

This is why they want to write their book after mine is finished.

SARAH'S NOTES

Conversation with Professor E. Sakurai

He said Japanese accrete and don't throw away [cf Japanese language]. They still use the same terms in finance for bonds and equities. They have the ability to create new words but prefer to imbue old words with new meanings while retaining the old meaning at the same time. This is in complete contrast to China which changes continually (does it?). Why does Japan preserve things? Because there has been no internal revolution and because destruction of things is regarded as very inefficient.

The Samurai did not destroy the Emperor because their justification for their existence was the same as his - the mythologies of Kojiki and Nihonji. To destroy the Emperor would destroy that mythology. Seems that McArthur was also aware of this bond in his treatment of the Emperor.

Continuity and relevance is shown very nicely in the fact that Jomon-style earthenware continued to be made alongside new porcelain. Possibly the only country in the world where an earthenware tea-bowl of crude construction can be as valuable as the finest porcelain.

Preservation is not always intentional. Japan imported Chinese coinage until C11 and just continued to use it.

Japan centralizes in times of threat from the outside - Heien, Tokugawa, Meiji, Showa - then relaxes back when the threat subsides.

Samurai appeared not because of external threat. They were economically independent due to gifts of land. Controversy whether Japanese feudalism is the same as European, but Samurai are very like English knights.

Was the Kamakura period the only time when there was a common belief in heaven? Certainly a period of millenarian belief as shown in religious writings of the time. However, suggested that "end of the worldism" was common turn of phrase, probably without much meaning. By Muramachi period Buddhism and Shintoism have already mixed. 'Amida' - heaven. Buddhist idea of heaven very like Christian - clouds, music etc. cf. Uji. Appeared in C11 and originated with the Jodo sect. (NB. This

idea cannot be so pervasive as it does not reflect in Japanese literature as it does in English, a point made by Kenichi in the past).

1270 Japanese taxes changed from rice to coin - influenced by Sung China and Yuan who used coin. Coin importation from China promoted tax in coin which led to production of goods for sale to make money to pay taxes. Prices then set by supply and demand. Labour market was not influenced by commodity prices - quite distinct. Eg. cost of lodging on the Tokaido remained the same from C14-16 while the price of rice fluctuates. Carpenters, for instance worked from sunrise to sunset throughout the year but were paid the same amount per day, winter and summer. The demand for labour was high in summer and low in winter and the price of materials was high in summer and low in winter, so there is evidence of social factors triumphing over market factors. In ancient Japan, workers had been paid differently in spring, summer and winter copying the Chinese model, but, although this was written down and so coded he is not sure whether this was so in practice. (NB. Supports the idea of a dual economy - social factors and market factors). On the inflexibility of the price of labour, working for an employer is seen as a gift and the wages are the return of the gift (NB. a reciprocal relationship). The Japanese word for salary is *roku* which means gift. A labourer's wage translates as "money for liquor". In the Edo period (or Edo, as a reason given was fires?) commodity prices did begin to influence labour prices. Even today labour is thought of as a gift. (NB. fits with the life-time employment model although he thought this model was linked to the idea of the 'ie', the importance of the continuity of the business. Can't both be true?).

25th March 2006

We worked in our hotel room until 12.30 as our first appointment was at 1pm with a professor of social psychology, Toshio Yamagishi. We waited for him and chatted with Kenichi. He has become convinced that non-Japanese are greatly disadvantaged because the corpus of important works by Fukuzawa, Maruyama, Yanagita and Amino are not translated. Anyone trying to understand Japan without being able to read Japanese is in danger of reinventing the wheel, as Alan might have done without Toshiko and Kenichi. Kenichi has been working on a draft on 'beauty' but has found his reference group is completely different from Alan's, hence the wisdom of doing two distinct versions. He finds small signs of religion of the axial type in Japan, but it is different from the West. Eisenstadt explains axiality but not non-axiality. Maruyama's idea of 'basso ostinato' eroding any upsurge in axiality but also changes itself. The Edo Shogunate suppressed all religions. Maruyama understood axiality from Weber but coined another word as it didn't fit the Japanese case. At the end of his life he was pessimistic that 'basso ostinato' would survive. His work (in 4 volumes) on it were published 1974-5 but had been in his mind since 1949.

I filmed most of Professor Yamagishi's conversation. One of his research themes is trust. He talked about 'kabu nakama', the guild-type organisations set up to facilitate trade by exercising draconian measures, such as permanent exclusion, for members who contravene agreed regulations. The Yakusa is an extreme example of how this worked. All this was necessary because both state and law was weak. We added a further thought that in the West, Christianity has given us a conscience and all-seeing God to whom we have to answer if we do wrong. He made a final rather intriguing suggestion that there would be an upswing in the birthrate. He said children were either needed for labour or emotion, cattle or pet. In the past the former had been the case but is no longer so, and they have yet to move to the latter, but he thinks this will happen. He is a self-confident man who can think beyond his brief, unlike the younger man we met yesterday. He was in the U.S. for some time and when he took this job he appointed someone in a very un-Japanese manner, an outsider with no apparent connections. Within Japan, most appointments are done by assessing the contacts of the applicant. References are usually ignored but a good "patron" is most important. There is a mechanism for keeping out the truly rotten as the "patron" would lose his reputation too if his "client" failed to come up to expectation. Thus "patrons" are very cautious about recommending anyone.

Toshiko joined us near the end of our meeting and accompanied us to our next meeting with Professor Shing-Jen Chen, an expert in child development whom we had met in 2003. Surprised Alan by telling him that he will be using 'Letters to Lily' to teach students how to write English. He also gets them to listen to Alan's taped chapters. Apparently the English paragraph differs from the Japanese in its three sections: beginning, middle,

end, and the Japanese, which has four: beginning, proceeding, transposing, end. The University started issuing a book guide for students two months ago and he has put 'Letters' on it. Interestingly, he did not know that it had been translated into Japanese. I taped most of the very interesting conversation so will not describe it here, but the tape ran out before we had finished. Alan said that he felt that Japanese still believed in a cosmology that is different from ours. He gave an example of Mead's book on the Manus Islands about how people there enter an enchanted world as they grow up unlike us who start with enchantment and lose it in childhood. Chen does think Japan is still enchanted. He instanced the news readers homily when describing that someone has died: We pray that he/she will have happiness in the other world.

Had dinner with Toshiko and Kenichi. He suggested that there is a difference between Axial and axial that should be addressed. I think it has to do with his feeling that there was some axiality in Japan but not Axiality in Eisenstadt's sense. During the Kamakura, five Buddhist sects flourished ranging from difficult to easy ways of reaching heaven. In the easiest, Shinden, everyone is a Buddha. On the subject of androgyny, a further instance is given in a story by Saikaku of 'maiko' who dress as men so that they can entertain monks. Only men could enter the monastery so they become "men". They did think that earthquakes and pessimism about the end of the world are linked, so are very much of this world. This was not such a likely scenario for the areas of monotheistic religions.



Toshio Yamagishi



Shing-Jen Chen

NOTES

Conversation with Kenichi

Axial idea spread through Jodo sect from C11. Shingan sect has some transcendentalism in it - millenarianism. Maruyama saw that in the late C13 *basso ostinato* (ancient animism) might have absorbed some axiality through Godaigo. He was the danger point. He mobilized against the Samurai using labourers, prostitutes - odd people. He believed he was a shaman and tried to destroy the Shogunate through spells - believed in the power of sex (NB. how would this work?) - elephant headed humans (NB relevance?). He was the last shaman-emperor. With his defeat, which ended the Kamakura period, the imperial system was divided into two and the Samurai were in the ascendant

26th March 2006

Ai failed to get a flight. Students can get cheap flights but only as standby passengers. In some ways this was to our advantage as we were able to have the longest, perhaps most insightful, day of discussion that we have yet had. Started by questioning them on their thoughts on the long-Term future of the planet. Surprised to find that Kenichi is sceptical about the significance of global warming. He concedes it is a factor, but that natural forces beyond man's control are much more likely to be producing the signs we are witnessing. He did admit that his was a minority view in Japan. He is cynical because anything to do with environmental protection has become the way of accessing money. Both said they must remain optimistic as they live all the time with the threat of disaster. Japan would try a coping strategy while the West would try to attack and change. Either approach will be likely to fail in the end if the worst scenario is realized. On the other hand, the Japanese Government through MITI has been involved in trying to find alternative to fossil fuel and has been ahead of the West in producing cars with dual fuel sources. Japan's strategy is to keep all possible sources of energy at the same time whereas Sweden, for example, has ditched its nuclear power stations. Toshiko talked

about the idea of salaries and wages being seen as gifts and we all discussed the meaning of money in Japan (see Alan's notes).

Kenichi then talked about the book. He feels that Alan should omit reference to Maruyama's idea of 'basso ostinato' and write on his own observations, as an anthropologist rather than an historian, because he cannot possibly know either the literature or the arguments that are current in Japan. He fears that if Alan mentions Maruyama as a source he will be criticized. However, he should use the observations of Westerners to support his thesis. Kenichi has written his own chapters on beauty and the body and he carefully went through both. I filmed this so won't comment further here (see Alan's notes). It was a very stimulating discussion for all of us.

We now know each other well enough to say anything without having to consider whether it is polite to do so. Thus Alan could probe the matter of extreme and violent sexual images in manga and how they fit into the Japanese psyche. I think he has been persuaded to rethink his chapter on Japanese art which all of us feel is weak at present.

ALAN'S NOTES

Conversation with Toshiko

Wages as a gift Payment for goods and humans is totally different in Japanese thought so salaries and wages thought of as a gift. Fees for school fees in Edo was not an obligatory but a voluntary payment - schoolmaster could not ask for payment and would never send a bill, neither was there a legal right to payment as such. Fees were not set but parents would talk among themselves to get an idea of the general rate. Schoolmaster would often accept varying amounts depending on the parents' wealth or poverty. It would have been considered very impolite to ask how much to pay. When the library was set up at Keio the fee was very small and remained so. There are still a lot of "voluntary" fees. Toshiko's sister-in-law teaches piano but finds it nearly impossible to ask for payment and relies on the parents of her students to do the honourable thing. Often money is paid but also presents given at certain times of year which underlines the sentiment of "gift". Thus, fee payment is part of a social relationship not transactional. Labour contracts in Japan = gifts = exchange in disguise - money should not be paid directly and explicitly. Money for labour should be "wrapped" in gifts. Early money used for ritual purposes, not as means of exchange, so magical - (restricted spheres of exchange in Japan, not into human relations).

Giri and contract Toshiko stated that giri was not a contract - "we have no contract between human beings". Japanese have idea of contracts with things but not with people - "we cannot contract ourselves out". There are agreements which describe the conditions of the relationship, and authorize it, but there are not contracts as such. As no contracts between people just matters of fact, there is no shift from status to contract in Maine's sense. Relations are recognized - "contracts" are expressive, not instrumental. "We may look like a modern contract society, but we reluctantly register marriages, property etc. We don't care about registration". Even today they are no contracts. "We think we are modern and have contracts, but in fact not contractual. When we buy or borrow things, the human relationship is more important - it is beyond contract, too important for contract". Divorces are usually arranged between a couple, possibly with the help of friends but lawyers are only used as a last resort. "We Japanese have never understood contract". Things and people very different - contract with things, status with people - de-axialization. Money they destroyed by relationality. Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft both continuous.

Conversation with Kenichi

Money (Amino's theory) Magical coins - 5-yen coin = 'goen' - same sound as "relations" - so "good relations" to the gods. Before 1270 only Chinese coins of this value imported. Money

restricted for things not people. Coins have particular magical power because they cut off relations - so tendency to bury coins. National network along the coast of special places, in shrines or temples, where money-lender monks were found. Temples turned into banks rather like with Jews. Money is related to religion and controlled by priests etc. Heizen Temple main money lender for Kyoto people - pseudo-monks. 1270 lots of money imported which weakened the monk money lenders (Sakurai's point). These monks become outcasts, like Jews. Yanagita's "silent trade" - mountain people and valley people exchange.

Craftsmen and other occupations There was a network of craftsmen to C14. Each Daimyo would invite them to market goods in their cities. Amino found a coastal city with poor agriculture that 40% of so-called farmers were fishermen, craftsmen, traders etc. and that the city was rich through trade. He found this elsewhere too. Money and the trade network active. Emperor had special relationships with certain traders or craftsmen who sent their best work to the Emperor or to temples who in turn sponsored and protected them - low tax etc. - starts from C7 onwards - Toji document is the oldest source of evidence for this. Through relations with the Emperor there was a kind of guild-like structures throughout Japan. Sakurai challenges the centralized theory of Amino and thinks it much more fragmented. Guilds still religious-related - the free-lance bell-founders, for instance, emulate the patterns of the authentic (guild-member) bell-founders.

Maruyama and 'basso ostinato' This theory is very well known in Japan but the idea still controversial. The article on basso ostinato probably the most attractive "magical" product as it is digging up the most secret element of Japanese history. Maruyama showed a kind of fatalistic despair in it. "It opens up a magical coffin of Japan." Alan warned not to step on the tail of this dragon but stick to his own findings. Maruyama's idea of a musical score - different instruments - crazy about Wagner.

Axiality Non-axiality explains 25% of Japan - non-binary characteristic - need to explain the other 75%. Political power superior to religious power - positive side. Maruyama ignored Axial/Non-Axial though he knew of Weber's argument. Followed Weber in developing idea of 'basso ostinato'

Cherry blossom Cherry blossom watching was invented in the Meiji period. The particular cherry tree seen in cities is from a single clone. Earlier, in the Edo period there was a great boom in the cultivation of trees and plants, bonsei, gold-fish etc. for rich merchants. Kenichi described it now as a drunken community-building exercise - togetherness is everything. If you don't drink it is hell! (He hates it).

Beliefs and kami Motoori Norinaga - originator of Shintoism - saw in it something of the sublime. Japan has the idea of sublime but not the deity. Norinaga's definition of kami - man, bird or nature, sea, mountain or anything very unusual and extraordinary and makes your hair stand on end. So both good but also bad, strange or exceptional. cf. Soseki 'I am a Cat'. Essential point is that it is something beyond imagination. Kami are not gods. Their strange "heaven" is here, there and everywhere. Apparent when something moves you or you feel a touch of the sublime.

Kabuki and enchantment Danjuro, a kabuki actor of Edo, played a Buddha role and audience thought of him as a living Buddha - wore magical colour (brown) which is worn by burakumin to keep evil things at bay. "Our idea of god is very light".

Enge charm An 'enge' is a little charm sold in temples. It is a small bag which contains a 5-yen coin. "Our attitude to religion is in charms - not important, but it is good for us. Chance most widely accepted cause in Confucius's teachings - many charms - even Kenichi feels need of charms in relation to events - "Some things are beyond my control. I cannot protect my family by myself. I need some strength from the science of chance" - Persimmon have special powers.

Judgement by ordeal Early Tokugawa disputes between villages settled by hot water/iron ordeal. But although one village might win the other does not accept the judgement of god.
Ghettos Japan is a "ghetto" society with special areas for the outcasts of society, the actors, prostitutes, burakumin etc.

Giri In Chinese, two characters = justice, reason, but de-axialized when the word comes to Japan where it is contextual and relational and does not refer to universal reason or justice but the obligations between persons.

27th March 2006

Free day. Went into the department at 11am, met Naomi in the student shop where we had gone to get sandwiches and realized we had forgotten to bring the wedding present. Arranged to have lunch with her in our room. Was then able to question her on her marriage. She is 36 and husband 44. A mutual friend introduced them. Naomi said that there has been a huge increase in dating agencies in last 3-4 years as young people are getting busier so don't have chances to meet potential mates. Marriage arranging was termed 'omei' but there is no specific name for the new model. Since last year the government are keen to encourage these agencies so are introducing quality assurance to promote the best. There is a sliding scale from nothing to 400,000Y or more for a near guaranteed match. Because of the internet there is a huge pool of potential partners. From our 2003 discussion learnt that she was very keen to keep her own surname, but has changed her mind since as she realized she was never likely to find a man who would agree. Her compromise is to use her own name with friends and family who knew her before marriage and use her husband's name for new acquaintances.

For all official documents, such as 'koseki' and passport, she has to use her husband's name. She could keep her own for a bank account, but then it becomes difficult to prove identity. Her husband built his house nine years ago and it is large by Japanese standards. She would like 2-3 children, doesn't mind what sex as long as they are healthy. She does not intend to get a job. "Paid work is not the only thing", which I thought to mean that she'd become a good housewife. However, she intends to spend her time on hobbies such as bird-watching, calligraphy, painting, and horse-riding which is free for people who live in Shizunai. Another thing she intends to do is to start a blog in May or June. Apparently it will take about a month to register a blog, also it is the cherry-viewing season and they expect family visits. She will also buy a digital camera. She told us the history of the cherry-tree lined road which ran for 8-9km from Shizunai to a guest house, built by the people of Shizunai for the visit of a prince in 1936. The road runs through a huge farm, originally established in Meiji/Taisho for raising war horses. They brought the cherry trees from the mountains over a period of three years. The house is empty and is only open during cherry-blossom time.

Naomi is interested in learning about Shizunai. It was an Ainu settlement and there are still Ainu there, but they tend to be unemployed and given to drink. They no longer follow traditional customs. Learnt that a dam has been built at Nibutani so that the place we saw is probably under water. However, it is still a centre for traditional pursuits. Her husband is a civil engineer, now working as a property manager for local government but he also is responsible for maps. Shizunai was settled by people from Tokoshima Island at the beginning of Meiji. They were, in fact, exiled as rebel fighters but the government chose to call them pioneers. They were sent to farm but were possibly fishermen who certainly would have had little idea of Hokkaido farming. Naomi will send me her e-mail address when she gets one so that I may be able to keep in touch with her.

We went with Toshiko and Kenichi to a marvellous exhibition of ukiyo-e at the Seibu department store. Most of the prints were by Hokusai and Hiroshige, and many were on the Tokaido. There were also six paintings by Hokusai which were mounted on silk like calligraphy. They were rare examples, so very good to see them. The collection was made by an industrialist who bought the core from a Westerner returning home. Subaru was arriving for an interview that evening with a newspaper, so we went to the Indian restaurant again.

ALAN'S NOTES

Conversation with Kenichi

Names and identity According to Amino there are four categories of given names in Japan.

1. Childhood name - affectionate, diminutive. Many boys had names like 'maru' meaning round, pretty things
2. Name used by others - eg. Ichiro = first son, a term of address or father's name
3. Real name, carefully given by father. Tradition after C9 that boys given name with two kanji characters, which echoed their grandfather's name. In western Japan this was bilateral, in east, patrilateral. Before that time they were called after insects, food, plants. Real name was not often used except officially for registration
4. The name given when you reach adulthood and can choose your own name. This will usually aim at appearing humble and traditional

NOTEBOOK

My old model of Japan was that it was like an archaeological dig – layer after layer of civilization, each covering the previous one. In fact, this is misleading. The Japanese accrete. They do not forget or lose the old, eg. they do not give up pottery when they get porcelain. It's like media – TV and the internet added to the photograph and the book, they continue side by side. It is like Maruyama's musical chord, so that each time a new set of notes from China or the West is added, the chords are changed, yet the old levels are retained.

So the bass note is Shinto, which is then modified by Chinese and then western levels, but nothing is lost. Or, in terms of an orchestra, it starts with one instrument, then another is added and so on – and the resulting chords incorporate them all. So it is equally true that the new world is both a continuation of the old, but also something new – which deals with Arnason's major point about the Heian period.

England is something like this, though less heavily invaded by other cultures, or more continuous. But most cultures drop the lower notes and start all over again. Thus Japan is both continuous and new at the same time.

I had originally thought mainly of the religious non-Axiality of Japan, the natural and supernatural oppositions. But it applies equally to class, gender (androgyny), age (childish innocence, see Prof. Chen), and politics (Maruyama, continuous and simultaneous upwards and downwards oppression) and economics in relation to labour relations (though not production) and to the body/mind distinctions and to logic (absence of binaries).

So the lack of absolute divisions, the relativity and contextuality, is the core uniting feature of almost all of Japan – and even art, where symbolism breaks down the divisions and the representations and the thing represented are drawn together. This lack of divisions would be a good way to link the sections of the book, and a good way to explore axiality.

Preliminary chapter on Axiality.

Perhaps at the end of the first section I should put the hunch/guess of non-Axiality. Having shown at the start that gazing from outside the mirror at the strange things in the mirror I could make no sense of it all, I should start the book by looking at:

- Maruyama and Fukuzawa (and Amino?), two or three visions of Japan, which leads one to question and provides a guide for the adventure.

- The discovery of Axiality and what the thesis is. This would basically come from the chapter at the end of the current religion section, plus some materials from the end chapters, plus Bellah's recent work.

I might also put in some of my unexamined theoretical sociological framework of necessary stages, that Japan is very modern etc., which does not work. Instead, if we look at Japan as non-Axial, as a working hypothesis, what do we find? Try this as the guide as we enter the mirror and then see how it helps to make sense of the previously non-sensical.

So this section would in a sense be setting up the tools to help as we go into the mirror, a sort of hunch or hypothesis.

Then each chapter would be an exploration of the hunch. The Axial thesis would be the 'Guessing', the sections would be the demonstrating.

So the question would be, which better, the conventional, universalistic, modernization thesis from general sociology, or the non-Axial, special world thesis from Jaspers to Bellah? The clues would come early and then one would explore the proofs. And end with the (historical) reasons why and how...



The old building at Hokkaido University



Alan looking at the Japanese edition of 'Letters to Lily' in a book store

28th March 2006

Meeting with a young Confucian scholar, Jin Makabe. I started to film the conversation but he reverted quickly to Japanese using Kenichi as translator so most of it is in note form. He is in the line of Maruyama but is very critical of 'basso ostinato' seeing instead that only the Emperor system remains and that all the other influences have changed Japan completely. He wondered whether what remains is rare when compared to other societies. Alan said he thought it was and tried to convince him that the very idea of the Emperor as a god changed the way in which Japanese society behaved whereas Western societies have rulers under God and are answerable to Him. Makabe said that many Japanese Confucian scholars believed in the Chinese model of Confucianism during the Edo period so were Axial. Alan then talked about the variety of sects and beliefs which meant that none was dominant so central core beliefs were unchanged. Got strong impression that young scholars, the heirs to Maruyama, are embarrassed, as he was, by his findings, so are battling hard to discredit the idea of 'basso ostinato'. They are trying to fit Japan completely into the Western model, perhaps because there is a strong dislike in Japan to stand out as different (peg metaphor), but perhaps it is too near the bone, too soon after a disastrous war, for them to feel comfortable with it. Hence Kenichi's comment on Sunday that Alan risks opening the coffin.

After Makabe had left we continued talking with Kenichi and he laid out the hierarchy of scholars that Alan must be aware of.

Had lunch with Toshiko, Kenichi and Subaru. She has become quite refined and self-assured. However, we had little time to talk with her as immediately we went into our normal pattern of communication which is very intense and absorbing. Hope we will be able to see her in Tokyo.

Had mentioned our conversation with Naomi about dating agencies to Kenichi on the way to the restaurant. He confirmed this new strategy and described a programme shown on NHK where other strategies were looked at. Many farming villages have men without wives who cannot attract women. Some enterprising villages have started package tours for girls from cities to visit and see what a farmer's wife's life would be like. In the best

case she would get to know a young farmer and they would marry. The programme showed successful villages and those which were not able to attract anyone. They will be watching over the next five years to see what the long-term effects might be. In the 1970's marriages were often arranged through the company. Toshiko reiterated the role of match-maker as performed by her mother, to bring two parties together who she thought were well matched. I did wonder whether Subaru would use such an agency but I didn't like to ask. She was returning directly to Tokyo.

Talked about Kenichi needing to have 100% understanding before he writes whereas I can write with 70%. We are always going towards compromise. Asked why they had "adopted" us. Said they wanted us to understand them. We were like children who needed to be trained but we were interested in the Japanese. However, it was a risk for them. I had told Toshiko of my feelings when Naomi told me she would not get a job but she agreed with Naomi that this situation was the best that a woman could have. She would be the family banker so had complete control over her husband's salary. He would probably not even know what he earned. Furthermore, a house-wife is thought of as a house-manager in Japan, so a much more important role than we think of it. Remembered the present for Naomi and gave it to her after lunch. Confirmed that she married for love. Bought yet more film on our way back as it is such a good way of recording conversations. Alan had to write a letter of thanks to the President of the law faculty so he got paper and envelope at the hotel reception desk. He also had postcards to send. I presented all these and found that the letter to Hokkaido University cost 80Y while a postcard cost 70Y. It is the envelope that makes the difference. Amused when we got back after supper to have three receptionists rush up apologising profusely for having charged too much for the stamps. They returned 60Y (about 25p) to us.



Conversation with Jin Makabe (Alan's notes)

Criticism of Maruyama's 'basso ostinato' Had an obsession with Norinaga (mid-Edo). Norinaga was trying to kick out the Chinese element in Japanese thinking, to purify Japanese culture. Maruyama wrote two articles on the *basso ostinato* of historical consciousness and political structure, also a draft on ethics which was never finished as he found it too difficult. Trouble is that if you kick out the Chinese elements, bits of Buddhism, Confucianism etc., then only Japaneseness remains. Makabe thinks there is not such thing as Japaneseness from the start - no DNA. Two dimensions to failure of ethics part - the most difficult part and also politically dangerous as it could make Japanese culture more authoritarian. Had a most honest/transparent attitude - he lectured on this and noticed that he was becoming of kami status - (opening coffins) - a magi element. If you can define the essence of the ethical system it is the end of history for Japan., *basso ostinato* makes it too heavy.

Maruyama debate still continues. He was thought of as a democratic liberal and a modernizer, whereas *basso ostinato* thought of as a conservative model. So scholars have strong reservations. Maruyama tried to explain *basso ostinato* as a defence mechanism or modifier of axial impacts. In 1984 Kenichi thought there was no continuous *basso ostinato* through Japanese history, but changed his mind. "We may be changed. A mechanism for absorbing" - (cf. "The changing same"). From 1964-67 Maruyama's lectures were presented and published. Two important messages - *basso ostinato* also Kamakura Buddhism, Christianity, Bushido - double attack theory - need to pick up both strands.

Maruyama's understanding of Weber Among Japanese intellectuals, idealization/mystification in relation to Weber. Idea that we are lacking Protestant individualism etc. A misunderstanding of the myth of Protestant individualism etc. - whereas Calvin = authoritarianism/fundamentalism. A mistake by Maruyama - too much Weber. Toward the end he realized the other side of Weber - the bureaucratic/rational nightmare. Inferiority complex towards protestantism by Japanese intellectuals - idealized view.

Problem of relativism and comparison We political scientists had a basic training to study Western political thought - we create a measurement through these descriptions and look back at our own society - we borrow and sometimes model it. We study using these categories so it is sometimes understandable by Westerners. 'Nihonjinron' - failure of - caused by foreign measurements applied directly to Japan and we are completely different from it - so end with particularistic solution. Political science using concepts from West, translatable between cultures. E-P 'Nuer' less plausible approach for us so rather surprised that the approaches are so different.

Amino's theory Japan is half isolated, half penetrated by other cultures - half and half (cf. Kachin) on fringe of huge empire. Japanese categories influenced, half-penetrated, half-integrated - always importing new things. Basso ostinato cannot stand up on its own - needs more than Japaneseness. The bones are Chinese, the flesh is Japanese (or the other way round). Basso ostinato unifies the different elements into a manageable pattern.

Maruyama's character Maruyama had some aspects of a shaman. Kowai witnessed relationship between Dick Storey and Maruyama. Dick Storey reported Maruyama's reaction when he saw a sword in a castle near Oxford in the 1960's. He grabbed the sword and started to dance with it. Whenever Maruyama listened to Wagner he started to conduct like Furtwangler. Apparently when he left Storey at the station in Oxford he burst into tears.

KYOTO

29th March 2006

Left Sapporo in snow. It did affect our plans as the plane left later than scheduled so that we missed over half the time allotted to our afternoon meeting with Tokio Yokoyama.

Talked further with Toshiko about prostitutes. She had said during our conversation on Sunday that women consider their bodies their own to do with as they like, so being a sex worker is not seemed shameful, and certainly not sinful. There is no moral opprobrium associated with it. Androgyny gives greater equality. She had pointed out pictures of 'oiran', high-class prostitutes, at the exhibition. These have had a longer history than the geisha system which started in Edo at the same time as prostitutes were corralled into the Yoshiwara. Oiran had skills that were admired by other women. Their formal name is 'tayu'. Oiran is the title given them by their servant girls. The Yoshiwara continued through the Meiji right up to the end of WW2. During the American occupation, the Japanese authorities set up a similar system for the troops and persuaded not only prostitutes but ordinary women to work there. On the subject of "comfort" women, Toshiko thought they just followed the same system. That Korean women were used is not odd as Korea was part of the Empire. At first they were paid for their work but the system broke down in the end.

Rape as a weapon, as used at Nanking, was another matter. Not just women were targeted but the killing was indiscriminate. On the subject of compensation for comfort women she said no Japanese women had asked for compensation, only Korean. However, although Korea was part of the Empire so technically Koreans were Japanese, after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, compensation was paid only to Japanese affected by the bombs, not Koreans. Japan gave up its empire as part of the Potsdam treaty which came into effect 15th August 1945. Tried again to fathom the reasons for violent manga and films. Toshiko said they were just violence of the mind and that Japanese people were peaceful.

Manga started in their youth as children's comics and somehow grew up with them into the adult magazines they now are. Lonely, frustrated men read them, but a salary man will read them on the train as long as none of the colleagues see.

Toshiko talked about learning in history of kami. She was told they were part of the ancient history of Japan. If formally asked what religion is followed in Japan she would say Buddhism. She doesn't believe but her grandparents did believe in 'hotoke' (ie. Buddhas) who go to another world, in graveyards. This is why graves are cleaned and spirits welcomed from the graveyard at the Bon festival. Her mother does go to the graveyard with a special dim lantern at Bon and guides her husband's spirit back to the butsudan. Children now learn about kami through Miyazaki's animations. Amino was asked to teach about kami as a result of these films. Children think of kami as their own ancestors as they can't imagine anything else. Tesuka Osamu was the predecessor of Miyazaki in this sort of animation. When we talked to Ai later about her knowledge of kami it seemed that she had none. When asked about what will happen at death she said that she will just return into a large "soul" mass, so no thought at all about an afterlife. She even said that she would disregard her parents' grave as there would be nothing there.

Discussed the present dispute over the removal of the American base in Okinawa to Guam and the American demand that Japan pay three-quarters of the cost. There have been such bases in Japan since 1960 treaty, and there is no end date. Toshiko thinks that Japan loses more than it gains by putting itself in the line of fire from America's enemies. The Government maintain that the U.S. is defending Japan from China and North Korea. Young people seem to support this idea as the threat from China grows. The issue of indemnity for moving the Okinawa base is not generally known in Japan so people have not objected to it as yet. Japanese are not interested in what happens to their taxes: they gift the government money and the government performs for them. They vote on the basis of very little knowledge or understanding. Koizumi's hair-style would be enough for many. Fukuzawa did try to encourage informed interest but failed. Toshiko says they have no base for democracy. Toshiko thinks the opposition parties are too weak and compromising to make it a proper democratic system.

Met with Toshio Yokoyama after going by bus from Osaka to Kyoto. He is vice-president for international relations and Warden of Sansai Gakurin where we went to meet him. He managed to persuade the university to

take over this house as a research institute for him as a *quid pro quo* for his acting as a *pro vice-chancellor*. It is a hundred year old traditional building which was constructed in the garden of a prince so that the trees are the remnants of something much grander. It is attractive. He was a pupil of Keith Thomas at Oxford and apparently came to Cambridge sometime in the 1990's and met Alan. I wonder if he was the man who gave us the gold brocade cloth that we used as a hanging in the Morse House? Although he was nervous about being filmed, I gently persuaded him that it would not be too painful and that Alan wouldn't quote from it. He is an expert on Victorian views of Japan so very relevant to the book.

We left him after 6pm and he rushed off to a meeting. Alan gave him a copy of 'Letters' and he gave Alan offprints in exchange. Took a taxi to our hotel, Kyoto Takaragaike Prince Hotel. Very much the sort of place the Nakamura's like. Not quite brash but much more flashy than we would choose. It is quite attractive as it is oval in shape with a garden of moss and trees in the centre. The decor is cream and reminded me of the inside of a shell. We met Ai for supper. It was in the Chinese restaurant of the hotel but the meal bore little relationship to Chinese cuisine. It wasn't even passably Japanese as it was even blander and more dull than that. However, had a good, if rather slow, talk with Ai.

Conversation with Ai

(teenage daughter of Kenichi and Toshiko)

Ai experiences deep feelings from nature etc. When she saw Michael Angelo and Leonardo it was a hair-raising experience. Experience of nature and art was different. Great art is beyond nature. She never entered into enchantment from watching Miyazaki but understood that world. Of their daughters, Kenichi thought Subaru least enchanted and Yuri most, with Ai in the middle.

Asked what happened when she dies, Ai said she didn't believe in a surviving spirit but just return to nature in some way. She thinks her grandmother brings grandfather back to the butsudon for her satisfaction and Kenichi added that all death rituals are for the living. All the individuality of a person dies and just goes back into some sort of natural mass. There is no other world. There are now many neglected graveyards. There used to be collective family grave (based on the 'ie' system) now they are individual or just the nuclear family. Mount Fuji is sacred and there are many graveyards there including Toshiko's family grave. People returning from Manchuria after the war were given rough land there which they turned into graveyards and then sold plots for a living. If a writer died, their publisher used to arrange and pay for the funeral and grave. Firms still do so if the employee dies but not if retired. Some old friends of Kenichi's father and his mother complained that the railway company paid nothing for his funeral even after thirty year's service. In Hokkaido University, if a colleague dies then they would have to organise the funeral, reception, everything.

30th March 2006

It was raining and cold when we went to the Kamigamo Shrine (Kamo Wake-Ikazuchi Jinja) and Toshiko said that the bad weather was all to do with Alan's hat. Strange how they find it rather threatening and not quite nice. Anyway, the sun came out once we had been purified by the Shinto priest. This shrine is the oldest in Kyoto and is dedicated to the thunder god. It is a main shrine with smaller branch shrines, very beautiful, a sister shrine to Ise which is to the sun god. The style is different with heavier roofs and not built like a granary. Interestingly, there are two identical central shrines designed to be rebuilt like the Ise shrine every 20 years or so. However, the expense of so doing is great so they now only repair parts when necessary. They do replace the artefacts inside and we were able to see these. There were three dolls representing one Emperor who became a god and two of his advisers. There was also a spear, a model horse and dolls in various costumes. They showed a food tray similar the one in the present shrine on which dishes of rice, salt, water and sake, and some fruit or vegetables are offered each day, rather like in the butsudon.

We were lucky enough to be able to get a guided tour of the inner parts of the shrine by a Shinto priest. It is the essence of Japan as exemplified in the Genji. Most of what is done is purification and respectful behaviour. Sadly we couldn't film inside but took film and photos outside. There is even a sacred horse but it was not on show today. Wandering round one does have a similar sense to that when entering a church or cathedral. This

shrine apparently opened for visitors a year and a half ago and then for only a month at most. It cost 500Y each to go inside - not a lot by Japanese standards, so the aim seems to be education rather than exploitation. The city government thought about taxing the fee but were persuaded it was a sort of donation. Pilgrimage to shrines was not uncommon before the warring period, but then it stopped until the Edo period, when it became a sort of pilgrim-tourism.

We went on to see a house that had once been part of an area where families with hereditary connections to the shrine lived. They are known as 'shake'. The house we entered is now owned by a doctor and opened as a museum. It has been reformed to give two tea rooms but there is a feeling of an old house, and the garden was delightful. (see photos).

We lunched on *soba* and *tempera* then returned to the hotel to dress for our meeting with Professor Matsuo at Kyoto University. He is now retired but was a political historian of C20 Japan. He had been a marxist so Kenichi was not sure how he would take to Alan's ideas. He started by showing a list of the books held by the university written by Alan. He had 'Savage Wars' with him but admitted he had not read it. As the conversation was in Japanese it was not worth filming so I took long notes which I shall put elsewhere.

Professor Matsuo took us to the University archive and then the library. They have an extensive collection here as unlike Tokyo, they were not bombed. When we left it felt very cold, and after a delicious Japanese meal in our hotel I noticed it was snowing. Both Kenichi and Toshiko said it never snowed at this time of year in Kyoto and Toshiko had tried to persuade us to send all our warm clothes on ahead to Tokyo. So glad we didn't.

NOTES

On a bus journey with Kenichi.

My distinction between Axial and non-Axial is too strong. The Japanese are non-Axial, but they also have an element of transcendence of a sort. Everything is on a continuum, rather than binary, much more like a paper chain (or Durkheim's earthworm).

I asked about *kami* and he said that no-one on the plane would have heard of *kami*, yet many had the experience of the 'sublime' in the sense he described it; there is lots on TV about these unearthly experiences and in novels along those lines.

In England, the only experience the Japanese have of the sublime is a visit to the Lake District and Wordsworth.

Yanagita started on the picture poetry of Blake - there is lots of Yeats interest and some Keats.

There is a great cult of C.S.Lewis, Tolkein, Harry Potter, Peter Pan, Gulliver. There is a C.S.Lewis to Miyazaki connection: an enchanted world very early accepted. Also a fondness for Lewis Carroll.

Of Shakespeare's plays, the *Tempest* - an enchanted world, is particularly popular and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, but not *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* etc.

M.R. James [Ghost stories] also popular, and n.b. the end of *Gulliver* when he returns to ordinary life.

Kenichi commented that the cleanliness in public places does not come out of a love of cleanliness, but the duty of shops to hire cleaners out of a sense of responsibility. When the police entered the headquarters of Aum sect, they were appalled by the dirt.



Kamo Wake-ikazuchi Shrine - Two sand cones in front of the Hosono



Kamo Wake-ikazuchi Shrine - Shinto priests preparing to purify visitors in the Tsuchi-no-ya



Kamo Wake-ikazuchi Shrine

Toshiko and Kenichi wearing surplices which mean they can enter the main shrine

NOTEBOOK - THOUGHTS BY ALAN (with Kenichi's comments)

Visited second oldest Shinto shrine in Kyoto. Participated in Shinto ritual. As the 'priest' prayed and waved his white 'wand' and we were told that this structure pre-existed the Chinese wave – ie. goes back to the sixth century, I became suddenly aware of one of the old cores of Japanese essence, the ancient Shinto or practical pantheism, which formed an outer layer round the Emperor. [Used to be *uji-gama* shrine; *kami-gama*. When Emperor moved to Kyoto, the shrine was moved].

Combined with the conversation with Professor Matsuo, who told us about how the core of Japan is 'Tenno [Emperor] religion', began to see what it was that so successfully blocked Axiality. The Emperor, as I have conceived before, is the keystone at the top of King's Chapel. Take it away and the whole system leading up to it will collapse. Village Shinto is one of the many pillars leading up to this, alongside the *ie* system. All lead to the empty middle where religion, politics, economy, society all blend and fade into each other and into nothingness. It is the intersection outside the individual.

Rather than the modern west, where the circles of religion, economy, politics and society only intersect at the level of each individual, there is in Japan a special individual, the Emperor, with whom everyone can and does identify, at the top level.

This is what makes it so extraordinary and different from elsewhere and so tribal, yet huge, for it allows every individual to believe/feel as if the whole society is within him or her by identification with the Emperor, who absorbs all the conflicting and divisive drives even of the modern world.

[Later comment of Kenichi on this, when I read it out to him: The model of King's Chapel good up to the eleventh century, but in medieval Japan there are two high arches or ceilings, the Shogun and the Emperor, the medieval in the Civil War period to the end of the Muromachi, the Emperor was

split into two and the Shogunate had little power, so many different ceilings, in the Edo a very artificial or virtual Church, one person or daimyo in each region represents that, so it is a group of columns supporting the final arch or Shogun. Gradually the mountain was eroding at the end of the Edo or early Meiji period. A fictional dome is created with some power.

Secondly, the Emperor reflects each part as if he is a multi-lensed eye, absorbing things from different directions. This is the meaning of the symbol. Judges should enter into the mind of all those in front of them, it is shamanistic.

From 645 the Tenno had both knowledge and charismatic shamanic power from outside. Up to the C11 supernatural forces were associated with the Emperor, to increase fertility, control weather etc, but stopped believing in this from the eleventh century. The Emperor lost faith in this during the military power period; the only person who tried to revive it was Godaigo. But the reflecting power continued to a certain extent.

The Shogunate take away power, but do not destroy the Emperor as, like King's Chapel roof, they realized the system would collapse without him. It is better to build a double power system, put Trinity College, as it were, beside King's. Up to the middle of the Edo period, people paid no attention to the Emperorship – he was powerless.]

As Kenichi says, if there is a *basso ostinato* it is the Emperor religion, this is the horrific beast which, like Yeats 'Second Coming', he was afraid of summoning from deep sleep. And it is therefore something to be handled with the greatest care. Even the word 'deep things' or '*basso ostinato*' has echoes of the strange beast 'slinking towards Jerusalem to be born.'

[Note on above when I read it to Kenichi: believes there is something in this]. It sections together into the shape of the Emperor religion – which would then explain, lead directly into, the Axial and bounded chapters. Having gazed into the abyss of the Japanese system, seen the monster that is lurking deep within the mirror right at the back ...

[Kenichi commented when I read it to him: This makes the story interesting; in the world of animism/shamanism, there is something dangerous in it and a danger which insiders could not detect. From the Japanese side, Maruyama and Storry touched on the demonic side of the samurai which I cannot touch. The Emperor is just a mirror, but if it reflects a huge counter-axial power and makes some resonance with magical non-axial power the Mirror can then become a Monster.]

...and then recoiled and came back out with a shudder into the brightness of day – very like the Dark Lord or Voldemort etc – an immense, vague, fathomless, power, yet nothingness, which fuses together the Japanese and, as Maruyama hinted, pulses strong and weak through all of history. This is the key, the secret, the mechanism. The Axial thesis is just a description of the effect, the shadow on the wall, what did not happen. The thing that threw the shadow is the Emperor.

[Kenichi commented on this when I read it to him: Maruyama over-estimated the Emperor – ask Watanabe and see his article – the contribution of M and Amino warn of this. Be careful of over-estimating the Emperor.]

So I need to find out more of what 'Emperor religion' means. Certainly not 'religion' in the western sense – no ethics, eschatology etc, but ritual, worship, awe etc – the sort of 'religion' one finds in many tribal societies before Axialization – a sense of power, perhaps the supreme shaman, who in a Frazer-like Divine Kingship way, represents, sacrifices, embodies all of Japan. Indeed worth seeing what Frazer, Lang and Hocart especially understood of the Japanese system of Emperor worship. The King is the Nemi priest or divinity etc.

[Kenichi commented on this: the rival of Yanagita had lots of interpretations of the Emperor system (Origuchi). Natural to use Frazer – Yanagita right to see that self-sacrifice not part of the Emperor system. Be careful, lots of studies. Not self-sacrifice God, more animistic.] The golden bough has much resonance with all of this. And the strong rituals of succession, if they can be made public would be a very good way into this whole area of the 'dark things' of Japan, full of mystery 'beware, beware...' and 'holy dread' for he on honey-dew hath fed and drunk the milk of paradise'

[Kenichi comments; 'Engiski' a C12 Encyclopedia, there is an account of it, a controversy, new harvest and succession rituals, ask Carmen Blacker who has a long article on it. Women priests made a dance etc., and women priests stand at the funeral hit the floor several times.]

...frenzy and mystery and strangeness and taboo and fertility and power, all rolled into one person, like Shelley's Ozymandias, face like a lion, blank and pitiless stare.

So the shape of the book could be seen as a set of rooms through which we voyage as follows: outside the mirror – arts – society – economy – polity – thought – religion – Emperor – out of mirror.

The Emperor chapter, though short, could be a way of showing how all the apparently separate – as treated – parts come together in the Emperor. In Kenichi's image the Emperor is in the centre, with pressures from arts, society etc. The Emperor is not political, or religious or economic, or social, but all of these things together.

I don't think the Emperor section would work at the start, but after the pillars are erected, the institutions all lead to the Emperor and he integrates everything together in one burst of fusion.

And this then explains the impossibility of Axial divisions, for it would split asunder the lock or keystone which holds in his person all the forces of Japanese society. This is what Maruyama knew in his heart, but could not say – or perhaps even admit to himself. He got as far as seeing that there was a dark force at the centre – the Black Hole emanating or sucking in force – but as he probed deeper he realized with horror that what was looking out of the depths was the face of the institution of Emperorship which he had spent his life contesting. Either he had to renounce his liberal hopes or be Japanese and worship the Emperor. He could not do both – and so he never completed the third volume of his great work on *basso ostinato*. Nice to write a section called 'Maruyama's dark secret' or 'What is in the tomb'. [Makabe's interpretation is this. M feared the third volume of Maruyama's book, on ethics, would create a self-fulfilling prophecy.]

Kenichi mentioned treading on the tail of the dragon with *basso ostinato*. – the dragon, of course, is the Emperor. Why has it taken so long to see the clues that M and Kenichi were placing for me? So obvious once you see it – or as Matsuo revealed it to me. The dragon motif is good, but not the Chinese, open, outward, dragon of the Emperor, but a hidden, deep, cunning, all-devouring yet almost invisible dragon who has preserved his lair from Axial threats for the last 1500 years – and outside whose cave lie many bones, not least of those outsiders who have foolishly tried to approach and understand Japan without coming to terms with it. [Kenichi commented that the dragon is Maruyama himself]

SARAH'S NOTES

Conversation with Professor Takayoshi Matsuo

How Japanese politics and democracy works today.

(An expert on political history of the C20. He showed list of books of Alan's held in the library and various departments of the University. Said 'Savage Wars' widely read.)

Alan asked if the binary system of political parties worked in Japan. Matsuo said there were deep differences between Britain and Japanese case - post-war conservatives have been 2/3 and liberal 1/3 but very little between these two. 20 years after the war, after collapse of Soviet Union, adopted British system of one seat per constituency. Before that numbers of members - caused collapse of socialist party. Now socialists smaller than communists. LDP split and joined with moderate socialists. LDP and newly formed Democrats both believed in the capitalist system. Politics much the same. They are competing to please U.S. so confrontation with China and Korea - accepting American hangups. If you compare Democratic party and LDP, latter thought more trustworthy by the public. Public want change of policy on one hand, but on the other want Democratic party to influence LDP - not dramatic change. In Britain, high possibility of change - two party system works well. In Japan, change very small and short, then return to one party democracy. LDP very complex party - is itself a kind of coalition. Change of governing faction changes the style of the party. LDP structured itself into very clever way of structuring politics. Not sure about future. Koizumi destroyed some factions and kicked them out. Next Prime Minister will probably be Abe - structure of LDP will change. LDP meant to be compromising force between multiple factions. If Koizumi untamed might turn into one man, one faction - more totalitarian. One possibility is that both the LDP and Democratic Party will split into more less conservative parties. Might bring about a two party system. He hopes this may happen, but pessimistic.

With China, Yasakuni Shrine problem, stupidly created by Koizumi. Those who had experienced the war are now dying. When the war ended Professor Matsuo was 16. Younger generation's attitude to the war is changing. Dreadful war, but feeling that Japan was responsible is gradually fading out.

Books support this. Yasakuni Shrine honouring war dead. China invasion under name of the Emperor gradually fading - process of forgetting war, also forgetting responsibility. Young people support Koizumi through forgetfulness. Rape of Nanking - some Japanese insist that numbers matter - 1m 1/10m 100m - if 100m then Japanese military killed many including civilians - numbers don't matter, it was a massacre.

Alan asked about the relation between the Nanking massacre and Japanese reputation for cruelty. Is Japan cruel? Matsuo said relative to our character as an island nation, the difference between Japan and Britain is that the latter has been in continuous conflict with Scotland and Ireland. Suspects that Britain has had to learn to deal with the problem of wars. Comparatively speaking, Britain much closer to the continent than Japan to China. Japan had no internal fighting but then plunged into fighting with China and Korea. Isolated, so no exchange of monarchs. Japanese had ten centuries of isolation, so very little experience of how to deal with other nationals. After Meiji, Japan got Korea and part of China. In British case, very skilful in forming Empire. Japan had no experience. Japanese Government had obsession that Koreans were inferior to Japanese. Japanese ways of dealing with them was for Koreans to move towards Japanese and become Japanese - assimilation. Extension of Japanese homeland to Korea (as with France). End of Russo-Japanese war - modernisation of Japanese society. After Russo-Japanese was desirable that Japanese gradually retreated from Korea, but didn't happen. Intellectuals advised leaving but nationalists stayed and conquered. Comparatively speaking with Britain, we naive and inexperienced. Still there is the same failing in Japan, which mixed with naive Japan is not good.

Alan asked about treatment of comfort women. Matsuo said that there were two categories of such - Japanese and Chinese/Korean etc. problem only over the latter group. There were a few Dutch comfort women but only a handful of others. Japanese military took Japanese comfort women to China. Not only prostitutes but ordinary women were encouraged to go. They were used in cities but in the countryside force was used against native women.

Alan asked whether there was a grading of ranks of people in the Japanese mind. Matsuo agreed there were racial tendencies. The British were respected as advanced and the Chinese not respected as thought of as backward. During the Russo-Japanese war there were lots of Russian prisoners. Those kept in a prison in Shikoku were seen by the outside world and well looked after. But there was another, closed, camp in Sakhalin where Russian prisoners were treated very badly. In general, they thought of the Russians as half-civilized, so similar to the Japanese according to Fukuzawa.

Maruyama died aged 82, working until the end. Matsuo spent some time in London, living at Clapham Junction, as he wished to get to know real Britain. Lived in a lodging house. Enjoyed theatres, the Festival Hall concerts, and Wimbledon. Friend of Professor Nish whom he met at Ann Arbor. They worked together in Japanese not English so Matsuo gained the confidence to travel. At that time Japanese intellectuals quite reluctant to go to U.S. suggesting they'd be bought off. Harvard Yen-ching - America supported this university in China. After Mao it moved to Harvard. Had lots of money. Matsuo advised in 1976 to take this money and not Government money. Went in 1978 to England. Impressed by Hammond's work on the Chartist and Asa Briggs.

Alan asked what is wrong with Japan. Matsuo said it was difficult to answer but that Japanese tend to be influenced by the majority mood and move as a group. In history, Taisho = democracy, Showa = military, after the war democracy etc. To establish individuality in Japan would be difficult. Society consists of collections of relations as an entity - relational prevailing mood moves society, and the individual can't cope with this. Can't stand up against it. Alan noted that Tocqueville advocated civil society to counter mood of the mob. Matsuo said that there were and are historical and contemporary groups that stand against the stream. Within these small groups an individual cannot keep his individuality. For example, once trade unions had supported the war all turned and gave their support. Sarah commented that Japanese politics are consensual so can't be confrontational. Matsuo reiterated that Koizumi had broken up the small dissident groups so now appeals to the mass - totalitarian. Alan asked if this related to lack of religion. In West individuals could stand apart from the rest (cf. Tony Blair and Iraq war). Matsuo said as he had no religion himself he couldn't answer.

Kenichi explained the Axial argument. Matsuo said that in the early Meiji there had been serious Christians, especially among the younger generation. Buddhism was influenced too by the emergence of Christianity so both were strengthened. There were sharp theorists then but they disappeared. After Taisho no serious religious feeling, so it is up and down, a temporary phenomenon. Now there is only

a weak church system although his own daughter is married to a Christian vicar. There are many strange teachings of Christianity - some worship Emperor - syncretism - not strong on theology.

Alan asked about his attitude to *nihonjinron*. Matsuo's general impression 1. Similar - difference between Britain, US, Japan - balance. 2. Emperor system rare - continuous - pre-war talked of as one glorious trunk line - is it exceptional? 3. System has influenced economics, political system, all strange. Different centre of gravity. Suggests that Emperor not just a system but a king of religion which influenced every aspect of Japanese life - keeps out monotheism - "religion" space is filled. Emperor = Shinto? Shinto as a religion and Tenno as a religion are different. Tenno is respectable form of Japanese religion - psychological pressure to use respectable form - Emperor and family above honour. There are two kinds of Shinto shrine - local and Imperial. Local shrines have nothing to do with Shinto but just relate to ancestors and nature worship. However, they have the same priests and buildings. Tenno religion - ie. belief in the Emperor. Imperial Shinto - Ise, Yoshida - Tenno is a belief - collective feeling, focus of affection - only Japanese have felt it - failed to get Korea or Manchuria to do so. When the Indonesians tried, Japanese felt funny. Pre-war, people taught that ancestor of Tenno was the ancestor of the whole Japanese nation. After the war stopped teaching this, but still collective affection.

Alan asked for his advice on trying to understand Japan. Matsuo said that in order to understand the bright and dark side read novels - Ryotaro Shiba - historical novels - not epicentre of Japanese mind - they are a bit more conservative - he is progressive. Also watch films - good mirror of age when made. Nagisa Oshima mentioned. He mentioned no academic works. "Not impossible to understand Japan. We Japanese understand British culture to some extent and vice-versa". Alan pressed him on books. He mentioned Amino's three volume history and Morishima Michio's autobiography. None but the last has been translated. Also books by historian Shunsuke Tsurumi.

UJI

31st March 2006

We spent the day in Uji, the town famed as the second arena for 'The Genji' story. It is quite small but has some famous temples and shrines, as well as being a centre for tea. By chance, as we were walking to the Byodo-in Temple, we saw a tea merchant's house which is now a museum. As we were looking at the notice a man came up and told us it was closed. It turned out that he was the second son of the Kanbayashi family that has traded tea here for 450 years, supplying both Nobunaga and Hidyoshi. We followed him into the tea shop next door and he gave us cups of a delicious tea that is served luke warm. This tea is grown on the north facing slopes so there are fewer hours of sunshine on it. It has less tannin than ordinary tea. Alan asked about the health-giving properties of tea. His is the 14th generation of tea merchants. A comparable kimono merchant's family is now at the 20th generation, implying that the tea merchants live longer than kimono merchants. There seems to be a tension between family members and he told us almost immediately that his was the genuine shop and the other, which was next door with the same name, was not authentic. Merchants like these still continue the 'ie' system. Kenichi said that tea drinking became fashionable in the Muramachi period. It was expensive but the family tea-storing pots grew larger and larger showing the gradual decrease in price. We saw some of these huge pots outside tea shops, of which there are many. We bought a small packet of the delicious tea and then Mr Kanbayashi showed us a traditional tea house in the garden behind the shop. Although it looked newly built, he implied that both Hidyoshi and Sen Rikyo had visited it. Today it is hired by tea masters when they wish to perform a tea-ceremony but as it does not have an electric light it is not much used.



Alan with the tea-merchant



Tea paraphernalia in tea shop

We walked on to the Byodo-in temple built by Yorimichi Fujiwara in 1053 for the worship of Amida Nyorai. The main building is designed to look like a phoenix with wings outstretched. There is an immense gold statue of Amida Buddha which we were lucky to see as the canopy, the decorative reredos, are away being repaired. Around the walls are bodhisattvas sitting on clouds playing musical instruments to welcome the dead soul to paradise. It reflects a simple route to heaven with no theology, just faith. What impresses me is the realization that the religious buildings that we see really are old, if patched again and again. The Japanese idea of sticking rigidly to the original design over centuries gives a strong sense of a time long gone, despite being surrounded by crowds of tourists. As usual, the garden is a delight and there are myriad small features that suggest that the Japanese eye for design and beauty is not equalled anywhere else. I noted, for instance, that the top of the septic tank by the lavatories was covered with a typical bamboo well cover disguising the metal covers below. We went to the museum where they showed a computer graphics video reproducing the original effect of the building when it was constructed. One could also see other bodhisattvas that have been repaired but are yet to be hung in the main hall of the temple. The workmanship, especially the carving of hands and feet, was exquisite.



Byodo-in Temple

We crossed the river again to the Uji shrine which again I recall as being very ancient. It was a local shrine so simple and small in scale, but very beautiful. Again, the structure must have been repaired many times but remains in essence the same. There were three inoke (fox god) shrines, one large and the others very small. Went on to the Genji museum. Of course, there are no artefacts as such, so it relies on clever use of film, firstly to give an impression of the book and then a bunraku film of the Ukifune story from the second part of the Genji. It was rather delightful but didn't add anything to my image of the book.



Ujigami Shrine - Sacred tree



Inari shrine at Ujigami

We were hoping to meet Ai but she was still in bed when Toshiko phoned her from Uji. As we were supposed to lunch together at a specific restaurant on the Byodo-in side of the Uji river, we could not explore further on the north bank although we did just cross the river by a beautiful foot bridge. Sad to see stalls being set up under cherry trees ready for a celebration of the 'sakura' that is later than expected. The wind was icy and both Alan and I were dressed in full winter gear, I even wore my fur hat for a time. So glad we did not take Toshiko's advice and send all our warm clothes to Tokyo. Toshiko and Kenichi looked freezing as they had been convinced that Kyoto would be warm and were both amazed by the sight of snow falling last night. Ai did eventually arrive after we had had our lunch, and we had to stay while she ate hers. We crossed the river again to the Uji shrine which again I recall as being very ancient. It was a local shrine so simple and small in scale, but very beautiful. Again, the structure must have been repaired many times but remains in essence the same. There were three inoke (fox god) shrines, one large and the others very small. Went on to the Genji museum. Of course there are no artefacts as such, so it relies on clever use of film, firstly to give an impression of the book and then a bunraku film of the Ukifune story from the second part of the Genji. It was rather delightful but didn't add anything to my image of the book. By then we had run out of time and had to hurry back to Kyoto, pick up our luggage and catch the shinkansen to Tokyo.

TOKYO

1st April 2006

We are staying in another hotel of the Prince group at Akasaka. Again, it is glitzy and not really to our taste, but we do have a huge corner window overlooking the city from the 37th floor. Tried to find a restaurant for breakfast but everywhere we looked was empty until we went out of the building and found the bakery where it is possible to get a dose of carbohydrate and coffee. Alan met with Mariko Hara after breakfast so that she could interview him. He thought it would be on 'Letters to Lily' but she asked him what he thought of the current problems in Japan, of which he knows little. While this was happening Toshiko and Kenichi went off to admire the cherry blossom and I wrote up notes and downloaded pictures.

We met Professor Watanabe at Hongo at midday and had a very good discussion, both before, during and after lunch, which I filmed. Got the impression that he thought Alan was working on the right lines and that the book was worth writing. Afterward we went to a Confucian temple and then a shrine where the cherry-blossom festival was being celebrated so there were more chances to film. The Confucian temple was built at a school in the 1690's for "worship" (Toshiko's word) of Confucian ideas. A "temple of learning" called a "sacred hall" (Toshiko). The architecture was just like a temple except for the colour which was dark grey. The statue to Confucius was attractive. In the sacred hall there was an altar with a small statue of Confucius with offerings of food and saki. Beside the altar were botsudan with tablets to four Confucian scholars, two in each. On tables beyond were ten tablets which Toshiko said were to Chinese emperors, five on each side. The main hall was Buddhist-like but outside there were frames with requests written on wooden plaques, just as in a Shinto shrine, so there is an apparent merging of all three "religions".

We walked across the road to a Shinto shrine where they were celebrating the cherry-blossom - 'sakura matsuri'. On a stage, a lion dancer was performing to drums and flute. An area had been covered in plastic sheeting and mats were being put there with cardboard boxes of picnic food. There was a rather modern sculpture representing the sea and the god Ebisu who is one of this shrine's gods, famous for prosperity. The other gods for this shrine are Daikoku, a character from the Kojiki who was asked to give up Japan by the brother of the sun god. The other is Taira No Masakado, one of the pioneers of the Eastern Samurai who led a revolt against Kyoto in the C8 and caused turmoil. He tried to turn Japan into a shogunate but failed. However, Sarurai turned him into a god. There was a white horse tethered outside a side building (what is the meaning of white horses in Shintoism?). At one point there was a flurry of priests and a procession of local people wearing sashes were led into the main hall with priests playing 'gagaku'. All rather exciting and we were lucky to see it.

Met Airi at the hotel and she took us to a meal in Kagura-zaka, the supposed Gion area of Tokyo although she said that all the geisha are now rather elderly. Sadly we didn't see any of the flurry of activity of maiko

setting out for their evening dates although we did wander round after supper looking for such life. On the way to the restaurant Airi insisted on buying us some incense for the Morse House. The meal was rather too full of raw sea food for Alan but there were many courses so he could always find something to eat. We drank several flasks of saki.

Alan told Airi the subject of the book. She was startled to learn that he thought the Japanese were people without religion as there is such a plethora of shrines and temples. But when we talked about what people did in the shrines, the desire for good luck but little else, she could see there was a difference. The form is there but not the content. She is working on Jews in ghettos and on the Burakumin who are similarly constrained. She told us of Danzaimon, a Burakumin of the Edo period, who was extremely wealthy - a 3000 koku man, who was the "daimyo" for the burakumin. He established a dynasty, 'ie', now having reached the 14th (check with Airi). I filmed much of our conversation. Pretty tired by the time we got back to the hotel at 10.50pm.

NOTEBOOK

Had breakfast with T and K. They were very excited as they thought that with Matsuo and previous discussions, as well as Watanabe's article, we had now solved 75% of the puzzle of how Japan came to be as it is. Only one quarter remains to be sorted out in the few remaining days. If I can write this out in prose, then I will have understood Japan at a depth which no previous outsider (or insider?) has achieved, beyond Eisenstadt, Bellah and even Maruyama. The key is almost fitting.

The trick is to show how Japan has remained non-Axial, yet swung from Shamanic Emperor to the C16, through increasing secularization, to Mikado worship. It might be put as follows in the following further stages.

C7-C11: Shamanic/Emperor as Divine and central presence. This kept out the first phase of Confucian/Buddhist Axiality.

C12-mid C19: Increasing secularization and power domination – the Emperor recedes. Almost elimination of religion. Again a barrier to all Axiality.

Meiji: c. 65 years, 1880-1945, a 'mask' of Emperor religion, to face the Axiality of the west, but not really believed in, but the face fits the mask.

Post-war to present. Increasing secularization and from 1989 new Emperor – a constitutional Emperor.

Throughout the Japanese managed to de-Axialize whatever was coming in – by different devices. At the start it was through the Shamanic Emperor; then through the Samurai/Shogunate power system; then through the manipulated mask of 'Emperor religion', and a revived form of pseudo Axiality, and finally through a return to hedonistic secularism. At no point did Axiality penetrate, though there were moments of transcendence.

The total effect of this extraordinary history is not that the Japanese have retained a primordial essence, but that they have constantly invented and re-invented non-Axial solution and have preserved something very different and strange in this world. That is why visiting Japan is such an eerie experience. The mask is western and Axial, but the reality behind the mask is very other and strange. The strangeness has the effect of leading to a structural civilization, and is caused by a series of historical events and non-events that have occurred through time.

This suggests that any chance for true Axialization is very slight. Japan may be the final bulwark against the predatory individualism/monotheism of the West and hence lead the counter charge of East Asia against neo-Christian and western domination of the globe.

Placing of new ideas on politics and Emperorship. It may be that rather than writing a new chapter solely on the Emperorship and putting at end of the book, it would be better to put it as part of the historical chapter on how Japan developed and avoided Axialities. A simple 6 part scheme: pre-Chinese, Nara-Heian to C11, Feudal and confused C12-C16, Tokugawa, Meiji to 1945, post 1945.

Conversation with Professor Hiroshi Watanabe

Confucianism contained a supreme heaven, some idea of transcendence, but not the Axial opposition. Confucius rejected the heaven/hell dichotomy and did not believe in another world. It was a cunning trick of Buddhists to use the lure of heaven and the threat of hell to win followers.



Alan and Professor Watanabe



Statue of Confucius



Confucian "Temple of Learning"
Requests written on wooden plaques and hung on a frame



Mikoshi in a shop beside the entrance to the Shinto shrine



Shinto Shrine - Girl in modern dress and very high heels



Shinto Shrine - Tree with messages for the kami



Shinto priests



Airi Tamura

2nd April 2006

As we had no meeting until the afternoon we went with Toshiko and Yuri to the Edo museum in the downtown area beside the Sumida river. We had been there before with Airi but it was interesting to see it again as we noticed so many shrines in the reconstructed houses. The Shinto shrines with zigzag paper hanging from a rope are called 'kami dana' meaning "god's shelf". Toshiko overheard women walking round remembering just such furniture etc. in their mothers' houses. Toshiko, too, remembered wooden sinks. We saw some short videos of life in the area. Interesting to see a procession of geisha in the Tokyo equivalent to the Gion festival in Tokyo. These geisha were wearing yellow check costumes with bloomers. Their black wigs were parted in the middle and they looked much more masculine than the Kyoto geisha. Similarly, when carrying 'mikoshi' alongside the men, they wear short coats and tight trousers - typical old Edo working men's costume. This is what is known as 'iki', the Tokyo look. The old trades' groups still meet but have turned the redundant skills into competitions. The rice porters, for instance, use the old-style straw-bound sacks in weight lifting demonstrations. Similarly, the men who used to roll squared logs along the river by walking them now do the same at special festivals. So past skills may be redundant but are not forgotten. We went to a shellfish and rice restaurant opposite the museum. It must have been well thought of as queues formed, luckily after we had got a table. After a very good lunch we crossed the road again and went into a temple where a hero had been buried. It has since become a cemetery so there were tombs all around. There were numbers of 'jizo', both large and small, bodhisattvas protecting children. They have red bibs and hats, some had two hats with a warmer woollen hat under the usual red cloth hat.

In the adjacent street there were undertakers (with prices for all types of funeral displayed), and gravestone shops. Lastly, we went into a large garden which once belonged to the lord of Chiba. It was dominated by a large lake and is famous for its huge stones. Unlike a Chinese garden these are not eroded limestone, nor are they standing upright, but are used as giant stepping stones. After Kyoto, it was not an exceptional experience.

We hurried back to the hotel as we had an appointment at 3pm to meet Hiroshi Yoshikawa and his wife. He is a professor of economics at Todai but is also an advisor to the Government. His wife is an art historian specializing in French art. She had just flown back that morning from France so it was good of her to come. Her first rather interesting observation is that perspective is reversed between Japanese and Western art so we look to a far point where they go from a near point and expand outwards. Her husband described the present state of the Japanese economy. There seems to be growing inequality for which Koizumi's policies have been blamed. Suicide rates jumped in 1998 from about 20,000 a year to 30,000 and has settled at the higher figure. Why? It appears to them to be closely related to economic factors as the increase is mainly of prime aged males, many of whom lost their jobs and became depressed.

The economy stagnated between 1990-7, then there was the banking crisis which we witnessed on the news when we were here. Until 1997 people thought that if you worked for a big company your job was safe but this was shown to be an illusion. Now the economy is improving but inequality is increasing, particularly among the elderly. Their big concern is with NEET (not in employment, education or training - apparently a British term) which indicates why there is growing inequality among the young. There are 7 million NEET now in Japan and one in three of young persons is in part-time employment. The unemployment rate for this group is 9% while overall unemployment is 4.1%. There should be slots created when the baby-boomers retire but Professor Yoshikawa hinted that parents were to blame by continuing to support their unemployed children and not forcing them out to fend for themselves. He instanced Britain as an example of the latter. He obviously admires the British way.

He was at Yale and recalled picking up a guide book to China and Japan, published in 1860, written by an Englishman. At this time Japan had not really opened yet this guide showed the British to be amazingly well informed. They had deduced that the Bakufu would fall, unlike the French who believed it would not. Therefore, he thinks that the answer for Japan is information. Can't quite imagine that Japanese would make very good spies but perhaps he is not thinking this far. He acknowledged that Japan was very good at making things but had a very undeveloped service and professional side. Given the Japanese character and history I suspect that it would be difficult to do much about changing this.

We met Masako for supper. She took us to Sunshine City to find a toy-shop which sold Miyazaki goods and we managed to get some things with characters they know to hang from their schoolbags and a kami each. Alan also bought at kami. We spent at least 40 minutes trying to find an Indian restaurant where Masako had booked a table for us, despite asking at information desks in the huge underground store and phoning the restaurant three times. Eventually we found it just in time for our booking, however it was not nearly as good as the Indian restaurant in Sapporo.

Alan described his proposed book on Japan and she seemed genuinely interested. She is writing an article from her thesis but hopes to publish the whole thing in time. Alan has promised to send her the English copy of Lily although she brought a copy of the Japanese version for him to sign. She said she will use it in her teaching. We got back a little earlier than the night before. Thankful for that as we were both feeling pretty tired.

NOTEBOOK

We went round the Edo museum, which was full of shrines. There was the gathering luck god, a Shinto shrine (or shelf), a non-Shinto kitchen god. The very small reconstructed houses had, on average, about three shrines apiece, taking up much of the space.

Conversation with Yuri

Yuri told me that there was a child God living in many houses, only children could see it. Children grew out of it. She does not have in her house, but still in the countryside many people had such invisible gods, and in older houses. This is one reason for the popularity of Miyazaki, and particularly Totoro, many people were reminded of such spirits. It was natural for children to see such house gods. Although Yuri had never seen any, many of her friends had done so.

Yuri said that 'I believe we are surrounded by such things (spirits) though I cannot see them'. Many people enjoy Miyazaki because they are longing to experience such things.

Yuri thought that Shinto shrines were more 'religious' than Buddhist temples. Toshiko found them calm and relaxed. Toshiko thought that the shrine priests are not religious.

One of Yuri's friends at university is the son of a shrine priest, and will become the successor priest in the shrine; he is not at all religious. If there is only a daughter, she will marry a man who is brought in to do the job of the shrine. These are hereditary priests, ie. a job and not a vocation.

The shrine we visited had a parking lot and marriage parlour, which helped finance it. Shrine priests also sometimes teach at University to earn enough.

I talked to Yuri about texting and mobile phones. She said that some of her friends spent up to 10,000 yen a month on phone bills.

There is a social-networking system called 'Mixi', you are invited to join by a group of people. There are ten people in her group. There are a million people using (it is only in Japan), and has been going for about two years. It is free. She contacts people two or three times a week.

Yuri said that there were not so many internet cafes now, but now there were 'manga kisa' (one of which we later visited - an intersection between a manga library, tea and coffee self-service place, cubicle hotel, internet bar). These places would have violent manga. Toshiko said that she grew up with manga, so nowadays adults also enjoy them. In the old days they were just for children, now also adults. Animation (manga and films) are a big export - especially to France and Italy, also Taiwan and China, somewhat like Ukiyo-e.

Conversation with an economic adviser to the Prime Minister, Professor Yoshikawa and wife

The Japanese have a dual economy. The manufacturing sector is very efficient, the non-manufacturing sector very inefficient, roughly about 60 per cent as efficient as U.S.A. The manufacturing sector makes many products, but does not absorb labour. The absorbing sector is non-manufacturing. Demand is shifting towards the non-manufacturing, with a global shift from

manufacturing to services, towards construction, banking, retail etc. In the medium term, Japanese manufacturing is still strong.

The University of Tokyo was top in the world in a survey of universities for its physics department.

Low quality steel is being produced by Korea and China, cheaply, but Japan concentrates on high quality steel. Here we need human capital, though many places are over-staffed (as the hotel we were sitting in).

In terms of financial technology, British and Americans are superior to the Japanese. He thought that in the technology of manufacturing, Japan was a leader, but in the non-manufacturing, the intellectual and information areas, Japan is still backward. He had been reading a textbook of 1860 and was amazed to find how much the British already knew about Japan, and were hence able to guess that the Shogunate would be defeated. "We Japanese may be good at making things, but we are still myopic". The Osaka futures rice market only operated within Osaka, not open to anyone else.

His wife, an art historian, said that the wood-cut art was flat, the colouring reminiscent of Matisse, with no perspective and a different viewpoint. One thing was seen in close-up, such as a horse's foot or Mt. Fuji

Fenellosa did not like Ukiyo-e, much preferring classical painting. He authenticated the classical school for the Japanese and taught them to appreciate classical art as well as Ukiyo-e painting. The latter commented on this floating world, and the concern with everyday things around us had a big effect on the French impressionists who were able to discover their own society as a source of art. The woodblocks were mass produced. They were purchased by ordinary people. Ordinary art was appreciated - parallel discoveries to Yanagi, Hamada etc.



Edo museum - Shinto shrines - 'kami gana'



Edo museum - Fire box



Edo museum - Butsudan



Edo museum - Grain foot-beaters



Edo museum - Samisen music



Cemetery - Jizo



Cemetery - Grave stones

3rd April 2006

We had a little longer to sleep before breakfast, to do a little of this diary, and to pack before paying our bill. We left the luggage at the hotel and went to Hongo to meet with Watanabe's "successor", Tadashi Karube. He looked much younger than his 41 years, but he sounded authoritative. We went for lunch and a conversation. He spoke in Japanese while Kenichi translated so there is no film of our meeting. Again it was helpful in drawing the bias back towards religion.

CHIBA

We went back to the hotel and collected our bags. Luckily it was a lovely day after the rain and cold of the day before. We went then to Chiba and actually met Humiko's husband on their station and went to their new home on the top of four flats that they have built on the site of his parents' old (26 years) house. On the way he showed us a 'manga kisa' called "Panda". It is a cross between an internet cafe and a capsule hotel. Alan took a little film to show just how it looked. Young people go there to shut themselves away in small cubicles to read from the very large collection of manga it holds or they used the internet. They can stay overnight and sleep there for about 1,500 ¥. Can't think this model could be exported as it relies on trust and good behaviour, something that the Japanese excel at.

We were given tea at Humiko's and her husband showed and explained his 'kami dana' to us. We were joined by Mrs Kashiwagi, Ayako and Humiko's son, Jun, for supper. Then we all went to Mrs Kashiwagi's where Jun, dressed in kimono and hakama, acted as tea master for a thick tea ceremony. Mrs Kashiwagi was rather critical of his performance but one could see his interest and enthusiasm for it. We slept on futon for the first time this trip in the tokonoma room.

Alan had an interesting conversation at dinner with Jun, Ayako and Humiko's husband about the current situation between Japan and China. Jun apparently made the rather odd statement that Japan had invaded Manchuria to help its agriculture. Alan expostulated that Japan would not be very happy if China did the same thing for Japan, and then he moderated his statement by saying that China was in a very bad state at the time. His father disagreed with his comment and Mrs Kashiwagi was most surprised at breakfast when we told her and said she would try to persuade him that he was wrong. Can see that for his generation the war is in the long distant past and no longer has an impact on their feelings. Also the Government's attitude and Koizumi's refusal to apologize for going to the Yakuzumi Shrine, together with the notorious textbooks, makes his attitude understandable, but it is a little alarming none the less.

NOTES

Discussion with Kenichi

Why did animism continue, despite Buddhism etc? A highly Japanized world religion allowed animism to survive. There was a division of labour among the religions. Tokugawa Confucianism was philosophical teaching, multiple means in parallel or sometimes merging, for over 200 years. Buddhism, Shinto and Confucianism continued alongside each other. If logic had prevailed, there would have been religious wars. At the start of Meiji, the Shintoists tried to kick out the Buddhists, but it was not so serious.

There was a multiple party system, so to speak, which gave some freedom. We had a multiple, vague, system to maintain animism. This is what makes Japanese ethics so illogical, as opposed to the logical ethics of the west. Ours is contextual and bending. Affection is more important than logic or ethics. If one is too logical, it will destroy the other. Affection becomes the link. Animism at the *basso ostinato* level knits the multiple religions together.

What makes the Japanese consider that feeling is more important than logic? Karube's work on Watsuji explores the clash between individualism and conformism. We wrote of ethics as a study of 'in between peoples', which made Watsuji move from individualism to conformism.

The high points of individualism in Japan was the later middle ages (Samurai period) and the Taisho period. The possibility of individualism in Japan was related to Christianity. A link to God.

We think of relations to other people, many compromise with others. When we have a difficult decision, we constantly think of other people and what they would think.

The West has binary divisions, Japan has multiple/combining, a special switching system. If you enter into the Confucius system go to into its guidance, and then leave and switch off again, turn on and off.

The meaning of shrines, and the tablets hung up in them is very slight. Usually we don't think of God, but of others, other-directed. In the West we have some Entity up in heaven. In the Confucian ideas, every person has some seed of something inside them when born. Fukuzawa thought it might be the origin of individualism. Western people are depending on God, not really individualistic and depending on themselves. We don't know how we can become individualists without God. So conformism is a danger.

It is believed that affection to all of society is better than affection to myself. Vertical affection is central in Japan. Affection and virtue, 'michi', is the supreme teaching of Confucius - the way. Most people go towards affection rather than reason. Monotheism and individualism seem to be connected.

The Japanese schools are too competitive and hard working. There is not enough space, too much regulation and pressure. There is total permissiveness in families, total regulation in schools. An attempt to liberate education failed because Japanese education is an iron cage; Dore's inspiration for the Diploma Disease came from Japan.

Conversation with Professor Tadashi Karube [Notes by Sarah]

Subject of his thesis was Tetsura Watsuji, an intellectual of early C20 - translation of 'Climate' published Tokyo 1950's and another 'Ethics in Japan' NY University Press recently. The original title was just 'Ethics' - intentional difference. Many Japanese philosophers tried to put themselves in the position of Western philosophers such as Heidegger and Jaspers. Tried to systematize thinking on relation of individual and society, or individual against society. Watsuji and others tried to think in parallel with Western thinkers, but looking back and comparing their thought and Western thought, there are clear differences. Watsuji and Kitaro Nishida tried to criticize individual and society in the West which made these thinkers aware of the Japaneseness of their approach versus the West. After Meiji, thinkers tried to criticize Western thinkers - double mirror - attempting to understand West and then themselves.

This started not from modern Meiji but before with Confucianists in Edo and Buddhists in Kamakura versus China - double mirror from the start. Process of learning monotheistic (axial) philosophy from China and India is process of discovering selves eg. of double thinking. Individualism is essentially different from Japanese culture so serious thinking started for the first time ie. not possible to "double mirror". Even in Edo period there were individualistic tendencies where people decided for themselves - not conformist - so double mirror is there to some extent. In Edo period according to Masao (anthropologist), each had own plate and chopsticks etc. This individuality - plate for mother, father etc. but when guest comes in all use same sort of plate, so individuality defined within the family only. Westernization process made changes in individual plates - Karube had individual plates within his family, but his wife's family had common plates, they had lived in U.S. He accustomed himself to his wife's habit.

Alan noted that it could be said that Japan was the most or least individualistic, so not helpful. Karube said "octopus pot" sometimes ambiguous - one per pot looks individualistic, but not - 'seken' = many units - family, company etc. Once you are within these have connections, but if you lose these links, anatomised. Only Buddhist thinking of the "I am I" type is the way out of atomised fate. Individual in Japan always has relationships. In Buddhist teaching, should cut off all links intentionally to reach Nirvana. Maruyama used word "atomization" rather than "individualism".

Alan said that in Japan everything is relational but in England the alternative is strong institutions. Japan has strong relational systems which work very well. They could not adopt English individualism as don't have binding that we have through law, markets etc. (drawing of circumscribed Japan with small-scale links while England has long links through institutions and God). Karube noted Confucian scholars in Edo saying man could criticize own master, similar in Shinto and Buddhist tradition.

Confucians talk to other Confucians, Shintoists to Shintoists etc. but not to each other. Fukuzawa's problem - Kojuncha founded to bring people together. Only turmoil of Meiji changed the old systems. Early Meiji period had its own goal to create integrated transport, education, etc. so individualism in Western sense important to achieve this. Afterwards, scepticism started. Once goal of unified nation achieved, another goal - is it alright to make Japan like the West? When Japan entered 1930's more nationalistic but needed a moderating line to control the right. Rethinking started. 1945-70, again individualistic. Now in phase of looking inwards and ultra-nationalism not quite disappeared.

Is Japan religious or not? Depends on what you mean by religion. Herman Ooms - multiple dependency on a religious system - Shinto for life, Buddhism for death (only in Japanese version!). Logical structure of Shintoism - accommodates foreign kami - looked at from a Christian point of view highly "this world" orientated. Hasn't absorbed transcendence. Shintoism has own local kami which will be strengthened by outside kami. Opposite effect for others encounters with world religions. Shintoism strengthened by absorption. Nihongi = kami in shrine has own power, wanted Buddha as a kami to strengthen power. Timing of story C9 when Chinese system entering Japan, ie. penetrating Chinese system into Japan which it absorbs. Within Shinto system kind of innovation system to adopt a new kami into a shrine (like insect-eating plant). Word 'Shinto' some say is after Edo. Karube says C14, C9 story teller regarded Buddha as a kami.

Before C14 Shintoism not regarded as a religion. C14 Shintoism starts a doctrine. Ise tried to theorize teaching - mixture of folklore and animism. Buddhism inspired them to sort out and identify themselves as different. Now majority of shrines organized under headquarters - Jinja Honcho (introduced in 1940's) but no unified beliefs. Meiji Government insisted that Shinto was not a religion. Reason why there is no unitary doctrine is that if you tried to do so it would disintegrate. Meiji Government defined Shintoism as custom and folklore - you can force Japanese people to follow customs but these are state legitimate customs. These related to Emperor as son of sun god. Government forced people to accept this as custom. Presence of Emperor worship for common people would be the addition of another kami. Meiji quite tolerant of Christianity if they did not reject Emperor worship. There were Christians who were punished for rejecting Emperor worship.

Axial thesis? Without axiality Japan could not modernize itself. Shintoism could absorb axial religions - became functional equivalent - pseudo-axiality. Is Japan really non-modern? Japanese system not ethnocentric but believe that something good will come from the outside. Division of labour of religion in Japan: Shintoism takes care of you in life, Confucianism of ethics, Buddhism at death - so the three aspects of axiality. Syncretism - this core of Edo period. Pre-condition to accept Western impact. Able to absorb the axiality. This core lasted to 1950's, then lost it. In Edo, in Osaka - city supplied culture and scholarship and teaching of Confucianism to the local village level - had good matching of syncretism until 1950's, then all urbanized and the system broke. At local level, new teachings of Buddhism etc. from centre would be a new kami. After 1950's all equalized. Now we are in good condition even at local level. Even locals don't want to invite new kami in - becoming inward looking. If outside culture is good, we will adopt it, if not, won't. Now stopped.

Kenichi and Toshiko looking to outside still, younger generation are not. Alan said this was pluralistic syncretism, not axiality. Japan has not been axial. Karube agreed that Japanese plurality would be better than axiality - 3 multiples, Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism designed to kick out Christianity. Whether these could apply in future is debatable. Strong pressure to axialize. In the 3 multiple system use to have the ability to help new things to emerge, but Karube is less optimistic that this could happen in the modern world - that three-fold system is not possible.

Alan said he came to look for alternative models for society - Japan a Utopian model. Karube said that a source of his pessimism is that people stopped looking outside or inside - complacent. His father teaches Chinese poetry at the Confucian school we went to yesterday. Syncretism works as Shintoism concedes that it has no doctrine and uses Confucianist ideas at the local level. Alan asked what held together a non-axialised syncretic system - should split apart. What are the joints? Karube said now in a time of peace - no outward impact, 'A' bombs etc. so system kept in tact. Under very huge pressure it might collapse.

Alan asked how Japan preserved a non-axial model - Shinto? Emperor? Karube said the Meiji state used the Emperor system very well. Doesn't believe that in the present situation that the Emperor system is useful. Because the Emperor system is not strong there is a mood for a strong leader - a new shogun? The abductions by North Korea are a big issue as bereaved families have become iconic -

people invested sympathy in them. Japanese need person to invest affection in. Once thought it was Koizumi. Now? Alan asked why Japanese ethics were affection-strong rather than logic-strong. Karube said Confucianism is the origin with its emphasis on affectionate benevolence. When it was imported from China it put off the logical and accepted the affectionate.

Alan said that binary Greek logic doesn't fit Japan. Karube noted that in the Chinese system there is also syncretism - Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism - but logic was orientated at the top level there. In the Japanese case, logic was all replaced by affection - there was no logic. Our system is not axial but permeated by affection. Fukuzawa ranks benevolence - family first, then neighbours, then others - but this is not Japanese. One of the big differences is the difference of love in England and affection in Japan.

NOTEBOOK - Alan's thoughts

Perhaps tuck the Emperorship away inside another section to make less prominent – either somewhere within politics or within the historical chapter at the end.

The basic short account would follow the history of the Emperor's place in Japanese structure, pre-Nara, Nara/Heian, medieval, Tokugawa, Meiji to 1945, modern. Six stages, with the Emperor moving from the centre to the margins and then artificially brought back into the centre at the Meiji.

Throughout the early period to the twelfth century the Emperor system essential to stop the first wave of axialization, then over the next two stages in the feudal/diffused phase and Tokugawa, nothing to get a grip on in the way of Axialization. Then, when the second great Axial threat emerged – this time from the West, the Emperor was revived again to block Axiality. In each case, the threat was blocked, by the caesaro-papist collaboration of religion and politics which prevented axiality emerging – and once the threat had been domesticated, it is possible to relax the brake and to let in a slow trickle of axiality, which merely channels and deflects the axial.

So there is a first firm dam and then a series of run-offs. An extremely effective way to keep the central integrity of the system. And something which nowhere else did, and would have been impossible without the powerful Emperor system – a bulwark against Axiality.

One theme which I could extend is the ambivalence/two-stranded nature of Japanese art. There is the bright, colourful, vigorous and cartoon-like side, the *ukiyo*, the splendid gilding and gold and red, the explicit and the direct. Japanese art could be thought of as in the Chinese tradition – joyful, playful, colourful and energetic. This is Japan in the sunlight.

On the other hand the art has a darker or shadow side – which I have written about at length – indirect, referential, indirect, monotone, subdued etc. This is especially important and far from China. So like everything in Japan, the art contains deep contradictions and points in opposite directions – the most grotesque and fanciful and the least ostentatious. Hence it is impossible to classify or to place within a single frame, both Chinese and other.

The second modification concerns the art/craft distinction. This is where the Fenellosa/Okakura and *mingei* bit would come in. Before the 1870's there was little distinction in Japan, art was crafts, craft was art. Fenellosa and co, by 'appreciating' Japanese art and displaying and writing about it created for a time the artificial distinction which was a product of western history. But, in fact, though half-accepted, again it does not work out very well because it misses the salient fact that, apart from a few 'artists', most of what is considered beautiful cuts across this division. In the arrangements of life, the flowers, food, houses etc, it is the process of living and crafting life that beauty is created. It is not a separate pursuit of art, but beauty manifest in very high craft skills and great taste.



Mount Fuji beyond Tokyo, seen from our hotel



Toshiko on the bridge leading to our hotel - with cherry blossom



Mrs Kashiwagi in traditional costume

4th April 2006

Breakfast could be described as a 'full Japanese'. Toshiko and Kenichi accompanied us to the station where we would catch the train for Narita airport. Very sad to say goodbye. They seemed more affected by it than I remember in the past, so I hope that it was all they had hoped it would be. The book has still to be revised so we have not closed the door yet. Now on the flight to Heathrow and have just watched the film 'Memoirs of a Geisha' which carried us back to Kyoto and all that we admire in Japan.



Japanese breakfast

Final re-writing of *Japan Through the Looking Glass*

We returned from Japan with a host of new ideas and impressions. These needed to be incorporated into the early draft of the book. Furthermore, as is usually the case with books that I write, the first draft has to be very substantially re-organized, re-written and re-thought in several subsequent drafts. Very often this is a matter of cutting things out, simplifying and strengthening the central argument.

This needs a very considerable effort and went on with this book for over a year. The process of honing and putting the final touches is not often described from the contemporary accounts, so this chapter gives an idea of the way in which a book continues to grow and alter well after its first rough outline is established.

Email from Alan 5th April 2006

Dear Toshiko and Kenichi,

We have arrived back safely to Lode after an easy journey and are just sorting out the piles of papers, films and memories which we accumulated during our visit. It was a truly wonderful time, and the weight of 'on' which we now bear is very great indeed. It requires that you visit us again soon. Everything was so beautifully planned and executed and, in terms of learning about Japan, I think that despite the shortness it was the most useful visit we have made. This reflects your choice of people to meet and places to visit, as well as your constant helpful and insightful comments. I only hope that I shall be able to absorb and make proper use of all the fascinating insights we gained. At the present, with jet lag, it seems difficult to imagine how I can get on top of it all. But the garden is trembling on the edge of spring, Lily and Rosa are warm and welcoming, and soon I know I shall have new inspiration. Anyway, thank you again for everything – true friendship across cultures and thousands of miles is one of the most precious delights in life and we value yours so much. With best wishes and to the children - whom we were delighted to see, and to find growing up into such elegant and interesting young ladies. Alan and Sarah

Email from Toshiko 7th April 2006

Dear Alan and Sarah,

It is nice to hear from you that you arrived home safely. I have just come back from the entrance ceremony of my university. I will be rather busy as the head of office from now, but I try to digest what we learned from our visit to many professors with you. We also learned a lot with such intensive meetings. As we are Japanese, we have a lot of materials to study. So we try to write bit by bit on each subject on Japan. We hope you will write a book which do justice to Japan. Hope to see you again soon! with best wishes, Toshiko

The nature of *kami*

One of the most confusing things which I have been trying to understand in Japan for fifteen years are *kami*, or more generally whether the Japanese live in an enchanted world.

On the one hand, we are constantly told that there is no supernatural world, no other reality apart from this world, no parallel universe, no place where spirits could live or exist or visit from. This material world is the only one we have, no one believes in God or godlings,

the Japanese are very rational and secular etc. So how can we talk of an enchanted, pantheistic world?

On the other hand, if you go into people's houses, museums of Edo life, into shrines and temples, or talk to other Japanese or watch the numerous processions, the place seems infested with *kami*. The countryside is apparently even more so, with rocks, trees, waterfalls etc often the abode of '*kami*'. Even among people, the Emperor traditionally, successful warriors or criminals, or anyone exceptional is a *kami*. Even wives are '*o-kami san*'.

We are told that *kami* are in objects, natural and manufactured, in the weather, they are everywhere. They are constantly around, whenever something odd, strange, unexpected happens, a '*kami*' may be at work. The Honorary Chief Priest of Osaka City's Imamiya-Ebisu Shrine, Takao Tsue, stated that 'Mountains, animals, trees, weeds... everything has divine spirits inside them...' 'In Shinto, we say "*yaoyorozu*," which means there are 8 million gods and goddesses but that is just an expression. There might be many more.'³⁷

So how is one to reconcile these two apparent views, of prosaic, secular, this worldly materialism and enchanted, 'religious', interpenetrated spirits? One is to accept the contradictions and ambivalence, as described by Carmen Blacker.

She writes that 'in Japan the vision of the other world is riddled with ambivalence, like a piece of shot silk. Move it ever so slightly and what we thought to be red is now blue; another tremor and both colours flash out simultaneously. It is the same with the other world. No sooner do we see it across the sea, removed horizontally in space, than it dives down beneath the waves or beneath the earth. No sooner are we shown an eerie and verminous waste land, where prisoners are immured in chambers of centipedes and snakes, than again the shape shifts and we are dazzled by a magical 'palace under the sea, shimmering with pillars of jade and gates of pearl, and where carpets of sealskin and silk are laid out for the guest. And again, no sooner have we caught sight of the *kami* there, in their own world, than they are here, in ours, hidden invisibly within certain suggestive shapes.'³⁸

I think one of my mistakes was to assume that '*kami*' were like western 'spirits', in other words that they were 'human' in some way, like fairies. This is a mistake. *Kami* are forces, neutral, power, more like the force of taboos in the anthropological literature. They are like lightning or earthquakes, a force of nature bursting in upon humans, but not in any way similar to godlings, elves etc. This resolves the paradox of how they both exist outside the usual perceived dimension of life, but at the same time do not live in some supernatural, human-like, world. The oddness of Miyazaki's depiction of *kami* as abstract dancing lights, will of the wisps, captures their nature.

Thus *kami* have no intentions, no morality, they are not linked to ethics or to human behaviour. They are just part of the unpredictable and strange world in which humans live, the cracks in the wall through which things suddenly intrude.

Put in terms of the western forces I have encountered as explanations of events, they do not approximate to any of them. They are not like Gods, godlings, fairies, witches, stars, chance. I suspect that the zombies (non-human forces) of west Africa, or the taboos of Oceania, both non-moral and non-human are closest to *kami*.

And their shape and nature probably helps to explain how and why they have managed to survive secularization. They are wrongly classified as religious in the western sense, or even spiritual. Kenichi tried to see if they fitted into the concept of 'the sublime' in the west – but this is not right. They are Edgar Allen Poe's 'outré', things that do not fit in. Or Gerard Manley Hopkins 'Kingfishers catch fire, dragonflies draw flame', and a good deal else of Hopkins work.

³⁷ Article by Judith Kawaguchi in *The Japan Times*, 28 March, 2006, p.17

³⁸ Blacker, *Catalpa Bow*, 69-70

Science and rationality pass them by, since they are not on the same plane. They cannot be disproved any more than a rainbow can be disproved. They just exist and constantly intrude in the way mana and tabu do. Indeed, in some curious synthesis of shamanism from the north and the world mana/tabu of the Pacific (e.g. Dobbins), there is created a category of objects which do not fit any previous classification.

So it is an enchanted world, but not the usual enchantment. And pantheism is not quite the right category either since it is different from Wordsworth. There is no God/Spirit/spirits. It is just that the things that are alive and move on the surface of this only world are both visible and normally invisible and include a class of invisible (but sometimes visible) forces which cannot alter our destinies – they do not punish or reward.

The nearest I can find to them are radio waves or electricity. We know these are there and we can capture them to our benefit, yet they are not visible except in special circumstances and in their effects. So *kami* are like a huge electrical force field, whose temporary ‘homes’ are the *kami* shelves and shrines which dot Japan and to whom the Japanese pay wary attention, while loudly proclaiming their disbelief.

Children, Miyazaki and artists can see and describe them, but for most they are just a ‘rumour of angels’, and a reported tale of something bizarre, unfitting, powerful, disturbing, which courses through our world and upsets our plans or leads us to prosperity.

The presence of countless non-human, invisible, forces, probably also fits well with the Chinese Taoist influence, the world of geomancy, divination, omens and numerous small actions like sprinkling salt etc to ward off the dangers and avoid the taboos. Not only do the Japanese walk through a social minefield, where enormous attention must be paid to smoothing social relations with other humans, but also a magical minefield where there are a host of highly explosive forces which, if touched, may explode.

Indeed the metaphor of a mine field is a good one for *kami*. *Kami* are triggered, they explode, they are non-human, mechanical almost. They are largely invisible until detonated. Much of life is spent trying to sweep them away from one’s path. They live under the cracks of the pavement, like Christopher Robin’s bears.

The difficulty of comprehending this in a monotheistic Christian tradition is very great since our distinctions between natural and supernatural, spirit and matter, human and divine do not apply. We had to import the word taboo because we have no such concept. It would be worth re-reading Steiner and some of the Melanesian stuff to see how that would map on to what I think *kami* are about.

What I have learnt from Japan

Japan, I have found, is good to think with. Surrounded by one’s own culture in the west, cocooned by advanced technologies, flooded by images and assumptions, it is very difficult to stand back from our own world and to see it as the accidental, constructed, non-necessary thing that it is. This tempts us towards evolutionary thinking of the later nineteenth century type where our present world is the end of history – to which all other civilizations are aspiring. This is what currently we might see as the American disease, a kind of intellectual myopia which deadens the mind.

With the collapse of Marxism as a viable alternative, we seem to be left with a choice between two rather problematic alternatives, American-style capitalism or Islamic fundamentalism.

In the past, when Europe was at its most triumphalist and dominating, one of anthropology’s main contributions was to present alternatives, small pockets of ‘otherness’ which provided alternative models. But they were small, isolated and gave no real challenge

to the west. They were about to be extinguished and anyway would not work outside the face to face, holistic, worlds where they were to be found.

Japan is spick and span 'modern', hyper efficient and economically successful, militarily powerful. It cannot be ignored. If it can also be shown that it is based on alternative premises and principles to the west, it would constitute a real alternative to the saturated imagination of the west.

*

Japan helps us realize that the central features of western modernity – the divisions between mind/body, natural/supernatural, institutional spheres are not intrinsically necessary for being 'modern'. The dualisms, binary oppositions and segmentations which in practice happened alongside the first miracle – the scientific and industrial revolution in the west, may have been a necessary pre-condition for the first 'escape' and their absence may help to explain why such an escape did not occur in the east. But what is curious about Japan is that it splits open the question of whether these opposites are needed also to emulate or maintain a modern economy.

Japan in the Meiji went a certain way towards modernizing. But it maintained most of its undivided self and has done so since. So it does not need monotheism, separations, disenchantment etc. It can operate simultaneously as hyper-modern and also 'tribal' at the same time. I had never imagined that this was possible and it provides a partial answer to Ernest Gellner's dilemma.

Who is the Emperor?

It may be a good idea not to use the word Emperor but, as when we use the word Shogun because there is no western equivalent, to use the Japanese *Tenno*. The trouble with using Emperor is that it immediately has associations with, and classes the institution alongside, those Emperors we know. So we think of the western tradition – the Roman Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, or the great eastern Emperor of China.

If we think of the Roman Emperor we think of the powerful ruler of a vast domain with basically secular powers – armies, law etc. If we think of the Chinese, then we think of someone who is given the mandate of heaven to rule this world – but who is also answerable to heaven.

The Japanese Emperor is really very different from either of these. He is far more divine, a direct descendant of the sun god/goddess Ameratsu and thus, in effect, a God. He is not answerable to any higher power and his people cannot rebel against him. He is the apex of the system, with all power flowing up to him. Yet he has little direct power and rules through a downwards flow of his aura. He is not the supreme ruler of many different groups and far-flung peoples, as with Rome or China, but the rather local and father-like head of the quite homogeneous Japanese people in their confined islands. Thus he is simultaneously more autocratic, with no bounds to his power, yet in practice largely dependent on ritual and authority, rather than personal power and standing armies.

Moreover, while the Emperors in the other traditions ruled alone, for most of Japanese history the Emperors have had to cede much of their effective (military) power to their generals and particularly the Shogun. So we have something in its own class, whom it would be safest to call the Tenno.

In-between, queer, things.

Alice's world was inhabited by strange creatures with odd features – Humpty Dumpty, the Jabberwocky, the Cheshire Cat and others. What inhabits Japan?

I have located two weird creatures already, the Tenno or non-emperor, and the *kami* or non-godling. Another is the yakuza, or non-gangster, another is the Shinto non-priest. Others include the sumo non-wrestler, the Noh non-actor etc. Even the craftsmen is not really bust a craftsman but also an artist. In fact, almost every role, from wife to policeman to tea master to mother is somehow different and unfamiliar once one looks at it.

This raises the common problem in anthropology, which accounts for the use of many foreign terms like taboo, mana etc, that is the in-between, half-way, categories of most societies do not map onto western ideas – one loses too much in translation. So it will be important to try to teach the readership a few key Japanese concepts which cannot be translated, giri, ninjo, honne, tatamae, *kami*, Tenno etc. So I shall both have a glossary and define the terms carefully when they first occur – plus yakuza, manga, sumo, natto, wa etc.

22nd April 2006

Started the Japan book a year ago today. Has progressed a lot so that I now have more or less all the ideas and materials for the final version - and a reasonable first draft. Will spend next six months polishing and re-writing to make it better. Finished 'Quicksand' by Tanizaki and now will read 'Catalpa Bow' by Carmen Blacker.

I thought further about Japan through May. On the 7th I wrote in the diary: *It was a book of over 105,000 words so it would break the sequential flow to include here. But it gives a good idea of where I had got to some roughly mid-way through the writing of the book. A good deal of the material in this version was omitted, other parts added, and the order and contents of the chapters was altered greatly. So it is a substantially different book. It can be seen below. But here are the chapter headings and word lengths in my plans. A week later I wrote, Quite nostalgic trip to Oxford to give a talk on Japan where I met Keith Thomas and others. Then quite a few meetings on Thursday and Friday. In between I started to revise/rewrite 'Japan'. Took out the chapter heads and reordered to 8 chapters from about 30, and from about 107,000 words to 89,000, and still shortening. Feels much improved and wonder if it will end up with a couple of paragraphs only! A week later the book was still shrinking. A cool day which saw the blossom turning to fruit. Worked further on the Japan book and did quite a lot more trimming - now down to 85,000 words and two more sections to work on. Bits flow really well, while others still a bit ragged.*

Email from Alan (c. 20 May)

Dear Toshiko and Kenichi,

I hope you are all well. This is mainly to say that the second part of the very generous funding for our Japanese trip has arrived in our bank. Thank you so much, Kenichi, for organizing that. Very much appreciated. The book comes along well in between endless meetings - 20 meetings in the last two weeks alone! But I have reduced it from 30 chapters to 8, and from 107,000 words to 84,000 words, and it feels better. I should have a version for you to quickly look at if you wish by June and hope to get off to publishers by the end of September - to be published next year in August they say. They sent me a cover, but it is not at all suitable in various ways, so we are working on it.

With our warm greetings to all of you, Alan

Email from Alan c.22nd May 2005

Dear Toshiko,

Thanks. That is very good news. [That Kenichi can read the draft.] Perhaps you could ask him how he would like it sent. I can either send as the eight separate chapters as individual files, (it has been shrunk from about 30 small chapters to eight), or I can put them all together into one single file of the whole book. It is now 85,000 words long, but I want to try to reduce to 80,000 words, and it will be read by others also, but I think it is getting closer... I shall tell you which ones I have changed most and which are less changed since our visit. Best wishes, Alan

Email from Alan 25th May 2006

Dear Kenichi and Toshiko,

Here is the current version of the book. The chapters which have been most changed are: Beauty - the first few pages on art Power - on the Emperor system. People - on children and crossing rivers Beliefs - on Axiality Wealth - on the dual economy idea Ideas - on language So there are new sections, and the whole is greatly shortened. It is still about 4000 words too long, and also there are bits that no doubt need re-working. But let me know what you think. As you know, I will take responsibility for all of it, which fully acknowledging our collaboration. So you will not be held accountable for any of my interpretations. But I would like to get it as good as possible. With best wishes to all the family, Alan

The diary for June records further work on the Japan book as term ended. On 3rd June I wrote *Did a little further checking of footnotes in Japan book - now done about three-quarters of them. Moderately useful week, firstly some examining, meetings, but also a little tidying up of 'Japan' and started to think about the next.* The next day I more or less finished this draft of Japan book with which I have been battling - inputting all of Sarah and Mark's comments. Now some 73,400 words long. Feels a lot improved. A week later I wrote: *Sarah had read nearly half of the Japan book and seems to be really enjoying this version and made many useful comments - so have cut out another 2,500 words. Also very positive comments from Mark Turin - a "wonderful book" etc. We spent much of the day pottering - Sarah editing films and my 'Power' chapter of 'Japan', and I edited 'Japan' with her invaluable comments ...* Three days later, on 17th, I wrote: *... as Sarah reads/corrects 'Japan through Mirror', adding in her comments. She is, as always, doing a marvellous job and has already cut out 7,700 words - with two chapters to go. But she seems much happier with this version.* And the next day I commented in the diary: *Mention of the Japan book always seems to lead to great interest - much more so than 'Letters to Lily' for some reason... While I wait for final push on Japan am dusting down and re-ordering all my drafts of book and thinking about what to do next. Feel I am turning over a leaf soon and moving into the last three-year phase of the wonderful job I have in the Department.* On 1st July I wrote: *Also worked further on 'Japan Through the Looking Glass' and have it now down to almost final version I hope, and almost exactly 80,000.*

2nd July 2006

Further thoughts for 'Japan' conclusion

Before I visited and attempted to understand Japan I made a series of assumptions which have turned out to be, at best, half true. I assumed Japan was a 'small version of China', which had only recently diverged from the mainland. This is quite wrong. There are some overlapping features, yet at a deeper level Japan and China are very different indeed. At times they have come closer, yet the divergence has always been there.

I believed that Japan is an 'epitome of a modern, capitalist, scientific, society'. Depending on definitions, it now appears that Japan is neither modern, pre-modern nor post-modern. Rather, it lies on a trajectory where these terms do not apply. Nor is it capitalist or pre or post-capitalist, but a mixture that does not fit within Marxist or other definitions.

Furthermore, if we mean by ‘scientific’ roughly what Einstein described as the essence of the scientific revolution, a mixture of Greek philosophy (particularly geometry) and Baconian empiricism, then Japan is again neither scientific, nor pre-scientific. The ideas of causal chains of reasoning and of what constitutes proof do not fit into the Graeco-Renaissance framework of the west.

In terms of historical change, I had assumed that all civilizations on earth followed a ‘normal’ course. There was a period of oral, tribal, integrated life, which had lasted on earth until about ten thousand years ago. Then settled peasant civilizations had emerged and about two and a half thousand years ago they had developed recognizable world religions based on ‘axial’ oppositions. In the last 250 years a third form had emerged, industrial and scientific, with two major socio-political systems as variants, capitalist and communist.

I assumed Japan fitted somewhere in this framework. It must have been part of the change from tribal to peasant and it must have adopted one or more of the world religions. Then in the last 150 years, it had moved towards a ‘modern’ world of science, and after a brief period of fascism, towards democratic capitalism. I assume there was only one major path, though there were small divergences such as communism and fascism.

All that was to be argued about was what ‘stage’ or branch of the main paths Japan had reached. I had a hunch that, like England, it was at the forefront of its region and hence very far advanced on the ‘modern’ route. Trying to force Japan into this scheme occupied much of my thought in the 1990’s, yet it never fitted. It was only when I let Japan be itself, when I began to listen more carefully, that I realized that my whole scheme was ethnocentric and too rigid. Japan does not follow the same path, it does not take the turn into any of my assumed categories – axial religions and philosophies, ‘modern’ divisions and capitalism. Instead it incorporates useful parts of these bundles of technologies of thought and action, but changes their meaning and rejects other parts.

So what I expected to find as a variant on one of the great classical types, ‘capitalism with a Japanese flavour’, I found instead to be a new species – recognizably human, but of an order of difference greater than that between say China and India, or America and Russia.

The incommensurability is similar to that I found in comparing a ‘tribal’ village in Nepal to my English experience. It is not like comparing oranges and apples, both fruit even if different in other respects, but an orange with a tiger, both living, but one vegetable and one animal.

One refreshing aspect of this is that, in a sense, it reverses or halts time. It is easy to assume that there is no going back. Once Greek thought, the Renaissance, the Scientific Revolution, the Industrial Revolution had occurred, I believed the world was forced by huge pressure in a certain direction. Although nothing is inevitable before it happens, after the event the whole world is changed utterly.

It seemed to me that there was no room for a significant and viable alternative on this crowded globe. This seemed especially to be the case after the collapse of one possible variant, communism, first in the Soviet Union and then, in practice, in China. Furthermore, if there was a substantial alternative, not the lingering vestiges of other solutions still to be found in small tribes either on the periphery or in Utopian ‘New Ager’s’, then surely this would be obvious and we would know of it. It could not be hidden.

One of the most extraordinary features of Japan is what a well-kept secret it is. Like any parallel world, it is more or less invisible, but just shines through occasionally. Many have sensed there is something strange there, but in the absence of any sustained mapping of its topography and geography, it has not been possible for a wider public to know that it is there. The mirror is not one which people can look into, as Kenichi rightly warned me.

Even with sustained efforts over fifteen years, and enormous help from my Japanese friends, I was still only at the entrance to the magic tunnel in early 2005. But for the good fortune of Toshiko and Kenichi’s visit to Cambridge at just the right time, I might never have got any

further. My attempts had run into the ground, draft after draft of books and articles on Japan, and two full-length treatments of the material world and the thought of Fukuzawa just seemed to be polishing parts of the surface of the mirror without any sense of entering it sympathetically.

Only by chance did I manage to fall through the mirror, so unexpected and so exhilarating. The shift of perspective seems to me similar to that which the philosopher Tocqueville had to make when he visited America. Here was literally a 'new world', whose architecture had never been described and which had never before existed on earth.

Yet Tocqueville had two advantages. Firstly, he expected to find something very new and other, and so did not spend too much effort trying to fit America into pre-existing models. Secondly, Tocqueville realized that much of 'America' was a simplified, stripped-down, version of England. So he gained many clues from the better documented English case, which he could adapt and apply.

In the case of Japan, the sense of a new and very different world, which was alive up to the Second World War, has been overlaid by Japan's incredible post-war prosperity and technological growth. The surface of the mirror is so 'western' and 'modern' that the visitor and even the Japanese have been deceived.

The extent of self-deception is well caught by Toshiko's comments when she read an early draft of the book. Toshiko explained that the reason why she and Kenichi were taking my book so very seriously was that my insight that Japan is still a 'tribal' society has surprised them greatly – but helped them to understand themselves. She believed it is an important insight. She would like me to explore this idea of tribalism further and to strengthen that argument.

'The surprise comes from the fact that we (the Japanese) think we are very modern and very like western peoples, and do the same as them – whereas, in reality, we really are tribal peoples. So my saying this is both very strange, but they believe I am right about it.'

If my observation is that Japan is strange and non-modern, it accords well with representations of Japan in the Edo/Meiji observers and suggests that the Japanese have not changed a lot in their behaviour. 'This is again very surprising for us, because we are told that the Meiji saw the revolutionary change from the feudal to the modern. This was what made Japan successful.' But I show that the Japanese behaved in the same way. Why is this so? My argument is 'very persuasive for us'. Many think that Japanese people changed absolutely to the modern and westernized. Toshiko thinks that the most important period is the end of Edo through to the Meiji.

In general she said 'We didn't understand ourselves until we read your book. And then we re-read Maruyama and Amino. We hadn't really understood them before. We look at ourselves differently because of your book and we can see Maruyama and Amino more clearly.'

This shows that the Japanese are as much hampered as we are by unquestioned assumptions about inevitable evolutionary frameworks. Their encounters with the theories developed by foreigners suggests to them that Japan is a very successful 'modern, capitalist, industrial' society. Yet why, if this is so, do they still feel so very different, unable to understand with their hearts many of the things like religion, romantic love, individualism, capitalist ethics, which are supposed now to be part of their culture? They feel as if they are wearing a mask, but do not know what is beneath it.

Hence a sense of frustration builds up. People on the outside describe and analyse Japan, but all their analyses are rejected as missing the point by the Japanese. Yet, when asked what the point is, the Japanese answer with bewilderment that they do not know, all they know is that it has been missed.

Once one has penetrated behind the screen, Japan give a living example of a Borges-like *tertium orbis* or third world. This is invigorating, especially at the start of a new century. The tremendous ‘triumph of the west’, moving along the trajectory I had assumed to be not only normal but with no alternatives, is leading to immense problems – political, ecological, philosophical. More of the same will clearly not do, and the current pressure to narrow options even further by eliminating all alternatives to Anglo-American style society and polity is pushing us all into a very narrow alley. Straight imitations, or total rejections of what we have learnt and gained in terms of developing an open and wealthy society will also get us nowhere.

We need to explore real alternatives which have a chance of working. Even if we cannot adopt the Japanese model, it is valuable because it shows that a radically different arrangement of our world is both possible and delivers the life style which few people would not be prepared to forgo.

The Japanese experience, like science fiction, encourages us to consider alternatives, to allow our imagination free, to escape from the traps of our own culture. At a time when the centre of gravity in the world is reverting, after a short two hundred years of something else, back to Asia, this is especially important. As India and especially China constructs a new world order, it is important that they have more than the current set of models, capitalist, communist, Islamic, to consider. They can learn from a civilization which has, in fact, beaten the West at its own game – capitalist production – yet refused to be bullied by the West into abandoning its core cultural values.

Not only has Japan learnt to subvert ‘modernity’, as represented by Europe and America, but it has refused to be brow-beaten by Confucianism, Buddhism or other world philosophies. It has done what all self-respecting nations would like to do, which is to retain its identity while accepting useful things from outside. It has done this in an extreme form.

On the one hand the importations from outside have often been magnified and improved, the technologies are sharpened and made even more effective so that the Japanese production of objects, utilitarian and aesthetic, is unsurpassed. On the other hand, the rejection of the underlying philosophical frameworks from outside are more absolute. It is not just a matter of making Confucianism, Buddhism, western industrial capitalism, a little less forceful, but they are subverted almost entirely so that they do not destroy the undivided nature of Japanese life. New words are added to the cultural language all the time, but the grammar remains largely unchanged, or rather, changes quite rapidly but not merely to reflect outside pressures.

So Japan gives us simultaneously hints of a distant past, the world of undivided, tribal, life, or of our own childhood, but simultaneously of our future. It may foreshadow an Asian dominated world where the dominance of the western monotheistic and Greek heritage has faded. The best residues of Renaissance thought and the scientific and industrial revolutions will have become the legacy for all mankind, but the political, philosophical and social frameworks originating in a peripheral part of north western Europe and then exported to the United States will have again assumed their more usual proportions – as just one variant among many. New unities and integrations will have occurred, less based on the post-modernities of the west than on the more ancient traditions of the East.

Just as the world for a century became ‘western’, so, again for a while, it will become ‘eastern’. That Japan has preserved ways of holding together the contradictions of everyday life which have worked for many thousands of years, but then were apparently crushed in the axial revolution, is an important reminder that ours are not the only way. Our children, and particularly the grand-children of Rosa’s generation, have much more freedom to build the world they want than I certainly thought a year ago before I fell through the Japanese looking glass.

Further Work

This book is only a preliminary sketch. It suggests a new way to understand Japan, but it cannot provide the detailed analysis which huge books like those by Eisenstadt, Aronson or Van Wolferen, over three or four times the length, can supply.

Others will judge whether my picture is fruitful and hopefully even in its exaggerations and errors it will stimulate thought. I agree with T-Roper that one fruitful error is worth a thousand stale truths. I have stuck my neck out in the full awareness of the Japanese saying that a protruding nail should be hammered back in. But the hammering process may prove fruitful.

7th July 2006

Mirrors and understanding

There are certain properties of mirror worlds which make them difficult to understand.

Firstly, a classic anthropological problem, we tend to see only what we already know – ourselves. Since the Japanese are experts at concealment, nothing is given away easily and we tend just to see what we bring to the mirror – which tends to be highly modernized and westernized. The oddnesses and mysteries are buried deep and are difficult to catch in a steady gaze or to understand when we do see them.

Mirrors also tend to reverse everything, hence the famous Japanese topsy-turvyness. Mirrors are odd also because they are physically flat, yet also have depth and perspective.

Normally mirrors reject our intrusions and exploration – hence the oddness of Alice's adventures actually going through the mirror.

One-way mirrors allow people to look out, but not others to look in, as Kenichi described Japan.

Mirrors tell the truth – our weaknesses and blemishes become more apparent in the mirror – we cannot hide.

Mirrors also lie – especially if they are distorting, as in Japan, magnifying, reversing, changing properties.

In the diary for 15th July I wrote, *Got on quite a bit with revising 'Japan'. Sarah has read 3/4 and I have edited and written a revised version of the conclusion. Looking forward to finishing it quite soon. The following day I wrote: Am re-reading Borges for final inspiration for Japan book, a draft of which I hope to finish.*

17th July 2006

China and Japan

It is easy to see why many people might think of Japan as basically a small version of China. One part of their traditions of painting and literature is very similar. Their written scripts have many shared characteristics, as do part of their grammar and syntax. Their agriculture and production in southern China and Japan is based on rice, bamboo, mulberry and tea. The family system enjoins filial duties and piety. The Emperor is important in both. The religious and philosophical mixture of Buddhism, Taoism/Shinto and Confucianism has many elements in common. In other words, much of Japanese culture had been derived from China and recently Japan has influenced China.

Yet one theme of this book has been to emphasize at a deeper level that they are also very different. The art and literature have another dimension – the subdued, irregular, sober features which are so pronounced from the C13 onwards. There are extra characters and grammatical features in Japanese which have no parallel. The agriculture has far less emphasis on domesticated animals and no wheelbarrows. The family is very different, with no clans based on purely male descendants. The Japanese have a much greater sense of purity and of the dangers of dirt. The feudal distribution of power in Japan is very different from the Emperor under Heaven and the Mandarin system of China. The religion in Japan has stripped away the concepts of another world or ideal standard contained in the semi-Axialized system of Cina, Confucianism has been invented so that political loyalties come before loyalty to the family.

All this means that if, as I have had the pleasure of doing, you travel round China and Japan, through cities, gardens, villages and remote areas, you get a sense of visiting distant cousins. There are some family resemblances, the hint of an expression, the lines of a feature. Yet they're also very unlike in temperament and physiognomy. It feels closer between China and Japan than, say, India and Japan. Yet the gulf is still very great.

Email from Alan

Dear Toshiko and Kenichi,

Before we go on holiday on 22nd I hope to have a revised and more or less final version (from our end) of the book. It has been cleaned up quite a bit and parts revised and expanded or shrunk. I could send you the whole text in one file if you would like, or just the conclusion (Out of the Mirror), which is particularly important that you read. Whatever is best for you. I do not have to get the book to the publisher until mid-September, so there is no rush. Best wishes to you all from a baking Cambridge. Alan

On 2nd August Sarah wrote, Alan heard from Toshiko with a list of her comments. Nothing too dire though he needs to work on the 'Beauty' chapter.

God's culture
Phenotype
Juno
Shinshu
Teshiki
2/8/06

Dear Alan,

I have read your draft.

I think it is well written on the whole. Especially, I enjoyed chapters on Power, Ideas, and Beliefs. Non-binary thinking, ideas and attitude toward war, and Shinto which are usually misunderstood by western people are well analyzed. So the main purpose of our collaboration is fulfilled.

But I feel that Chapter 2 Beauty is still problematic. All the more so, because other parts are well written and have strong argument. It contains too many items which usually foreign people would like, and gives the impression that this book is another example of superficial analysis of strange foreign academic. Especially, as it is in the first part of the book, the reader might stop reading thinking that it is not worth reading. Each item which are dealt with has its own history. And if you ignore the historical context, it looks like another superficial understanding. There are many descriptions which are in doubt historically, which western specialist on Japan or Japanese junior high school student can point out.

So I would prefer to abandon this chapter and put each episode into the latter chapters. It would make your intention to write this book clear.

But if you would like to have this chapter, you had better make it as the introductory chapter to your analysis, which means to show at a glance you find out the contradictory nature of the Japanese society. If you do so, you had better pick up some items (not so many as in the present draft) which usually rather popular among western people, and show the contradictory impression. And lead the argument to your analysis. In that case I think the title of the chapter must not be Beauty but Culture or Art.

These are my comment on the whole. Other than that, I put @ mark at the head of the paragraph which contains doubts in your draft, and made comment on each with pages and line in the paragraph..

In the part from 'Contents' to 'frequently cited early visitors', I corrected names and period and so on which I know directly on the draft. So please copy it as it is. But in the 'chronological table there is one mistake. It shows '1185 Kamakura', but in Japanese History, Kamakura starts in 1192. So you have to change the year.

Other comments are as follows.

p.25 l.3 'Kazuko' is wrong. Should be 'Kakuzo' ✓

pp.26-28 the description of this part is mixture of many historical characteristics. So very strange to Japanese. If we read them we have the impression you do not know the basic knowledge on Japanese history. ✓

p.30 l.6 'inro' does not make sense in Kanji. It might be 'inyo'. Please check. ✓

pp.33-35 about Sumo. Recently I have read the article about the history of sumo in Tokugawa period which was the origin of the present day sumo. It said it was a popular sports like the football in England and some person of sumo succeeded in inventing the tradition to make the position of sumo prestigious saying it has some special connection with emperor. And also ju-do and ken-do were Meiji origin. They were really martial arts in Edo period. After Meiji they are converted to a kind of training way emphasizing the spiritual side. If you still want write about sumo, I will check some points again. ✓

pp.37-38 We like hot spring or bath because it is very relaxing and it has nothing to do with purity or washing away the dirt. We do not soak our towels to keep the water clean so that other people can also enjoy the water. So it is etiquette to other people. ✓

p.39 l.1 not 'Rikyo' but 'Rikyu' ✓

p.40 l.1 baseball is the most popular game in Japan. ✓

p.44 l.6 'oiran' starts from 17c. so you had better take the word off. || ✓

p.65 about the School fees. It is said in Fukuzawa's book that he or Keio school is the first person or school to have the system of school fees. I think the payment to teachers ✓

in Edo period was not the money but some goods.

p.65 l.3 my sister in law has the fees for piano lessons but can not dare to ask to raise the amount because to tell about the money is thought to be not polite and well bred people do not mention about it. ✓

p.67 l.4 The inheritance system which usually the first born male inherits was established in 17 or 18C. so you have to be careful about the description. ✓

p.76 We don't change our names now. So it should be written in past tense. ✓

p.78 l.5 about our national anthem. It is called 'my lord' or 'bless my lord' and meaning is people wishing the eternity of the lord's world like a small stone become very big rock and covered with moss (it is not logical but it means such a long time). So I have never heard of such an interpretation as you write. ✓

p.83 l.2 I realized that if we use the word marriage broker, it gives wrong impression than the reality. Intermediator might be the better word. He or she is a friend or relative who sometimes retired person or have lots of time and connection and take care of young people to meet the suitable mate. They do it totally voluntarily. ✓

p.87 l.5 Perhaps as I have told you, we do not care about our parents but children. It is said so historically. ✓

p.87 l.6 There are Divorce within marriage in Japan. But I do not think it can be said 'Many'. Perhaps 'some' might be better. ✓

p.89 l.4 We use the white eye only to the strangers or in the situation that we can not use the verbal communication. Not to our children. ✓

p.98 This example is totally out of context. This incident is recent phenomenon that people tend to dislike to have relation with other people. ✓

p.108 l.6 period of feudalism is between twelfth and sixteen, not eleventh as you wrote in the next paragraph. ✓

p.133 This is the story of Edo period. Should be written so. ✓

p.135 l.4 We sometimes hear the news about the hard drug dealing by Yakuza. So check the fact. ✓

p.136 l.6 not 'tatamae' but 'tatemae' ✓

p.161 l.5 in 1997 the law was made to protect Ainu's rights and culture. I am not sure about the court rule. Please check. ✓

p.161 l.1 Japanese did discriminate Ainu but it is because they are different not because they are dirty. ✓

p.161 l.1 'people dirt' (hitogami) must be 'hitogomi'. But if so, it does not make sense in Kanji, because 'hito-gomi' means 'crowded by people'. I realized that the person who gave this information to you made mistakes in writing 'gomi' with another Kanji which has the same sound in Kanji. He or she thought 'gomi' to use a Kanji to mean 'rubbish', but correct one is to mean 'crowded'. So his or her information is rubbish! ✓

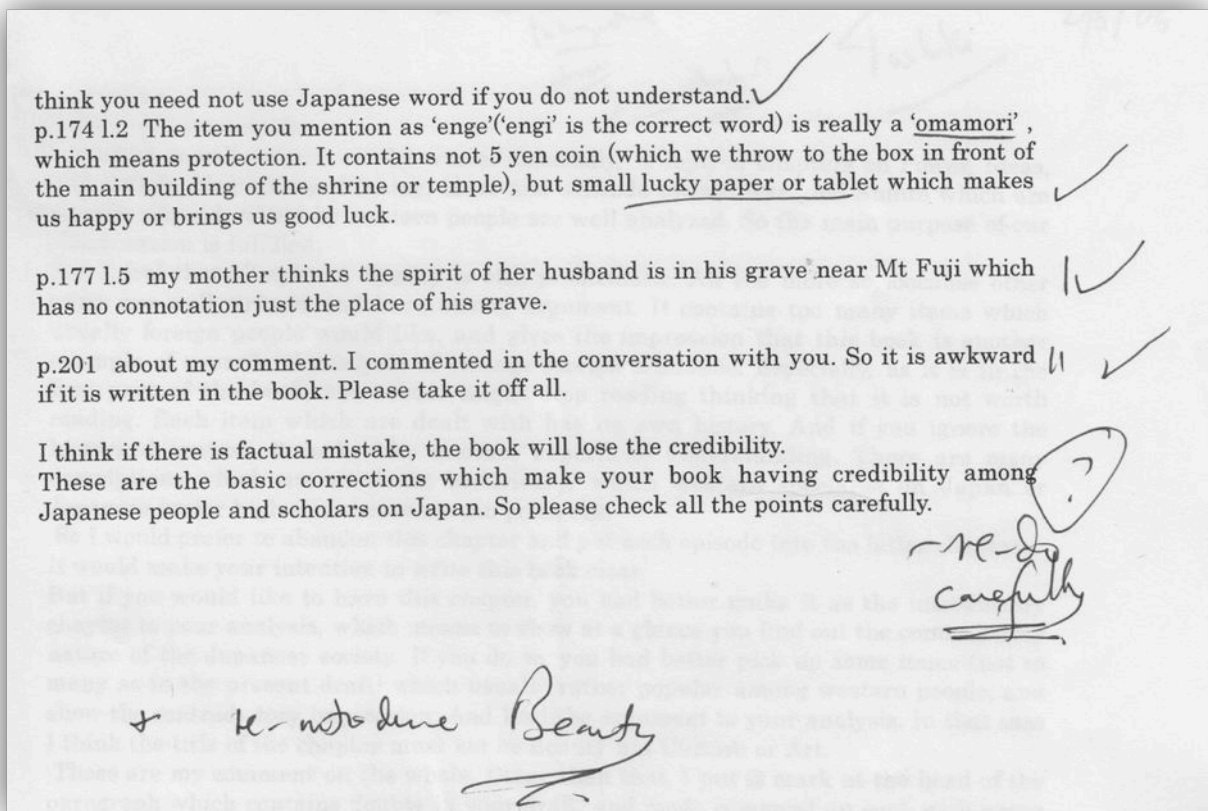
Also the example in the public library is again to keep the book untainted because it is for every people's use like the public bath. It is a kind of idea of 'the public'. ✓

p.165 l.2 We like to visit Mt Fuji because it is beautiful not because it is sacred. ✓

p.165 l.2 I think the percentage of the house which has Shinto God shelf is too high. Please check the date of survey. ✓
- H.S., c. 24

p.166 l.3 The emperor has not traditionally been Kami. Just from the beginning of 20 C. ✓

p.172 l.1 batchi-gata' makes no sense. Must be 'bachi-ga-atatta' or 'bachiataru'. But I ✓



Comments by Toshiko, with my markings

I wrote three days later *A week making some changes to Japan book - not much change fortunately from Toshiko's corrections as she mainly approved of it.*

Email from Alan about 7th August 2006

Dear Toshiko,

I have been working on the very helpful comments you have sent. I think I can see a way in which to make the 'Beauty' chapter (which I am now calling 'Culture Shock') part of the introduction, rather than of the analytic body of the book. It is an extension of 'Into the Mirror', in other words first impressions, surprises and confusions. Hopefully this will mean that Japanese readers will be patient with it and realize that it is only a preliminary set of observations helping to set up the puzzle. Thank you for suggesting this. I have also taken out your comments at the end of the book and made them more general and not related to you. I have modified my account of sumo in line with the article in the Kodansha, plus alluding to the fact that some of the ceremonial parts are probably a recent (re)invention. I have made all the other changes you suggest. Inr (which is the accurate form, though I am not putting in diacriticals) is correct, according to the Kodansha, vol. 1, p.166b for example. On male primogeniture, the article in the Kodansha says it became the norm in the mid-Muromachi, so I have followed this. On the god-shelves, the surveys of their frequency are alluded to by Joy Hendry in her 1986 book, so I have made that more specific. So I hope that it will now be free of the errors that will annoy a Japanese audience. Thanks again for all your help - obviously far beyond this last stage, Warm wishes to all the family, Alan

Email from Toshiko 8th August 2006

Dear Alan,

In my comment p.67. On male primogeniture. It is right that we had primogeniture, but it was not limited to the first born male nor male. there was the area that the first-born child (boy or girl) would inherit or second or third boy could inherit. So the 'first born male' had better be taken off. Kenichi is now reading your draft thoroughly and writing long comment in detail! So be prepared! It becomes very hot these days here like in Tokyo. but we will go to Tokyo for a few days this week. I hope he finishes and sends it to you before that. best wishes, Toshiko

Email from Alan about 19th August

Dear Toshiko and Kenichi,

Thanks very much for your helpful suggestions. I have thought about Kenichi's comment that I should say a little more on anti-nihonjinron and orientalism. I have also been asked to say something about what I mean when I say I want to try to 'understand Japan' in the light of possible criticism from post-modernists. So I have written a lengthier section which would go at the end of the 'Into the Mirror' first chapter. I attach this and if you have the time or interest would very much value comments. It is tricky to say something that is light and easily accessible to readers and does not put them off (I want people other than academics to read the book), yet is not superficial and trivial. Hope all is well with you, as it is with us here. Alan

Email from Toshiko 20th August 2006

Dear Alan,

I will read the attachment in a few days. Kenichi says he will start reading the rest part of your draft in a few days. By the way, I am now reading the article of Prof. Watanabe on how Japanese of Meiji period thought about Christianity again which we told you about, to write a book review. And I strongly recommend you again to read the journals of Iwakura Mission, which is the mirror image of religion of Japanese and help you to understand Japanese thinking very much. best wishes, Toshiko

Email on 17th September from Kenichi

COMMENTS SENT WITH EMAIL ON 17 SEPT 2006

Dear Alan

This is my second series of comment on your draft on Japan. I hope it might be helpful for you.

Sincerely yours,

Kenichi

p.108

(1) this imperial system was in place for only a very short period between the eighth and eleventh centuries. in place only in the central part of Honshu and for only a very short period.....

(2) very different form the centralized absolutist system that was found in China.

What you call 'Chinese absolutist system', according to recent studies, was far less absolute than Western scholars thought. 'Asiatic Despotism' seems to me a one of the Orientalist myths which was invented by Western Marxists and was adopted by Asian Marxists.

(3) The villagers often protected themselves by donating their land to some prestigious institution • • better to add • • • which in return allowed the villagers to their own autonomy.

(4) on Confucian :

Ie system became dominant in Muromachi period and Edo Shogunate imported Confucian as the ideology for governing elites.

P.109

(3) Contractual relations established by feudal service

I am wondering whether the system, which is highly interest/functional oriented, can be said as a part of 'feudal service'. I am not sure what you mean by 'feudal service'. For example, a strong guild-like institutions such as group of oil traders, which was nominally protected by Iwashimizu Shrine but utilized the authority of name of Iwashimizu as the exclusive rights of trade and the trademark. Was the relations between oil traders and Iwashimizu Shrine 'feudal service'.

P.111 The Shogunate had destroyed all religion.

(1) The Edo Shogunate had physically destroyed Christians but any Shogunates had never destroyed Buddhism, Confucian nor Shintoism. It was Oda Nobunaga's army that destroyed radical and populist factions of Buddhism. Buddhism were protected by Edo Shogunate as an instrument of popular control. Professor Karube and Professor Kurozumi believes that in Edo period, the division of labours of the trio of Buddhism, Confucian and Shinto played a functional counterpart to religion in West. If you separate the trio, each of the trio was not what you call 'religion' but the synthetic of the three played a social function of social/mental stability.

(2) Most of Shinto

Most of the religious aspect of Shinto was forgotten by the mid-Tokugawa, but ritualistic aspect survived although even Ise Shrine became ruined during the civil war period.

(3) it wasno attractive power

it was no effective attractive power but they had some attractiveness or shadowy / calm charismatic power especially in Kyoto and in Kansai, but much less in Kanto and Edo even in the late Edo period

p.112

Yoshida Shinto was not ancient but the creation of early modern. Yoshida Shrine was built in 1484 and the style of the architecture was quite new although the inventor, Yoshida Kanetomo lied that his Shinto job, the ritual of his own invention were originated from Heian.

p.113

Ozaki used the term 'feudal' but I believe that Ozaki's 'feudal' was quite different from your notion of 'feudal'. If the Ozaki is Ozaki Yukio, a Japanese liberal, a member of the House of Representatives, and mayor of Tokyo.

p.114 On faction politics of LDP.

The role of factions of LDP decreased significantly since the introduction of single-seat in one constituency Bill in the mid-1990s. What you write on the factions was correct but the situation now is volatile. I rather recommend you to use past tense rather than present tense.

p.115

The Emperor's family had been the weakest of the powerful clans in Japan, with no links to strong groups outside Japan.

In this 15 years, the status of the Emperor family in the ancient Japanese have been researched and the above sentence can no longer be true. The status is more complex and the links with outside world were more mixed. I recommend you to delete the sentence.

p.118

card games which involved them knowing a good deal about the top fifty women writers of the eighth to twelfth centuries.

It is one thing that nearly half of the best 'waka poets' were women writers, 'top fifty' is questionable, because the card games of 'Ogura Hundred Poems' nearly 20 women writers are selected among 100 poems, not 50 women writers. I am not sure the proper number, but there was a collection of 36 famous women poems.

p.119

As we have seen, the rulers in Japan were warrior-administrators.

rulers in Edo-Shogunate or any Shogunates

As far as administrators concerns, upper farmers were incorporated as the bottom ranks of bureaucracy.

p.120

then banned them (gunpowder weapons) as too aggressive and dangerous.

then not to be used between 1637 (Shimabara rebellion)-1837 (Ohshio rebellion).

It was a myth spread widely both inside Japan and abroad (J. Keegan and N Perin are among those myth makers) that Edo-Shogunate banned the gun and gunpowder. Edo-Shogunate banned guns only inside Edo as well as the surrounding areas of Edo, and only Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, 5th Edo Shogun,

made a very famous full- scale control/ban of guns, not because of its aggressiveness to humans but of the sensibility of the animals, but his control/ban of guns could not go enough to confiscate all the guns daimyo, samurais and farmers had had. When Tsunayoshi died the ban was lifted. Edo-Shogunate assigned each daimyo to arm the certain numbers of arms including guns throughout Edo-period. Farmers especially living in mountainside also armed with guns for the purpose of hunting.) Shimabara rebellion of 1637 was large scale civil war between Edo-Shogunate and Christian farmers/peasants. Ohshio Rebellion of 1837 was contained only a part of Osaka, although one fifth to Osaka was burned, and it was a short but a serious attempt of coup which was led by Ohshio Heihachiro, a former higher police officer of Osaka, a teacher of gun and a Confucian theorist. In both rebellions the armies of both side used guns.

Between 1630 and 1860, Japan was the most peaceful

1637 is the year of Shimabara and 1860 is the year of assassination of Ii Naosuke, then a prime minister at the gate of Edo castle, Sakuradamon.

round p.126 comment on your interpretation of tribal society model.

You say 'it seems with the Japanese, both internally peaceful, yet outwardly sometimes bristling and aggressive.' Counter-evidence against the model is as follows:

Between 1467 and 1615, the long civil war of Japan made Japanese internally very aggressive, cruel and bristling toward Japanese. Japanese cut off Japanese noses if the victims were farmers. It seems very simple that the Japanese cruel acts during the Japanese invasion on Korea between 1592 and 1598 were the extensions of the Japanese cruelty and aggressiveness of inside Japan. Japanese were aggressive and cruel both internally and outwardly which is opposite to your tribal society model. I always feel very sorry to Koreans on the Japanese unilateral cruelty of the period.

But problem remains. For example, Konishi Yukinaga, the naval fleet commander in chief of Japanese invasion to Korea was one of Christian daimyos of half of Kumamoto including Shimabara area, and he was well known by his charitable activities. He built hospitals in Osaka and Kumamoto and he was very kind to 'children of Korea prisoners'.

Konishi was kind both to Japanese and to Koreans.

Comment on cruel treatment of POW.

During Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese leaders were more shrewd than those of WWII,

They built a showcase camp for Russian POWs in Matsuyama, and treated them well to appeal the Western diplomats and journalists that Japan was a civilized country and Russia was not. They had another camp in Sakhalin where the POWs were treated rather badly. They tried to adopt the standard of Western civilization.

p.128

considerable extent to the North Korean

It is a recent phenomenon that Japanese attitude toward Korea started to differentiate North Korea from South. Young Japanese as well as middle aged Japanese women adore screen-stars of South Korean and there are many TV program of made in South-Korean. Not racism but political element is far more important for Japanese attitude toward North Koreans.

hinin

I cannot understand your notion of 'racial'. Is it a jargon of anthropology? If not, I believe that hinin was not a racial category but a socially stigmatized status. The origin of word was a translation of Buddhist category of devil and was widely used in Heian to applied criminals, those who became Buddhist monk ('depart' from this world), and Shinto priests of lowest rank(those who lived outside ordinary lives.). All of those were by birth regarded as ordinary Japanese. They were not hinin before they committed crime, before they became a Buddhist monk etc. It is true that Edo Shogunate started to use this social category to include some of Burakumin. But even in Edo period hinin include many other people who are racially Japanese. In this terminology, Hinin meant not non-human being but one administrative status created outside the ladder of ordinary social status. It is misleading to interpret hinin as racial while many confuse hinin with Burakumin. Edo Shogunate gathered and confined the various group of peoples such as destitutes, nonresidents (those floating) and those who committed crime etc into the closed places and mobilized them as new labour forces. Shogunate named all of them as hinin. Several scholars made careful studies on the matter and say that hinin in Edo was a modern invention. 'Non-humans' is a too strong for the reality, and highly misleading. The notion of hinin was different from Ainu. . .

Slave

Slave has been one of the most serious issues when Japanese society faced up with Western countries. There have been constant obsessions in Japan that Western barbarians sold people as slaves. Therefore, you need be more careful to compare your tribal model with slave and caste society. The basic perception is as follows:

Japanese imported Buddhism, Confucian and Christianity but not slaves nor slave-trade. When Toyotomi Hideyoshi banned Christianity, one of the issues he raised (and Japanese Christians suffered a lot) was that Christian missionary organizations sold many Japanese women abroad as a sex-slave. These have been well documented by the missionary archives (but I never have heard any apology from the Christian organizations.) revised textbook

The so called 'revised textbook' are used only tiny portions of schools in Japan. The Education Committees of each local government decide which textbook the schools of the local government use, and the 'revised textbook' is quite unpopular. Therefore the revised text has no impact on people's attitude. The authors of revised text attack the authors of other text as masochistic interpretation of history. (I have read the 'revised text' and I found that the contents are actually distorted but not less nationalistic than the official Chinese history text book.) More than 99% of schools in Japan use the textbooks (other than the revised textbook) strictly sticking the documented historical facts such as Nanking incidents, A class war-criminals and so on. Because there is a kind of inspection of the Ministry of Education which can comment and recommend to rewrite the sentences which the inspectors think, are historically wrong. The hostile attitude of young Japanese toward China originated from the popular culture books such as comics of Kobayashi Yoshinori. Political leaders' visit including Koizumi's visit to Yasakuni Shrine encourage the youth to forget what Japanese did in 1930's and 40's.

p.129 offensive military capability

military capability

As far as I know, Americans or others have never pressure Japanese government to increase 'offensive military capability'. Recently one Japanese high official mentioned as a hypothetical option that Japan should have a kind of offensive military capability in order to make a pre-emptive attack if and only when North Korea prepared to attack Japan by missiles. His sentence was made not by the pressure from US but by his own responsibility.

p .131

handguns, apart from those issued to the police and the drug investigators

Email from Alan on 18th September

Dear Kenichi,

I have just received your second set of comments. As before, these are EXTREMELY helpful and will save me from a number of errors of fact and interpretation. Thank you SO MUCH. I shall make the appropriate changes - and in the process deepen my understanding.

As I mentioned, the publishers would ideally like the book by the end of September. Your first set of comments seemed to take you through to the start of chapter 6, but these comments mainly refer to chapter 5. So I was wondering whether there are likely to be more comments, on chapters 6, 7, 8? I presume there will be. I could ask the publishers if it were possible to hold back sending the book until a little later if you felt that would be helpful. But if it were possible to have the final comments by the end of September, I could do the final editing before term (and heavy lecturing) starts on about 4th October. What do you think?

Your comments are so important, that I do not want to miss any, so let me know what would be best for you. I could, of course, also send the text to them so that they could start the copy editing, and then send some corrections later. Hope you and all the family are well, as we are here. Thanks again for all your excellent advice. Best wishes, Alan

On 1st October I noted in the diary: *Came back to find some more (final?) comments from Kenichi.*

p.135-136 On inside/outside binary division,

I agree with you that the inside/outside binary is very important for Japanese, but the pair of words/ideas of “uchi/soto” has had been multi-dimensional since 9-10 century. According to Kojien, a Japanese counterpart of SOD, “uchi” has wide and at least the three-dimensional connotations. Firstly, geographical/spatial as you mentioned in the draft, “uchi” means the inside of core against periphery and the inside/above standard against outside/below standard. (You focus upon only center/periphery binary but the Japanese have the strong sense of horizontal high-low gradations.) Secondly, “uchi” means the inside of boundary of extended family (the range of ie system/even business corporation) to which you belong, (“uchi” means my family and my home. A wife/husband calls the/his husband/wife to the others ‘uchi’. In Kansai dialect, women call themselves ‘uchi’). I think it is too far to say or even off the mark to say that “uchi/soto” of this kinship dimension can be extended to human/non-human dichotomy. When a foreigner/untouchables is a member of family, he/she belongs to “uchi” while it is rather difficult for foreigner/untouchable to become a member of ‘uchi’.

Thirdly “uchi” means an internal/hidden core/heart/affection which the others cannot see/perceive/observe from outside, (which is near to ‘honne’, and “uchi” sometimes means a style of informality.)

“This is more flexible, and shifting”.

I agree with you that “uchi/soto” is flexible and shifting between the three dimensions, but my comment is that in each dimension, “uchi/soto” can be clearly understandable for the Japanese, while the words is highly contextual and often ambiguous.

etiquette of Japanese life revolves around these gradations

My comment is not the sharp difference between A and B but the subtle difference between A - and A+, and between late summer and beginning of autumn is important for Japanese civility/delicacy. → civility of Japanese life revolves around these subtle gradations of difference/subtle shift or changing from gradations of A+++ to A++ etc.

p.136. clean/dirty dichotomy

You sometimes imply that “uchi” is clean and “soto” is dirty. I cannot agree the implication. I agree that the inside is relatively clean than outside in Japan. It is Joy Hendry’s idea that the inside/sacred of Japanese space is clean because of obsessive cleansing customs of Shintoism. But “soto” has no meaning/connotation of dirty. And I find that “soto” such as roads and platforms are relatively cleaner than in UK, India, China etc.

p.137 “The meanings lies in the organization of things in relation to other things.”

I completely agree with you on the points. In addition to this, the meanings lies in the subtle differences/shift of things.

p.139 ‘Kenichi often cites in our conversations examples from the sixth or seventh centuries in Japan as if it was only yesterday.’

It should read “from the 13th and 14th centuries in Japan as if it was only yesterday.

Kenichi is a highly biased Japanese. And he is not proper person to quote here. Kenichi is an alien to Nara and Kyoto. Nara period and Heian period are a remotely located foreign country for him. He knows nothing about Imai of Nara prefecture where we visited with Emiko. And the sixth centuries in Japan is nothing for him. He has never found Todaiji, Yakushiji and other Nara temples beautiful with the exception of Toshodaiji which was built by Chinese monk.

My own interpretation of your quotation above is that I am familiar enough to the geography/history of Kamakura and the geography/history of Ise Shrine because I was born Enoshima near Kamakura and once lived in Kamakura and because my grandfathers and grandmothers with the relatives lived in Ise area. Both Kamakura and Ise are of home countries for me. When I talked about these, I talk as if I live in past. Past and present become one large lump. When Kyoto people such as Yokoyama often use the word ‘last war’, the word means the civil war of Ohnin 1467-1477 which made the all of Kyoto ruin. Kyoto was not bombed during the WWII. Kyoto people live in the past of Kyoto. Alan also talked in our conversations from 16th centuries in Cambridge if it was yesterday. Does Alan live in the past of Cambridge as I live in the past of Kamakura and Ise.

I strongly believe that the trichotomy of pre-modern, modern and post-modern is not applicable to Japanese history.

p.141. Unlucky 7. “7 has traditionally been unlucky”

I am not strong on numbers in Japanese. I am not sure whether 7 is lucky and unlucky number. Who is your informant of ‘unlucky 7 thesis’? You need quotation and footnote but I cannot find the footnote. Is he or she reliable? 7th of July, and 7th of January had been festive days since 9th century. Samurai and other fighters armed himself with the 7 kinds of weapons. The North Star and Great Bear symbolizes the center of cosmos and highly influenced the locations of building of Ise Shrine. 4 sounds ‘shi’ in Japanese, and death also sounds ‘shi’. 9 sounds ‘ku’ and the suffering also sounds ‘ku’. This kind of pun influences Japanese. 7 sounds ‘nana’ and ‘shiti’ which signifies no particular luck nor absence of luck for Japanese.

p.142 Note 156 of Alcock

Alcock says the exactly the same thing as note 157 of Scidmore says.

‘Wa’ is for bundles or birds as well as for hares and rabbits.

p. 143 ‘a wide range of personal pronoun’

In our discussion with Professor Backhouse, ‘personal pronoun’ was one of our topics. In Japanese grammar, there is no such category as ‘personal pronoun’. English grammatical structure force you to use personal pronoun so often and ‘personal pronoun’ grammatically works different from noun. For example, you have to change the order of word when you replace noun by pronoun; Alan gave Sarah a flower → Alan gave it to Sarah. But in Japanese grammar, according to Prof. Kanaya, ‘watashi’(I), ‘kare’ (he) and ‘anata’ (you) are not ‘personal pronoun’ but ‘(personal) noun’. These (personal) noun grammatically work exactly as same as the other nouns do. Prof. Backhouse agreed the Kanaya’s theory. What I wish to say is that because those Japanese words which look as if personal pronouns from the perspective of Western grammar are not personal pronoun, it is natural that the number of (personal) noun is infinite. The fact that Japanese language has no personal pronoun is surely related to the fact that Japanese grammatical structure does not force the speakers/the writers to use the subject when you compose the Japanese sentence.

p.143

“(as in field theory in physics)”

as in field theory in physics or social/ historical context in which the topic is situated)

”There is no need for an explicit topic, since it has already been implied by the description of the field.’
There is no need for an explicit subject, since it has already been implied by the description of the field.

”The personal pronouns are studiously avoided”.

Comment “The personal pronouns (which I believe are actually (personal) nouns) are avoided” because they are needless when you have already been known the context, topics and the movement of agents in Japanese sentences. They are studiously avoided firstly because Ockham’s razor orders us to cut an needless words, and secondly because frequently using them (what you call “personal pronouns” in Japanese were imported by Westernized Japanese intellectuals) are unnatural in a strained manner.

p.148

the opposite of “Sapir-Whorf hypothesis”

Comment. I agree with you. In Japanese language, you can speak and write perfectly clear without the subject, gender, person, number and so on as Fukuzawa, Maruyama and Tanizaki did. A textbook on quantum mechanics written by Tomonaga Shinichiro, a Japanese Nobel winner in physics, and Kubo’s on statistical mechanics are eloquently and clearly written and I believe two of the most readable books on the subjects if I compare the various English textbooks on physics. Japanese language is rather complex language if you study on the conjugation and auxiliary verb. And vocabulary is so wide. Your quotations only mentioned what westerners think the lacking part of Japanese language with the comparisons with Western languages. So please make it sure that you do not give the readers such an impression that the structural characteristics of Japanese language makes Japanese ambiguous. In Japanese language, you have a wide variety of options and you can choose either explicit or implicit way of handling others. Implicit ways of handling others, especially strangers, are regarded as more civilized and safer way. I think this kind way / strategy of interactions with others always the case with Chinese Empire which always faced the strong barbarians. So do Kyoto

aristocracy and merchants. Your comparison with Korean language is very good. The languages are similar each other but the social attitude of Korean people is much more explicit and less ambiguous than Japanese.

P147.

“co-composition of renga poetry is”

“co-composition of renga poetry used to be”

“The next best thing is silence”

The best thing in present Japan is silence.

P149-150 two quotations from Matsumoto’s haragei

I am afraid Matsumoto is too weak to be quoted twice in this important part.

I recommend you to replace at least one and hopefully two of Matsumoto by Maruyama’s sentence on his theory of “basso ostinato” on Japanese history. He said in his Japanese article that he chooses the term “basso ostinato” to articulate neither constant factor nor changing actors. He denied the binary division between change and unchanged but please note he did not say it was circular, although he emphasis “repetitive”. If you judge it proper, please feel free to use my translation.

“ I should add my methodological note on my analytical term “an old layer” and “basso ostinato”.

This is the problem on the continuity and discontinuity or consistency and change (on the Japanese consciousness on history). I am not choosing these term to emphasis that Japanese history has the continuity however it has discontinuity, nor Japanese history is full of changes although it has many constant factors. I do not presuppose the contradiction or exclusiveness of the factor of change and that of continuity. If you use conjunction such as ‘but’ and ‘however’ and if you regard the continuity and change as binary contradiction, it becomes meaningless to emphasis by using the term “basso ostinato”. What I want to emphasis is that.....there exists the same pattern in the way of changing, and you can hear the repetitive music phrase in the pattern of changing.The Japanese history of ideas changes variously and quickly because (not however) there is the repetitive pattern of the ideas and thinking.’

(Underlines are Maruyama’s original emphasis. Bracket is put by Nakamura.)

p.153-154, ‘Proto-type, Old layer and Basso ostinato’, “Collective Works of Maruyama Masao, Vol.12,” (Tokyo, Iwanami, 1996)

p.152

“There is little eye contact because’the eye can speak as much as the mouth’.

I cannot agree. It is very quick and delicate one like ‘white eye’ which you filmed Ai’s one. Whenever Alan or Arthur did behave out of Japanese etiquette, my daughters sent each other their eye sights. It would become meaningless if Alan and Arthur noticed their eye contacts. I think the sentence also sounds illogical. Japanese eye speaks much because the mouth cannot speak. This means the eye must be busy while mouth is not working. The Japanese bankers as well as hotelmen are in the professions who cannot behave out of Japanese etiquette. Ishii Hisaichi, one of the most popular Japanese cartoonist, once said in his cartoon,

Banker ‘ I used our most powerful weapon but in vain. ’

Police officer ‘What is your weapon?’

Banker ‘I sent him my coolest eye sight against the bank robbery.’

p.153

“politeness and courtesy become a form of the deepest love.”

p.155

The Japanese are perhaps the most politeon earth.

I basically agree with you. But many contemporary Japanese are less ritualistic in courtesy than Koreans and Taiwanese. I am very uneasy with the rituals of politeness and courtesy of older generation of Japanese as well as those of Korean and Taiwanese students. (My interpretation why mainland Chinese students are often rude, is that Mao destroyed everything including rituals in courtesy. In the Congress of People in Peking I noticed a lot of rude persons. Many high ranking members of Communist Party were not well behaved even in dining. By contrasts, Taiwanese behaves as if they were Japanese of older generations. I want to say that it may be not only Japanese phenomenon but East Asian traditions.

p.158 ① ‘The purity is both a physical and ethical dimension,not distinguished.’

② “There is clearly some deep association with the early Shinto rituals of Japan.”

③ “Izanami takes a bath of purification on the page of Kojiki. The Japanese intertwined religion and cleanliness.

seems to say as if “Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist on the important page of Bible. The Christian countries intertwined religion and cleanliness.” But we find the very dirty high streets at nearly all of European capitals.

Comment:

Many pointed out the correlations between clean-dirty dichotomy and pure-impure dichotomy. But I think that the correlations are indirect not direct one. I basically agree with what Maraini's quotation 178 say on 'makoto'. I should reserve the following points. (i) 'makoto' originally means truthfulness/sincerity to one's own words /deeds. 'ma' is true and 'koto' means words/things. But 'makoto' has no connotation relating with 'pure' or 'purification'. (ii) There is a very famous quotation “akaki kiyoki naoki makoto no kokoro” in part of the Imperial Orders in “zoku-nihonki”, one of Japanese classics. The three words of 'akaki', 'kiyoki' and 'naoki' have been very old adjectives and 'akaki' means bright and well-lighted. 'naoki' means honest and 'kiyoki' means clear, clean, pure, and innocent. Among the 5 words of the quotation, one word 'kiyoki' means clean. All of them have been the very basic ethics for Japanese. Maruyama once singled out the “kiyoki kokoro, (clean mind) and akaki kokoro (well-lighted mind)” for the essence of Japanese ethical consciousness, although he later withdrew the hypothesis. Prof. Makabe told you the reason of the change of Maruyama's mind. Therefore, “clean mind” have been one of the important ethics. (iii) 'kiyoki makoto' is surely ethical but less religious. The quotation of (ii) is the Imperial Order not Shinto ritual. Many foreign scholars mixed Emperor word/deed with Shinto rituals. Maruyama once regarded 'akaki kokoro' as the essence of ethical consciousness.

p.159

'False Dawn'

I am not sure if it is English title of “Hakai” which literally means the transgression of the commandment.

Shimazaki Toson authored the novel titled “Before Dawn” (yoakemae) which is the story on the wealthy farmers who stood up for and betrayed by Meiji Restoration. Please check.

'They were the people who carried the Emperor.....'

Some of burakumin, named 'yase no doji' were the people who...

This particular 'they' are famous 'yase no doji' which are fully researched. 'yase' is the place name in the north of Kyoto, and 'doji' means children. Enryakuji, the biggest Buddhist temple of north-east of Kyoto had own the manor at 'yase', and Enryakuji governed the people of 'yase'. 'yase no doji' at the same time used to be palanquin bearers of royal court. Emperor Godaigo patronized 'yase no doji' and in 1336 he gave 'yase no doji' the royal document to ensure the exemption from taxation.

Emperor Godaigo fought against samurai and was defeated by them. When the Emperor escaped to the mountainside, 'yase no doji' carried him. This is the historical origin of 'yase no doji' which carry the coffin of the dead emperors. I want to say that there are many types/origins of burakumin and only 'yase no doji' can carry the royal coffins. According to Amino's hypothesis, those social forces who stood with Emperor Godaigo were suppressed by Ashikaga and Tokugawa shogunates were forced to become segregated and became one of the sources of burakumin. There is a document that Oda Nobunaga also recognized the autonomy of 'yase no doji'.

One friend explained they used to live at the entrance of a village

Kenichi is not this 'one friend' 'they' is not 'yase no doji'.

'Young children are taught to (1) fear dirt, which is 'bad', (2) Bacchi (dirty) is taught ... 'dirty' 'people dirt'(hitogami)

Again your paragraph misleads reader as if there were the direct correlation of physical cleanliness with mental purity.

And all of the sentences especially quotations from Ohnuki seems to me a series of nonsenses. (1) 50% of Japanese population used to be peasants/farmers and their children were very important labour force to work with soil. They taught their children that soil was very important for them. (2) Japanese mothers often says 'Bacchi' to their baby child, but it means that 'do not touch it, it is insanitary.' Can Ohnuki hear Japanese?(3) it must be 'hitogami' but it does not imply 'people dirt'. It means just 'crowded'. Can Ohnuki understand Japanese. It is typical half-baked idea of the outsiders'

observations on the over-sensitiveness and obsession on cleanness. I should add that I have never see the any reminders 'do no lick the finger' on the public library books.

P.140 new version

ritual or ritualistic behaviour : standardized, repetitive, formalized, communicative behaviour.

Ritual with R : a set of standardized behaviour to communicate with supernatural or divine power. 'Hence there is no need to break through to a spiritual dimension using ritual.

Japanese ritualistic behaviour = ritual minus Ritual

We have no such jump mechanism as Ritual and Miracle but because we have lost the world of supernatural and divine power, we started to need the area of super-humans. But we only have an infinite process to reach toward (human but) super-human area or kami status.

Western model

human and this material world ←separation → supernatural and divine world

Ritual as a jump mechanism

Japanese model

Human and this material world • • • continuity • • human but superhuman world

Infinite repetition of training oneself (michi) to reach kami status

' Perhaps the best one can say is that Japan is highly ritualistic, but does not have Ritual.'

Comment: This is the best sentence I have ever heard on Japan. Congratulation. This word deserves to be read by all Japanese. I am very much pleased with your achievement. We may also say 'Japan becomes highly ritualistic because we have lost Ritual.' For example, Hiroshi Watanabe's picture of the authority of Edo Shogunate is the most elaborated and suppressive system of rituals without any backing of supernatural or divine power because the rational samurais destroyed and suffocated the all supernatural forces.

p.143 'everyone is the child of God.'

The sentence suddenly returns to the Orientalist view on Japan which contradicts with your theory that Japanese did not have God. Japanese people knew that the Emperor was human not God (with G), but they thought that the Emperor was in the area of superhuman status by birth. And if the all Japanese did one's best in mentally and physically, they thought they might have been able to win the war.

p .143-3 "The prevailing attitude is that humans are intrinsically good."

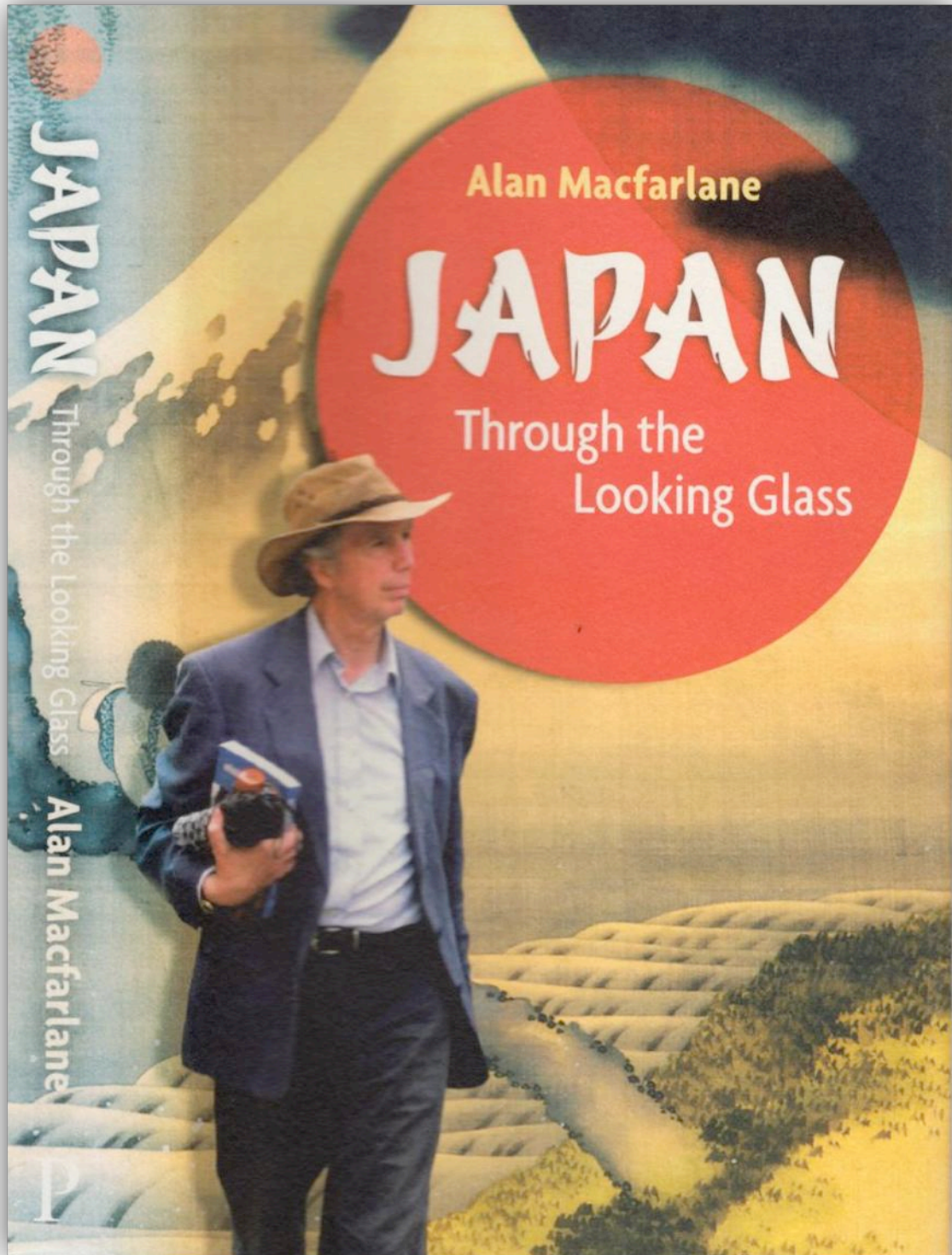
I think 'The prevailing attitude is that humans are neither angels nor devil but something in-between and are intrinsically changeable.'

I enjoy the reading the draft very much, and thank you very much. Kenichi.

In October there are short notes in the diary on the progress of the book. On the 3rd Sarah wrote: *Alan finished the Japan book today as Kenichi's last comments were the last.* On the 14th October I wrote: *The 4 lectures went well I think and enjoyed it, and got 'Japan' off.*

Nothing is noted further until 28th March 2007, at the start of the Easter term, when I wrote:

Japan. A lot of energy over the last two weeks spent on incorporating a vast set of revisions by the copy editor Claire Peligry. ... her suggestions have improved the book enormously and shortened to 78,000 words. and a cover and launch date (August 9th at Asia House and August 7th at Cambridge) have been arranged. Reading it through Sarah and I became very excited. I have convinced myself that it is one of my best – if not the best book, I have written and I think it might cause quite a stir. Five days later Sarah noted: Alan got an email from Profile with a new cover for the Japan book. Much better than the present one as it has the picture that Mark took of Alan striding forward, wearing his lovely old Australian hat with vague rice fields and Mount Fuji in the background. Would be nice to have one with Alan himself on the cover. On 31st March I noted: Spent morning on usual Youtube/email stuff but also a few corrections to first half of Japan book by Mark. He loves the new version and calls it "superb". An American expert on Japan (Jim Bennett) described the chapter on the economy as a "breakthrough" so feel optimistic and particularly happy that there is a new and better cover - with a picture of myself(!) in hat outside the Pitt-Rivers. Rather good.



The cover of the hard-back version

On 2nd April I wrote: *Last thoughts on future planning for now. Hope to get 'Japan'; off to publishers on Wednesday and then that is effectively done – apart from web site, which is already partly done, and party etc.* Five days later I noted: *An important week as I managed to send off 'Japan Through the Looking Glass' to Profile in its final version. Also got lots of good comments back from the American friends (Chicago Boyz).* I noted on 20th May *The checked proofs of 'Japan Through the Looking Glass' has come to Post Office - so not the last stage.*

In May 2007, Andrew Barshay, Professor of Japanese at Berkeley, California, who had invited me to give the Maruyama lectures, wrote a piece to put on the cover of the book. The second part was used on the hardback and a few lines in the paperback.

"Thinking beyond the 'nets of understanding' that have not helped us to capture Japan, Alan Macfarlane layers many years of careful contemporary observation, dialogues with important Japanese thinkers, an impressive breadth of reading in scholarship on Japan to reach with informed imagination for the gestalt that is Japan. Here is a real-live 'looking glass world,' an extraordinary civilization built on contingency and 'relationality' in which our conventional-yet essential-distinctions between mind and body, individual and society, artificial and natural, human and divine do not hold. Deeply attracted and yet troubled by Japan, Macfarlane turns his anthropologist's perplexity into an exercise of 'thinking with' Japan about basic issues of how modern civilizations form and cohere. The result is a disarming, engaging, and provocative book."

On 2nd June I wrote: *The 'Japan' book already getting some attention - have been asked to consider writing articles for 'Prospect' magazine and THES and it reached 18,000 on Amazon in the week.*

I had accumulated a large email correspondence about the book with Jim Bennet, as I noted on 16th June. *Have spent a couple of days sorting out email correspondence with Jim Bennett about Japan. About 25,000 words and fascinating stuff.*

On 19th June Sarah noted: *Alan heard that a French publisher has taken the Japan book, the first time anything of his will have been published in France.* Then on 23rd June I noted: *A useful week. Finished marking at the start. Did a few final touches to 'Japan' (video etc.) and the book went off to printers this week. Looks good.*

The final notes were in August. On 2nd Sarah wrote: *Alan had a welcome e-mail from Toshiko saying she and Kenichi would like to add a Japanese viewpoint to the book for publication there. This indicates that they are happy with it!* I commented also two days later: *Starting to set up interviews etc. for Japan book and it was at 3000 at Amazon on Friday and 8000 today. Good news that Kenichi and Toshiko keen to translate and expand on it.*

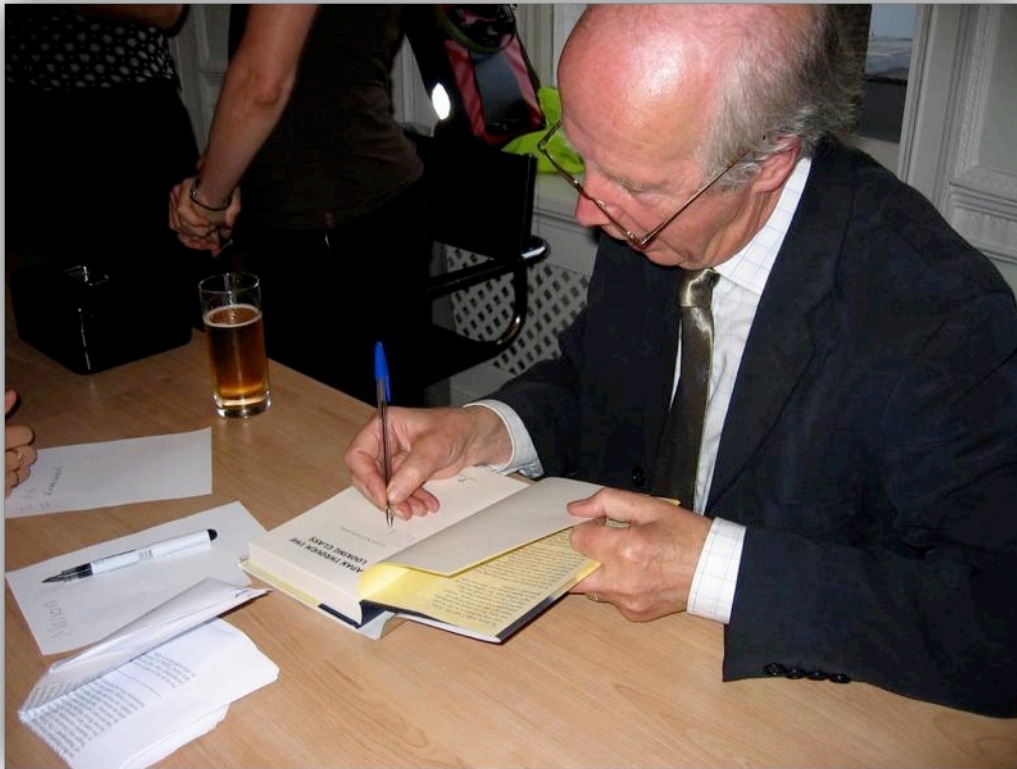
The day before the official publication, we had a launch party in Cambridge, described in the diary on 7th August thus. *Then drove in and set up the party in the Saltmarsh room. Beautiful evening and lovely rooms and setting. The party went very well. Lots came - probably up to 70 people ... The girls were excellent and Rosa full of self-confidence in cutting the cake etc. ... absolutely lovely walking back with them then through the darkening evening and rolling on the bank at King's. Magical - like something out of Alice or Zuleika Dobson or some fairy story - with their red balloons and party frocks. Gorgeous.*



The launch cake



Alan, Jack Goody, Sarah and Xu Bei



Alan signing copies at the launch at Asia House

The book was published on the 9th August 2007 the diary records: *'Japan Through the Looking Glass' published today. Went up to London with Sarah to launch the book at Asia House. Arrived about 4.30pm. Then gave lecture for 45 minutes or so and 15 minutes questions. People said it was very interesting and had the effect of spurring about 50 people to buy copies which I signed. Food, delicious, by Takako and kind words by Stefan [Kosciusko - Chief Executive of Asia House]. So it all seemed to go extremely well I think - as did the three radio interviews on Tuesday and Wednesday.*

25th August 2007

A very nice letter from Hayami the Japanese senior historical demographer, saying how good it was...

Comment by Professor Akira Hayami, Emeritus Professor of Economic History,
Keio University, Japan

I have finished reading your book "Japan Through the Looking Glass."

First of all I have been deeply struck by your accurate perception and deep analyses of Japan, the Japanese and Japanese culture.

Before reading your book, I had thought that the best understanding of Japan was to be found in the final pages on Japan in Fernand Braudel's 'Grammaire des Civilisation'(1987). But just twenty years later, unlike him, you came and lived in Japan several times. Although his name will be left on my list of the academic studies of Japan, I will certainly put your book first.

Your knowledge, analytic skill and insightfulness have synthesized and created this book. I have been most impressed by three things in your book.

The first is at page 140, where you put together the binary possibilities of society in Japan and comment that it "seems to have all of these characteristics." This would lead the Japan watcher

very astray. We Japanese do not see this ourselves as it is too natural. From this point of view, we must have a mirror to reflect ourselves in.

Secondly, you pointed out that in Japan there is nothing of religion in the Axial sense. Although I have not yet been able to find the most likely Japanese translation for 'Axial', it is very difficult for a monotheist to understand how most Japanese people have their marriage ceremony at a Christian Church, go to Shinto shrines at the New Year to pray for a year's peace, and have their funeral ceremony at a Buddhist temple.

For Japanese, Christianity, Shinto and Buddhism are not each a 'religion.' They are a convenient organization to manage the ceremonies of mundane life. Certainly Japanese are not anti-religious nor atheist. But they have no concrete faith in any religion.

Finally you mention that "Japan is one civilisation (underlined by myself) which cannot be divided into segments.." (p.221) Yes all of the components are connected with each other.

If the modern sector, for example industry, transportation, and the military system have common features with the West, when we go inside them, the human relations and responsibility of each person at any level is totally different from the West. With such a 'soft' dimension, Japan is absolutely unique because the 'hard' (external) dimension is so similar to that of Western industrialized countries.

In general, the most difficult chapter to understand was 'Beliefs.' But your book is more than a mirror. I can understand Japanese and/or Western civilizations much better than before.

As for some small points where I have criticisms, most of these are caused by the conclusions of Japanese scholars, including myself. And all these are minor and not serious faults in the light of your glorious achievement.

With my best and highest respects,
Akira Hayami

Epilogue – Collaborative Anthropology

Now that we have come to the end of the Japanese adventure, at least for now, it is interesting to look back on what happened and how it happened.

Before going to Japan in 1990 I had attempted to understand three societies. Each required a specific methodology. For British, and specifically English history, I worked as historians do. I searched for appropriate historical records which were as diverse as possible. I compared and interrogated them in the way advocated by Marc Bloch in his *Historian's Craft* (1954). Because it was my own culture, I spoke the language and had been brought up in a still -living tradition with the periods I was studying through documents, the task was manageable.

I innovated in assembling new types of records and in the use of hand and computer record linkage. Yet the dialogue I had was with dead people and I could not ask them questions. I did find, however, that I could collaborate, or stand on the shoulders, of many great thinkers in the past, particularly foreign observers of England. They showed me things which I would not have seen within my own culture. Furthermore, by using a comparative anthropological method I could ask questions, and make intuitive connections, which would not have been possible without the anthropological dimension.

The second kind of work was different. This was among the Gurungs of Nepal, whom I had first visited in 1968 and then visited almost every year for the sixteen years from 1986 on. Here the method was much more directly collaborative. I did not know the language, though I gradually picked up enough for simple conversation. I was totally unfamiliar with all aspects of their life – kinship, economy, polity and especially with the mixture of Hindu, Buddhist and Shamanic religions. It would have been impossible for me to understand any of this merely by participating and observing, which are the standard methods for anthropology. It was collaboration in the sense that the work depended on sharing information at a deep level of friendship through proper communication with half a dozen individuals. It was this which opened up the Gurung world for me.

The next exploration was of the historical world of tribal groups along the Assam-Burma border, known collectively as the Nagas. This effort consisted of both main types of method I had previously learnt. The historical documents and visual materials were ordered and interpreted on the basis of historical methodology. Yet this was supplemented by working with both those who had made the classic ethnographic surveys and also with one or two Naga friends.

When we arrived in Japan in 1990, we had a number of tools which could be used in the attempt to discover how a new civilization worked. Yet the task was, in some ways, more demanding and different from the three previous encounters. Japan is a far larger entity even than Britain, and many times the population size of Gurungs or Nagas. Its culture and language were, I discovered, more radically different from my own than even the Gurungs and Nagas. They had a deep and still living history of high civilization longer even than Britain.

How could an outsider, without years of linguistic training and immersion, possibly make a real contribution to understanding Japan? It was not possible to use the historical method of studying native texts, since I did not read Japanese. It would have been out of the question to do a series of community studies – one or two would not be enough. Japan is in many ways quite diverse. A community study in a mountain or fishing village would show a very different world to one in a big city, for example.

The method we evolved was an extension of the collaborative approach we had used in Nepal. As explained in the introduction, we had the enormous good fortune to find that our

hosts, Toshiko and Kenichi, were almost perfect informants or companions on the journey of discovery.

What this book reveals is something of how such an intellectual collaboration works. It starts with the outsider or anthropologist entering another culture like a new-born infant, knowing nothing about the world in which he or she finds themselves. You are totally in the hands of your teachers – parents, other children or, in this case, those who know their own world and are prepared to teach you it. There has to be some shared experience on their part so that they can understand your efforts and correct and suggest analogies and resemblances. Yet, for the early part of an adventure – particularly the first three years with our first two visits and their two visits to England, we were almost totally the recipients of information.

All I could offer them was my curiosity, questions generated by experience as an anthropologist elsewhere, and some knowledge of the English case with its curious resemblances in certain aspects to Japan. Yet the flow was almost all towards us and we could not give them much direct insight into Japan.

Then, as I read more, wrote books about Japanese demography and material life, and studied Fukuzawa from a western angle, the relationship became more balanced. Teachers and pupils came to have a real exchange. I have found this in Cambridge as my students move from their first to third years and I begin to learn nearly as much as I teach.

The third stage, which occurred in the summer of 2005, was when I had mastered enough to be able to really intrigue and enlighten Toshiko and Kenichi. They started to say that they understood themselves, and Japan, properly for the first time, that they only saw themselves as others see them, but were able to connect aspects of their lives which previously had been disconnected.

This, of course, is a wonderful moment for a student who has become of real value to the teacher. I have experienced it a number of times in Cambridge, where a former young student becomes, in their sphere, my teacher. I have also experienced it in relation to my own school and university teachers when I realize that I am no longer the student but am teaching them new things.

The way in which this happens is revealed throughout the book. Like a child, you pick up clues about the new world, begin to see recurring patterns, get ideas from imagining outcomes. You then test these hypotheses against the world – guessing and playing with possibilities. Many lead nowhere, but some of the conjectures are not refuted but confirmed and each one then adds a piece of reliable knowledge which helps expand understanding.

The short cut in process lies in having really knowledgeable, patient and trusted teachers who understand you, whom you like, and with whom you can dare to show your ignorance. Building up this trust and warmth across cultural boundaries is tricky. Yet, when it works, I have found it is one of the most rewarding of all activities. To start to be able to joke, to share past memories, to discover new things about each other's world through repeated meetings and deep discussion, all are wonderful. This is what I call collaborative anthropology. It is even more important than participation and observation. For an outsider to understand something as large, ancient, complex and different as Japan, I can see no other way to proceed.

On a more personal level, perhaps the most enduring element was the friendship that developed between us, Toshiko and Kenichi and their daughters, and Toshiko's wider family, and especially with her mother, Mrs Kashiwagi who welcomed us as strange foreigners into her house in 1993. On all our later trips we visited her, often staying for a night or two, and met her during our final visit to Japan on 23rd September 2012 at her house in Chiba. We were therefore deeply saddened to learn of her death on 16th October 2013.

Email from Toshiko on 10th May 2014

Dear Alan and Sarah,

Thank you very much for your e-mail and sorry that I did not write sooner. At the weekend that I received your greetings, we went to the cemetery near Mount Fuji to put my mother's ashes in the family grave. I attach the picture on the day. We are proceeding the inheritance procedure. My mother had some Kimono to leave us. They are not very expensive ones but I wonder if you could kindly keep one of them in your tea house. I think she must be glad to stay in Cambridge and enjoy your conversation...

with best wishes,
Toshiko



Links to films taken during our visits to Japan

23rd September 1997

Beginners

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156253>

Intermediates dressing in armour - teachers

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156285>

Intermediates sparring

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156319>

27th September 1997

Pachinko parlour with Toshiko and Kenichi

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156361>

3rd October 1997

Sarah eating a meal at our house

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3159010>

4th October 1997

Exterior of our house at Mitakadai

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156391>

Sarah's film of our house, with commentary

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156423>

5th October 1997

Preparing for the portable shrines ceremony

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156452>

Shops in Mitakadai including tea shop and supermarket

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156494>

Sarah showing new tea cups and tea pot in our house

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156523>

Small children preparing then leaving pulling their portable shrines

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156551>

Older children carrying their portable shrine

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156583>

Adults preparing then carrying their portable shrine

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156657>

Children's' shrines being pulled along beside our house

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156691>

The canal at Mitakadai

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156725>

29th October 1997

Edo-Tokyo Museum

Overview from bridge

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156756>

Scale model of Edo and images from screens

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156789>

Stills of artefacts and models

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156821>

View from window of Tokyo buildings

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156858>

Models of C19 life

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156889>

Tea with Gerry and Hilda

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156925>
Other film
Department store - Mitsukoshi
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3156958>
Greek restaurant in Shibuya
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3159273>
30th October 1997
Electronics area of Shinjaku
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157027>
Pachinko parlour then restaurant
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157062>
31st October 1997
Living rough in Ueno Park
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3159367>
National Museum, Ueno [exterior only] and Ueno Park
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157130>
Alan cooking curry
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157160>
1st November 1997
Shinkansen to Kyoto - Mt. Fuji - 'bento'
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157289>
Bedroom at 'The Three Sisters' ryoken, Kyoto
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157193>
Eikan-do Temple at night
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157223>
Musicians playing 'gagaku' music at Eikan-do Temple
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157255>
2nd November 1997
Children being presented at the Heian Shrine
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157317>
Garden at the Heian Shrine
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157359>
Bride at the Heian Shrine
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157438>
Sho-enin Temple
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157471>
Choienin Temple
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157502>
Novel car parking - walking through Gion at night
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157536>
Cultural show in Gion - Play (three men, 2 bound up by third)
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157572>
Cultural show in Gion - Two maiko dance to song sung to samisen
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157599>
Cultural show in Gion - Bunraku (puppets)
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157625>
3rd November 1997
Nazenji Temple
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157658>
Small temple near Nazenji

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157698>
On the Philosophers' Walk

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157730>
Lunch at a 'soba' bar

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157778>
Hakusasonso tea garden

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157812>
Golden Pavilion floodlit

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157846>
Ice cream

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157877>
4th November 1997
Deer park and pagoda

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157905>
Todai-ji Temple

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157939>
Wandering to the Kasuga Taisha Shrine

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157970>
5th November 1997
Trip to Ohara outside Kyoto

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3157997>
Garden of the Sanza-in Temple

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158028>
Kyoto at night

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158054>
6th November 1997
Takashimaya department store
Japanese costume for children and adults - note the Caucasian models

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158127>
Takashimaya department store - Pottery

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158161>
Kiyanzu Temple

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158185>
Maiko walking in the Temple area

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158218>
Traditional building techniques

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158246>
7th November 1997
Kyoto Museum of Traditional Craft

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158275>
Kurodani Temple

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158306>
Shoji and tatami makers

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158335>
Ice cream before leaving 'The Three Sisters'

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158366>
11th November 1997
Traditional house and garden in Komaba Park

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158396>
15th November 1997

Meiji-Jungu Shrine
Children in formal dress for presentation at the shrine
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158483>
Children entering shrine and being blessed by a Shinto
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158516>
Shrine complex
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158544>
Shinto priests with a brides and grooms in traditional dress
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158572>
Children with balloons
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3158609>
Shinto priest
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3160583>
Toro with children purifying themselves before entering the shrine
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3160614>
Woods surrounding the shrine
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3160642>
Other films
Urinal at Meiji Emperor's museum
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3160670>
Exterior of Meiji Emperor's Museum
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3160699>
Students carrying bows
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3160732>
Ginza
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3160762>
Sony shop
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3160795>
16th November 1997
Inokoshira Park, near Mitakadai
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3160823>
23rd November 1997
Mount Takeo
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3160860>
25th November 1997
Woman in kimono sitting near a graveyard
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3160939>
Silver Temple
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3160973>
Autumn colour
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3161007>
Woman gardener with insect repellent strapped to her back
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3161041>
Graveyard
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3161094>
Kura and house beside the Philosophers' walk
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3161128>
Children at a railway station
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3161162>
International Centre for Japanese Studies

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3161196>
29th November 1997
Fukuzawa Research Centre
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3161582>
Place where Fukuzawa died, Alan collecting grass
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3161609>
Speech Hall
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3161639>
Bust of Fukuzawa
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3161669>
Kojunsha Club in Ginza
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3161705>
30th November 1997
Tea mistress performs ceremony for Alan - setting out and cleaning utensils
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163442>
Making tea which Alan drinks
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163469>
Alan drinks first then passes bowl to Humiko after cleaning rim
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163497>
3rd December 1997
Gorobe ditch and Mt Asamu
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163541>
Historical Institute at Gorobe
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163575>
Children's calligraphy class nakanish
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163616>
Irrigation system
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163647>
Toson's room and meal in ryoken
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163692>
4th December 1997
Ryoken - Toson's room where we slept
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163747>
Breakfast
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163776>
Outside the ryoken and look at the hot spring bathhouse
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163852>
Private school where Toson taught and Komoro Castle
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163883>
Archery school
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163909>
Honjin where Daimyo stayed
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163932>
7th December 1997
Nepalese workers' cultural event
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163957>
12th December 1997
Exterior then first training session in the ring
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3163984>
Shinto shrine

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164015>
Sumo wrestlers' stable
Huge black American wrestler sparring and resting
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164057>
13th December 1997
Daibatsu Buddha
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164121>
Misiko at Hasedera Temple
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164148>
Views of Kamakura
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164174>
Enoshima Island
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164211>
Temples in Kamakura
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164253>
11th April 1999
Christians in Japan, the Nagasaki martyrs
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2692486>
Dutch trading post at Deshima
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693369>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681289>
12th April 1999
Paper making at a Paper Museum
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693269>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693116>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693160>
13th April 1999
Bamboo factory and bamboo work
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681434>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681413>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2692435>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2692459>
14th April 1999
Visit to Middle school and eye testing
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681388>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2692888>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693068>
Tea ceremony
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693395>
15th April 1999
Kojunsha club
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681152>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681176>
Keio University - Fukuzawa archive and speech hall
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681198>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681266>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693318>
Travelling by Shinkansen to Osaka
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681266>
16th April 1999

Osaka Castle
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681541>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2692411>
The nature of fires in Japan
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2692361>
17th April 1999
Ogata school and Fukuzawa
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681344>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693092>
Japanese toilets
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681367>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2692386>
Statues for aborted fetuses
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2692361>
18th April 1999
Shigaraki pottery kiln
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681477>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693191>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693221>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693245>
Maiko in Gion
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681312>
19th April 1999
Gekkeikan Sake Factory
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693269>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693293>
Kodaiji Temple
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681243>
Hakusasonso tea garden
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681520>
Last meal with the film crew
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2681337>
Windfall films:
Made on 10th April
Sword making
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693342>
Made on 20th April
Lacquer work <https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/2693045>
Maiko painting her face
<https://upload.sms.cam.ac.uk/media/1811343>
Maiko being formally dressed
<https://upload.sms.cam.ac.uk/media/1811351>
9th July 2003
Debate between Alan and Hiroshi Watanabe
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3166009>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3166047>
14th April 2003
Debate between Alan and Ohsawa Masachi - Only part of this
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3166074>
15th April 2003

Visit to nursery at Hokkaido University
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165899>
18th July 2003

Koto - Introduction and performance by Koichiro Tanaka
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165970>
24th July 2003

Ringing a bell at the Gion shrine
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164834>
Lake
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164868>
Sho-Ren-Nin Temple
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164902>
Dancing for the kami at the Gion shrine
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164929>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164960>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3164996>
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165033>
Shugakuin Summer Palace
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165082>
Portable shrine pullers gathering
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165109>
Pachinko parlour
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165167>
Shops
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165197>
Tea shop - Tea ceramics and loose tea
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165219>
Shrine in the shopping mall - Superstition
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165247>
Buying dolls for Lily and Rosa
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165274>
Kyoto at night - Policemen wearing flashing sashes
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165306>
Tea ice cream restaurant
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165333>
Portable shrine procession
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165357>
25th July 2003

Meeting a maiko in Gion
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165392>
Introducing the maiko
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165421>
Maiko dances
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165445>
Meal at ryoken in Gion
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165499>
26th July 2003

Train journey from Kyoto to Nara
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165522>
Imai-cho village

<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165560>
Imai-cho village - Soy maker
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165589>
Imai-cho village - House beside the soy maker's establishment
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165619>
Imai-cho village - Museum
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165642>
Imai-cho village - Meal
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165669>
Imai-cho village - Saki shop
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165719>
Goldfish farm
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165748>
Nara Park
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3165778>
8th October 2005
First lecture at Berkeley on Fukuzawa and Maruyama
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3175105>
22nd March 2006
Seminar with Osamu Saito
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167903>
23rd March 2006
Conversation with Anthony Backhouse
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167910>
24th March 2006
Conversation with Tomoharu Yanagimachi
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167917>
Graduation photograph - Girls in kimono and hakama
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167338>
25th March 2006
Conversation with Toshio Yamagishi, Professor of Social Psychology
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167924>
Conversation with Shing-Jen Chen, expert on child development
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167931>
26th March 2006
Film of conversation with Professors Toshiko and Kenichi Nakamura
<http://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3174603>
27th March 2006
Children playing in the snow
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3169270>
Music in the underground passage
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167369>
28th March 2006
Part of conversation with Jin Makabe
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167938>
29th March 2006
Hokkaido under snow seen from train
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167398>
Airport with Pokémon plane - Chitose
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167434>

Conversation with Toshio Yokoyama
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167945>
30th March 2006

Visit to Kamigamo Shrine
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167467>

Visit to a 'shake' house
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167502>
31st March 2006

Tea merchant and tea house
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167528>

Another tea shop
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167554>

Kanbayashi family of tea merchants
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167579>

Byodo-in Temple
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167621>

Crossing the Uji river with Genji statue on the other side
<https://.sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167645>

Ujigami shrine
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167680>

Genji museum
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167709>

Crossing another bridge over the Uji River
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167735>

Kyoto station then on the Shinkansen to Tokyo
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167758>
1st April 2006

Conversation of interview with Professor Watanabe - part one
<https://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3167972>

Film for part two of Conversation with Professor Watanabe
<http://upload.sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3174596>

The film of the conversation with Airi Tamura is at:
<http://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/3174610>