THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE STINK OF THE EARTH: REORIENTING DISCOURSES OF TSUGARU, FURUSATO, AND PLACE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EAST ASIAN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JUNE 2017

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I reflect upon the long process of study, research, and writing that went into this dissertation, I cannot help but feel a deep sense of gratitude and profound respect for the many people who have contributed in many different ways along the journey. Over the years, I have found myself constantly surprised, and sometimes awed, by the consistent thoughtfulness, generosity, creativity, and geniality of the academic community, nowhere more so than in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago.

This is exceptionally true in the case of Michael Bourdaghs, my primary advisor and dissertation committee chair, who for reasons I can only imagine decided to accept a student with little more than a B.A. from a vanishingly small liberal arts college and a research interest barely amounting to "something to do with Tsugaru-jamisen." He contributed to the development of my project not only through teaching thought-provoking seminars and carefully reading many of my various drafts, but also by acting as a veritable font of knowledge, always ready to introduce me to a book or three pertinent to my project. Reginald Jackson, my second committee member, was extremely influential during my early years as a graduate student, teaching and demonstrating in practice how much more can always be squeezed from a text through close reading, and how the tensions between the personal and the professional can be played out in productive ways on the page. He was also responsible for introducing me to performance theory and classical Japanese, two topics which continue to play an important role in my research, if in altered form. Hoyt Long, my third committee member, provided insightful critiques of my drafts and meticulously detailed comments which helped to improve the clarity and accuracy of my writing in its latest stages.

The closeness of our professional interests in terms of both methodology and content meant that we always had common ground to discuss, and felt stakes in very similar issues.

The research conducted for this dissertation was supported by funding from several sources, including a Fulbright Fellowship, Fulbright DDRA Fellowship, as well as funding from the University of Chicago Center for East Asian Studies. Staff members of the Hirosaki public library, Hirosaki University library, Hirosaki Kyōdo Bungakkan, and the Museum of Modern Aomori Literature have all been very helpful. I especially want to acknowledge how accommodating the Kyōdo Bungakkan has been in allowing me to access rare manuscripts, and the Museum of Modern Aomori Literature for providing remote access to certain resources as well. Thank you too to the proprietor of Narita Shoten, which has been an invaluable resource in this project as well.

This paper is a contemplation of origins, and thus I am obliged to acknowledge the people who afforded me the opportunity to begin this process; my point of embarkation. Matthew Mizenko is unquestionably the most key figure in launching my academic career. I am indebted to him not only for introducing me to critical theory and overseeing the majority of my undergraduate thesis, but also for continuing to support me through my first Fulbright fellowship and graduate school applications. I am also grateful for the education and support of Holly Hubbs and the rest of the Ursinus community.

In Chicago, I benefited greatly by being surrounded by motivated and inspiring colleagues. Zhang Han and Carly Buxton, who were there from the very beginning, were wonderful people to learn alongside with, and acted as bastions of both intellectual and moral support. Scott Aalgaard, Nick Lambrecht, Brian White, and Alex Murphy each contributed in their own ways to this project, and our discussions would often meander into surprising territory

and sometimes probably later into the evening than they ought to have. Kathryn Tanaka was a boon during some of the doldrums of the writing process, and has gone out of her way to provide opportunities to help me grow professionally. Nicholas Albertson, Scott Mehl, Mika Endo, Xu Peng, Tom Kelly, and Daniela Licandro, as well as Paola Iovene, Kyeong-Hee Choi, Judith Zeitlin, and Susan Burns also contributed in more tangential ways. The UChicago Japanese poetry group was also a regular source of inspiration and challenge, and I thank Katagiri Yoko, David Krolikoski, Norma Field, and the other participants who joined us over the years. All of the participants in the Art and Politics in East Asia workshop provided substantial feedback at several stages in the process.

I am also very happy to acknowledge all of the members of the Tsugaru "folk music" community who have contributed to this project over the years in so many different ways: first and foremost, Shibutani Kazuo, who freely gave of his time to teach me the basics of Tsugaru-jamisen, allowed me access to his extensive collection of rare *min'yō* books, and whose reputation opened many doors for me during my earliest ethnographic forays. I also appreciate the cooperation of Satō Michiyoshi and Satō Michihiro, Shimada Ayaka, Gareth Burns, Kevin Kmetz, Yamashita-sensei and the members of the Tōnichi School, Imai-san, Osanai-seinsei, the Adohadari family, Manji-sensei, Fukushi Toyokatsu, the Hirosaki University shamisen club and the members of the Tada School, as well as many others.

At Hirosaki University, Anthony Rausch was a stable presence keeping me focused on pragmatically preparing for the future. Tomita Akira sponsored me as a research student my first year in Hirosaki, and generously gave of his time and energy to introduce me to different aspects of the local music community. Nihei Masato supported me during my year as a guest researcher, helped me become acquainted with the local academic community, and worked tirelessly to turn

my flawed Japanese into publishable text. Nihei-sensei, Yamaguchi Tōru, and the members of F-ken have also given me important opportunities to talk shop and remain in a critical headspace while separated from US academia. I am also grateful to Nakamura Hiroaki, Shari Berman, and all of the members of the English Lounge who have been so accommodating to me over the past few years.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents-in-law Katsura Nobuko and Katsura Hirofumi, as well as my wife naoko, Saki-san, Iku-pon, Dokutā, and Matto-san for taking me into their homes, for answering my incessant questions about Tsugaru vernacular, and for giving me a taste of authentic *gotaku* [bullshitting] sessions each barbecue season. I want to thank my parents Ruth and Steve Solomon for having the patience to try to understand the path their wayward son has chosen to take, and why he is taking it so far away from home. This dissertation is dedicated to my little Tsugaru family: thank you to naoko and Julia, for giving me a "second *furusato*," a truly new sense of home.

ABSTRACT

My purpose in writing *The Stink of the Earth: Reorienting Discourses of Tsugaru, Furusato, and Place* is to offer a series of new insights into the topic of *furusato*. Additionally, by directing my focus to the Tsugaru region of Aomori prefecture, I address an under-represented community in Japan studies, the rural countryside, and bring a number of its cultural producers into the purview of English-language scholarship for the first time.

Furusato is typically translated as "native place" or "hometown," and has been treated as an overdetermined symbol of nostalgia for a premodern pastoral ideal, created by the discourse-producing machines of the urban center. This dissertation, however, offers a critical reinterpretation of *furusato* as "home/origins," and analyzes it through literary, performance, theoretical, and other artistic discourses of Tsugaru-oriented actors. By turning away from the overbearing presence of Japan-as-nation, I uncover Tsugaru-*furusato* as a mutable set of practices and values.

The dissertation progresses through three major perspectives: musical-aesthetic, avant-garde writing, and the local literary community. The first chapter offers a unique historiography of Tsugaru folksong and Tsugaru-jamisen, connecting processes of production and the appropriation of emerging media technologies. It goes on to read the influential musician Takahashi Chikuzan's use of olfactive metaphor and "principle" [*sujimichi*] as a nuanced discourse of a "folk epistemology." The second chapter takes up the autobiographical works of postwar avant-garde artist Terayama Shūji, focusing on his critical and prose writing. Through them, he promoted and performed an ethical praxis of creative destruction, reinventing the potential meaning of *furusato* for his generation. The final chapter presents an overview of the Tsugaru literary community, highlighting the intervention of institutions which give form to its

narrative. The latter part of the chapter uses detailed readings of the written discourse of actors within Tsugaru's literary networks to argue for a specific place-consciousness which is created through practice. While each chapter analyzes a unique set of texts and perspectives, they all foreground innovative interpretations of *furusato* related to aesthetics, practice, and place.

INTRODUCTION

"For humans to have a responsible relationship to the world, they must imagine their places in it. To have a place, to live and belong in a place, to live from a place without destroying it, we must imagine it….By imagination we recognize with sympathy the fellow members, human and nonhuman, with whom we share our place"

Wendell Berry, "It All Turns on Affection"

TSUGARU, MOUNT IWAKI, AND WE THE BARBARIANS

The landscape of the Tsugaru region, located in the western half of Aomori prefecture on the northern tip of Honshu, is dominated by the towering presence of Mt. Iwaki. The mountain stands alone over the Tsugaru plain, and is visible from Aomori city in the northeast, Hirosaki city in the east, Ajigasawa town in the Northwest, Fukaura town in the west, and Nishimeya village in the south. It is the visual center of the region, a striking feature of the skyline from nearly any vantage. Conversely, from its summit on a clear day, one can observe Hokkaido's Cape Matsumae, Cape Gongen on the Tsugaru peninsula, the long crescent beach of Shichiri Nagahama, the Shirakami Sanchi and Hakkoda mountain ranges, and the Shimokita peninsula.[1] It can also be considered the spiritual center of the region: the mountain is said to fill heaven and earth, and to house the great deities of Tsugaru. Historical literature describes Iwaki as containing fearsome power and the potential for the unlimited violence of nature—it is a once-active volcano—and also as a wall bracing against the coastal snows and uncivilized, foreign

[1] Takashima Susumu, *Jean Jean shūen* (Japan: Sayū–sha, 2013), 88.

north: it is both sword and shield, simultaneously familiar and mysterious.[2] During the feudal period, Mt. Iwaki was identified as an incarnation of Buddha; today, it is more commonly associated with the *oyama sankei* practice of honoring the Shinto deities inhabiting the Iwaki Shrine.[3] The mountain's changing appearance as it transitions through the seasons provides indications for local residents as to when to move on to the next stage of the agricultural cycle, or perhaps more commonly today, how long it will be until next skiing or hiking season begins.[4]

Mt. Iwaki stands a full 1,625 meters tall—the tallest mountain in modern Aomori prefecture—and comes to three independent peaks: Mt. Chōkai, Mt. Iwaki, and Mt. Ganki. The triple-peaked geological formation roughly approximates the Chinese character for "mountain" (山) when viewed from the city of Hirosaki; from Aomori in the north or Nishimeya in the south, however, it appears as a single-peaked, simple triangle. If we take the multi-faced Iwaki as a stand-in for the place of Tsugaru, it can in some way represent the questions and goals of this dissertation project: the mountain is a deep mixture of discursive construction and objective correlative; each face—literal and metaphorical—is distinct, tells a different story, depending on the perspective brought to its analysis.

The first written record of the word Tsugaru appears in the *Nihon shoki* (CE 720). In 1593, Lord Tsugaru Tamenobu gained audience with the Shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and earned official recognition for three districts within the Tsugaru region. "Tsugaru" itself, once the domain of a feudal clan, is no longer recognized as a legitimate political entity in modern Japan, and yet the word is deployed with regularity to describe cultural and historical associations with the social, spiritual, demographic, and historical landscapes of its geographic

[2] Gideon Fujiwara, "Spirits and Identity in Nineteenth–Century Northeastern Japan: Hirata *Kokugaku* and the Tsugaru Disciples," PhD Thesis (University of British Columbia: 2013), 182.
[3] Anthony Rausch, "Associations with a Place: Seeing and Understanding Tsugaru," *Voices from the Snow*, ed. James N. Westerhoven, 33–52 (Japan: Hirosaki University Press, 2009), 45.
[4] Rausch, "Associations with a Place," 45–7; Fujiwara, 75.

region. Tsugaru is thus a multi-layered place, subject to a wide range of definitions and interpretations.

Tsugaru is a cultural concept held over from the Tokugawa period, and furthermore, its constituent cities, towns, and wards have evolved significantly over time. The implementation of the modern municipal organization system [*shi sei chōson sei sekō*] began in 1890, establishing 17 municipalities within the current bounds of Hirosaki city and Central Tsugaru ward. Between 1953-1961, these were consolidated into six entities, and then merged again in 2006 during the Great Heisei Merger into Hirosaki city and Nishi Meya town.[5] In short, any discussion of Tsugaru in a modern context necessarily indexes an anachronistic political regime and inherited set of images and practices.

Tsugaru literary critic Ono Masafumi touches on a number of definitions for the region in his commentary to *Tsugaru no shi* [The poetry of Tsugaru]. He defines Tsugaru vis-à-vis the Aomori Regional Meterological Observatory's records, noting that "The southern edge of Aomori prefecture is at latitude 40°12', its northern edge lies at 40°33', and is positioned at the 'northernmost tip of Honshu.' The average temperature is 10.0°C, and through the year 27 days are good-weather, 237 are overcast, 212 see precipitation, and there is snow on 108." He touches on the folk ritual of the summer Neputa Festival, a weeklong nighttime parade which has evolved into a national tourist attraction, but argues that the "true form of Tsugaru" is not what is experienced by outsiders during the brief respite from the unrelenting cold which characterizes everyday life in the region for much of the year. He suggests that the harshness of everyday life was not only the result of climatic factors, but also of a particularly oppressive two-hundred year

[5] Aomori Prefecture, "Hirosaki shi to chū Tsugaru gun," *Aomori Prefectural Government*, accessed 20 October, 2016 <http://www.pref.aomori.lg.jp/soshiki/soumu/shichoson/files/hensen–hironaka.pdf>.

feudal regime.[6] He finds the "regional characteristics of Tsugaru" forming the background of local literary movements, particularly in the form of Tsugaru "dialect" poetry.[7] He concludes with a list of suggested readings in order for the reader to become familiar enough with Tsugaru to appreciate the poems he is commenting on.[8]

Tsugaru has long been characterized in terms of geographic and cultural insularity. Among other historical monikers, northern Tohoku has been called *michinoku*, the "end of the road." Furthermore, Tsugaru is located on the "backside" of Japan [*ura Nihon*], a phrase which has been used since the Meiji Period to distinguish it from the well-modernized "face" of the country [*omote Nihon*] on the eastern coast.[9] The Tsugaru plains, the heart of the region, are isolated from the rest of Honshu by mountain ranges and a relentlessly challenging climate, and were historically buffered against free and open cultural and economic exchange with other domains.[10] Physical insularity resulted in the delayed adoption of new cultural forms, technology, and language, and contributed to the economic impoverishment of the region.[11] Given Tsugaru's geographic distance and economic underdevelopment, its image in the major consciousness has generally been that of a culturally backward and historically delayed region. This image has been developed and exploited across genres of film and popular song, as well as the tourism industry and government "native-place making" initiatives, participating in the nationwide construction of Tsugaru-*furusato* as *furusato*-Japan. Representations of Tsugaru have long been juxtaposed with

[6] Ono Masafumi, "Kaisetsu," *Hōgen shishū: Tsugaru no shi*, Ichinohe Kenzō et al, 127–141 (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1986), 129–130.
[7] Ono, "Kaisetsu," 136.
[8] Ono, "Kaisetsu," 141.
[9] Takashima Susumu, *Jean Jean shūen*, 95.
[10] This characterization is misleading. Tsugaru enjoyed a long history of trade along its western coast as the last few stops on the *Kitamae–bune* nautical trade route, and the entire history of Tsugaru folk music has been supported by the flow of people and ideas across domainal borders. See: Rausch, "Associations with a Place," 33–52; Tomita Akira, "Gen no hibiki: Tsugaru–jamisen no keisei to genzai" in *Shikan Minzokugaku*, no. 135 (2011), 3–56.
[11] This is a prime example of what Yanagita Kunio would describe as the time lag between country and city in modern Japan. See Chapter 1 of this dissertation for further discussion of temporal "unevenness."

evolving meanings of *furusato* [home/origins], resulting in Tsugaru's present status as a default stand-in "home" for the *furusato*-less capital.[12]

One notable example is perhaps the misrepresentation of the work of artist Okamoto Tarō's "rediscovery of Japan" series at the Expo 70 in Osaka. Okamoto's objects found inspiration in Jōmon-period artifacts from Aomori prefecture and in Okinawan art, and by connecting these objects with a narrative of a search for Japanese origins, he participated in the "branding" of Tohoku and Aomori as premodern-authentic-Japan. While Okamoto's actions may have engaged Tohoku productively as a site for serious contemporary artistic and intellectual work, the image of rural=origins was juxtaposed with representations of modern Japanese businesses and local products, suggesting *furusato* to be a commodity just like any local delicacy or agricultural good.[13] Elsewhere, Okamoto records a travel essay on his rare trip to Aomori prefecture (described as flyover country in the introduction) and Mt. Osore in particular encapsulates the anachronism of Tsugaru's image: throughout his time in Aomori, he records interactions only with the elderly and superstitious or spiritualistic women.[14]

Even while Ono Masafumi's opening line to his discussion of Tsugaru cites the *Nihon shoki*, establishing Tsugaru within the historical-national mythology, he simultaneously states that "[Tsugaru is] represented as a degree more alien [*kaii*] than the supplicating barbarians [*nigiebisu*] [of eastern Japan] and the wild barbarians [*araebisu*] of the north."[15] In the historical

[12] The conflation of geographic distance with otherness and pastness is a common practice in establishing subject/object relations, particularly in colonial contexts. Fabian indicates how anthropologists have employed "allochronism" in the pursuit of objectivity, but in the process may wind up committing a "denying of coevalness" with respect to their research subjects. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 31, 38.
[13] Steven C Ridgely, *Japanese Counterculture: The Antiestablishment Art of Terayama Shuji* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 163.
[14] Further emphasizing Aomori's otherness, he goes as far as to read the characters Ao-mori [lit. green mountains] in German as "*grünes walt*." Okamoto Tarō, "Oshira no tamashii: Tohoku no bunkaron," in *Shinpi nippon*, (Japan: Chūō kōron‐sha, 1964), 7.
[15] Ono, "Kaisetsu," 129.

text, the envoys from Tsugaru are treated side-by-side with visitors from the contemporary Korean kingdom of Paekche; all of the delegates are lumped together and referred to as Emishi people of the Hokuetsu area. Ono also links "Tsugaru" with the "foreign" Ainu word "*tsugari*," which supposedly refers to "the thing on the furthest outskirts from oneself."[16] Tsugaru thus has a long discursive lineage as an internal other to the center of Japanese identity as constructed by the state, and sits well within the historical construction of Japan as nation-through-conquest.

Recent scholarly work has illuminated how this approach to Japanese historiography—the story of Japan-as-conflict—was incubated during wartime and the occupation period, and proposes that the dynamics of Japanese life on the archipelago can be observed in the systematic exploitative relationship between center and periphery. Specifically, this refers to the clash between the (shifting) capital and northeastern Japan, historically moving from Tohoku to northern Tohoku, Hokkaido, and ultimately Manchuria and other northern colonial frontiers. The theory originates with Takahashi Tomio, and is an adaptation of Frederick Jackson Turner's classic frontier theory of the United States of America.[17] The vision of Tohoku and Ezo (Hokkaido) as a dynamic frontier was particularly clear for nativist scholar Hirata Atsutane during the final years of the isolationist Tokugawa state, as he saw the region as a vulnerable portal to foreign powers.[18] In fact, Ezo was considered sufficiently foreign for Hirao Rosen, a

[16] Hokuetsu literally refers to a region encompassing Ecchū and Echigo, historically covering parts of Toyama and Niigata prefectures on the western coast of the archipelago. Emishi is an antiquated reading of Ezo, another old word used to alternately refer to Hokkaido and the Ainu people. However, both Emishi and Hokuetsu/Echigo were employed quite flexibly in reference to a distant, foreign, barbarian northern realm beyond the immediate control of the Edo government. "Nihon shoki kō dai 26," j–texts.com <http://www.j–texts.com/jodai/shoki26.html> (accessed: 5 January, 2017); *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, Supplement I, Vol. 2, trans. W. G. Aston (London: Japan Society, 1896), 249.
[17] Nathan Hopson, "Takahashi Tomio's *Henkyō*: Eastern Easts meets Western Wests," *Japan Review*, no. 27 (2014), 141–170.
[18] Fujiwara, 43.

Tsugaru native and pioneer of Japanese folklore, to conduct a major ethnographic project there as late as 1855.[19]

Turner's basic argument is that the unique culture of the United States, its entire history, is defined by the "colonization of the Great West," a "meeting point between savagery and civilization."[20] The land was settled in waves, with each generation of pioneer bringing a new spirit, ethic, culture, and meaning to the land.[21] As a result, the culture of Americanism trumped ethnic divides; the frontier was a "crucible" in which immigrants became "Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race."[22] The conquest of the periphery to satisfy the needs and greeds of the center is a continuing and central theme in the contemporary United States as well.[23]

Takahashi's interpretation rests on the crux of Jackson's argument: that the center and periphery are mutually-constitutive in Japan as well. While Turner acknowledged the role of the "wilderness" "mastering" the pioneer, he represented the aboriginal people as non-subjects, elements of nature waiting to temper the steel of the wheels driving manifest destiny.[24] Takahashi, a Tohoku native, argued that the plight of endemic poverty and perceived belated cultural development of his native region was a result of millennia of oppression and exploitation of hunter-gatherers in the northeast by rice farmers from the west, and that the Emishi territories must be viewed with sympathy with respect to that history.[25] Prewar historian Hara Katsuro agrees that northeastern Japan suffered retarded development, partially due to "climatic

[19] Fujiwara, 115–27.
[20] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920), 1, 4.
[21] Turner, 14, 19–20.
[22] Turner, 23.
[23] In a similar critique of industrialism and the destruction of the "land community," Wendell Berry censures "the prevalent assumption that cities could be improved by pillage of the countryside." Wendell Berry, "People, Land, and Community," Schumacher Center for a New Economics, 1981, accessed 11 January, 2017 < http://www.centerforneweconomics.org/publications>.
[24] Hopson, 155.
[25] Hopson, 148.

inferiority," but more that "The principal cause of the retardation of progress in northern Japan lies rather in the fact that it is a comparatively recently exploited part of the Empire."[26] These two scholars view the issue from different perspectives—the former from that of the emerging Yamato powers as oppressing Tohoku, and the latter from that of Tohoku awaiting Yamato's belated guidance and nurture—but they agree that the national-historical consciousness of what constitutes northeastern Japan today was the result of a prolonged dialectical engagement; not a simple one-sided annexation of vacant territory. This background of flux and evolution stands at the base of the idea of Tsugaru-as-place as explored throughout the rest of this dissertation.

ARGUMENT AND JUSTIFICATION

There is an expression *tsuchi no kamari-ko* in Tsugaru vernacular which means something like "the stink of the earth." It is used by local residents to delineate a specific type of bodily knowledge: only by having been born there can one know the land, the essence, of Tsugaru. This type of oppositional stance, which strengthens the identity of the community via the negation of the foreign, can be observed in discourses of language, art, and everyday life. Yet, the alter that it seeks to exclude is not only the other of a foreign state or "culture," the rejection of which would help to unify a single Japanese imaginary. Rather, *tsuchi no kamari-ko* distinguishes an other internal to Japan, a unique form of local knowledge, of place (sometimes the region as "*chihō*," or the historical land as "*kyōdo*"]. This sensibility of localized difference echoes through various expressions of Tsugaru everyday life, and thus informs a local sense of Tsugaru not widely acknowledged by national discourse.

This dissertation project proposes to complicate extant theories of *furusato* [home/origins] which have been closely linked with northern Tohoku and Tsugaru, via close

[26] Hara Katsuro, *An Introduction to the History of Japan* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), 26.

readings of performance and literature connected with the place via textual or authorial association. The popular-national imaginary of Tsugaru has widely become an overdetermined symbol of "Japaneseness" in the form of a generalized topos of origin, an empty signifier of *furusato*. It is my contention that academic and popular discourses which posit Tsugaru-as-*furusato* have primarily been Tokyo-originated and Tokyo-oriented, and therefore reify a center-periphery mode of consciousness, reproducing entrenched power relations, and devaluing discourses originating from the marginalized pole of that binary. My project is to elucidate a multiplicity of local expressions of *furusato* which have fallen through the cracks, voices which have not enjoyed a wide enough audience. The purpose of this dissertation project is thus not only to update the limited topic of *furusato* studies, but also to contribute to the reorientation of the discussion of area studies and Japan studies toward recognizing the significance of marginalized regional voices in general, and of those in Tsugaru in particular.

This project is a response in part to the major trend in Japan studies toward focusing on exposing the national-ideological machinery operating behind the sudden and traumatic changes wrought by Japan's headlong rush of modernization, characterized by national-language movements,[27] the conversion to the Christian calendar and clock time,[28] the adoption of modern science and western medicine in place of mythic folk knowledge,[29] the formation of national literary canon,[30] evolution of popular song forms,[31] etc. While these projects take up a variety of source materials and methodological approaches, and often arrive at valuable insights along the

[27] Lee Yeounsuk, *The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan*, Trans. Maki Hirano Hubbard (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010).
[28] Stefan Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
[29] Gerald Figal, *Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).
[30] Edward Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature: Publishing, Prizes, and the Ascription of Literary Value* (London: Duke University Press, 2010).
[31] Christine Yano, *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002).

way, in the broadest sense their trajectory points toward the now familiar narrative of the rise of the nation-state in modern Japan. Furthermore, they tend to fall into the trap of seeing Tokyo as a "black hole" which distorts the map of Japan by sucking up natural and human resources, as well as cultural capital—and academic attention.[32] The story of Japanese modernity is so often reduced to a program of state-initiated projects intended to launch Japan, represented almost exclusively by the capital region, under a unified national consciousness onto the global stage and into economic and political competition with Euro-America.

A side effect of this type of academic approach is the flattening of the archipelago: it makes clear that national language, national literature, national polity, and national culture are produced for the purpose of uniting the Japanese people within a coherent national consciousness so they can face the international community in solidarity. Local difference is effectively eradicated in the march toward modernity, such that even narratives critical of its processes implicitly reaffirm the cultural homogenization of Japan. For example, the act of explicating the historical events during the national language [*kokugo*] reform movement necessarily entails the repetition of vernacular languages' retreat in the face of advancing and evolving institutions of state language.

Political attempts at linguistic flattening are pointedly illustrated by the so-called *hōgen bokumetsu undō* [dialect extermination movement] and the slogan *hitotsu no kokka, hitotsu no kokugo* [one nation, one language], according to which standardized Japanese [*hyōjungo*] was not only implemented in a national education model, but regional languages were maligned and individuals unable or unwilling to conform to the new language policy pilloried for it. Beginning in Okinawa, and later spreading to areas including Tohoku, *batsu fuda* or *hōgen fuda* placards

[32] Borrowing the language of Matsumoto's critique: Matsumoto Hiroaki, "'Kyōdo bungaku' zakkō: bungaku ni okeru chūō to chihō no mondai," *Nihon kindai bungaku*, No. 79 (2008), 124–5.

were hung from students' necks to punish them for using vernacular speech.[33] Such practices contributed to a deep sense of shame experienced by many, specifically non-urban citizens.[34] Language reform began during the Meiji Period largely in the form of debates over standardization of speaking and writing.[35] Yet anxiety over vernacular speech continued well into the postwar period, prompting one researcher to coin the term "dialect complex" [*hōgen konpurekkusu*] to describe a rash of murders and other anti-social behavior engaged in response to dialect shaming, which stained the postwar period up until the late 1970s.[36] Although another scholar makes an enthusiastic case that dialect has evolved from "stigma" to "prestige" as media technology has reversed the tables and made *hyōjungo* practically universal, while marked speech has become the privilege of the (relatively) fewer,[37] politicians have continued to depict Japan as linguistically and culturally homogeneous, with Internal Affairs and Communications Minister Aso Tarō declaring as recently as 2005 that Japan has "one nation, one civilization, one language, one culture and one race. There is no other nation (that has such characteristics)."[38]

Yanagita Kunio and other members of the burgeoning folklore movement in the early part of the twentieth century proposed their own, different, homogenizing narratives. Yanagita, in particular, sought "Japan" in the body of the folk rather than national history, prioritizing the excavation of the non-modern cultural forms so readily observable in popular *furusato*

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[33] Yeounsuk, 237.
[34] Inoue Hisashi and Hirata Oriza, *Hanashi kotoba no nihongo* (Japan: Shōgakukan, 2002), 82.
[35] Yanagita Kunio argued that *kokugo* ought to be a less analytical, more thought–like speech closer to classical written Japanese. Conversely, others fought to make writing more accessible, more like speech; thus, *genbun icchi* [unification of speech and writing]. Ultra nationalists fought back, claiming that *kokugo* should comfortably remain the property of a privileged few in the form of writing, and not fall into a profane new model. Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity Phantasm Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 81; Yeounsuk, 120.
[36] Cited in: Tanaka Yukari, "'Hōgen' ga kachi wo motsu jidai: Stigma kara Prestige, soshite….," *Toshi mondai*, Vol. 105 (August 2014), 12.
[37] Tanaka Yukari, "*Hōgen kosupure" no jidai: nise kansai–ben kara Ryūma–go made* (Japan: Iwanami shoten, 2011); Tanaka Yukari, "'Za nan–ben' kara 'mote–ben' he?" *Kangaeru*, No. 53 (Summer 2015): 206–7; Tanaka, "'Hōgen' ga kachi wo motsu jidai," 9–18.
[38] "Aso says Japan is nation of 'one race,'" *The Japan Times*, last modified 18 October, 2005 < http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2005/10/18/national/aso–says–japan–is–nation–of–one–race/#.WGMeN1zX79I> .

discourse.[39] His project was to produce a "new cultural discourse [which] favored a hermeneutics that promised to probe beneath the surface and thereby locate a fixed 'existence,' a timeless everydayness."[40] By rejecting, or limiting, written national discourse, Yanagita opened a space for oral (folk) history: history of the everyday rather than that of the traditional national political narratives.[41] This allowed for the "abiding folk" [*jōmin*]—a belief that the folk exceeds the body of the individual subject—to be the arbiter of a "politically silent" cultural "spirit."[42] In the form of this unconscious *jōmin* spirit, the Japanese were theoretically leveled regardless of social or economic position, but in a way that made them unique from mainland Asia and the West.[43] The timelessness of the *jōmin*, however, lent its hermeneutics to the incipient rise of fascism in interwar Japan. According to Harootunian's critique, this Yanagita "aimed at implanting an image of an unmoving social order at the heart of a society in constant motion, a historyless and classless community within the historical epoch of capitalism dominated by class relationships."[44] The spectre of fascism always haunts the *furusato* which claims timelessness: this can be observed in the discussions of German *heimat* and turn-of-the-century anti-modernism in the later parts of this introduction.

While the forces of homogenization, particularly concerning the standardization of language and the imagination of timeless folk culture, continue to wield considerable political and cultural force, it is the purpose of the present project to reorient the perspective away from

[39] Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 212.
[40] Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, 32.
[41] Harry Harootunian, "Disciplining Native Knowledge and Producing Place: Yanagita Kunio, Origuchi Shinobu, Takata Yasuma," in *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals During the Interwar Years*, pp 99–127, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (New Jersey: Princeton, 1990), 107–8.
[42] Harootunian, "Disciplining Native Knowledge…," 126–7. Orikuchi Shinobu, Yanagita's contemporary, focused on the afterlife, *tokoyo*, as a space of homogeneous cultural–historical authenticity. *Tokoyo* is written using the same character in *jōmin* which Harootunian translates at "abiding," and indexes the same notions of intangible spirit and value of non–modern authentic experience. Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, 212–13; Harootunian, "Disciplining Native Knowledge…," 119.
[43] Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, 313.
[44] Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, 316.

the standard, away from the national, away from the capital, and toward emergent forms of knowledge and practice in a specific locality. Rather than revisit the story of the accumulation of power and capital in Tokyo, the establishment of the Meiji Constitution, the rise of capitalism, or the Allied Occupation, all of which ultimately solidify Tokyo's present-day status as synecdoche for Japan as a whole, and thereby implying the supremacy and homogeneity of these quintessentially modern forms, I turn my gaze to the particular, the specific, and the locally-identified.

There has been a small countercurrent in studies of Japan in recent years seeking to complicate nation-oriented narratives by emphasizing the persistence of local difference and the uneven effects of the processes of modernization at the most specific levels of locality. One such study is Young's *Beyond the Metropolis*, which comes to the remarkable conclusion (which I unjustly oversimplify here) that the modernizing economy did not benefit all people equally, nor affect all areas of all regions in the same manner.[45] She accomplishes this through a series of close readings of representative modern developments and industries (e.g. railroad expansion, development of the publishing industry) across multiple mid-sized cities, and effectively demonstrates that different types of cities, and different people and industries within them thrived and ailed as a result of the rapid economic growth and concentration in Tokyo of the early 20th century. Wigen's older local-historical project in Shinano comes to a similar but more regionally-specific conclusion, although she relies on the unqualified distinction of "peripheralization."[46] Tamanoi's ethnographic project looks to uncover the schism between

[45] Louise Young, *Beyond the Metropolis: Second Cities and Modern Life in Interwar Japan* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2013). Other similar studies include Martin Dusinberre, *Hard times in the hometown: a history of community survival in modern Japan* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2012) and Mariko Asano Tamanoi, *Under the Shadow of Nationalism: Politics and Poetics of Rural Japanese Women* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).
[46] Kären Wigen, *The Making of a Japanese Periphery, 1750–1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

nationally-projected identity and the communal experience and personal pastness of rural women.[47] In the process, she argues that the work of famous folklore studies scholars like Yanagita Kunio "suppressed" rural voices in order to simplify the rural/urban divide, characterizing all provincials as agriculturalists and members of his idealized spiritual nation.[48] Hoyt Long's literary study based on Miyazawa Kenji insightfully demonstrates the critical place of a complex understanding of place—comprised of aspects of geology, geography, publishing networks, education systems, public forums, and so on—beyond an oversimplified center-periphery model.[49]

DELINEATING FURUSATO

My project is similar to these latter works in that it seeks to bring to light several different ways of reading *furusato* through the close examination of texts which I believe can bring more complexity and variety to our analysis of the experiences of modernity in Japan. *Furusato* [sometimes: *kokyō*], translated variously as "old village," "home," "native place," etc, is used most literally to refer to the place one was born, but has subsequently moved away from. However, the word *furusato* has become a complicated signifier for a range of images and emotions, a rose-tinted childhood memory. Today, it is clearly marked with many social and cultural properties, like vernacular speech, agricultural delicacies, religious festivals and performance practices, and localized handicrafts. It is a strongly pastoral-landscape image, full of nostalgia, characterized by "forested mountains, fields cut by a meandering river, and a cluster of thatched-roof farmhouses….[*Furusato*] also connotes a desirable lifestyle aesthetic summed up

[47] Tamanoi, 1–2.
[48] Tamanoi, 115, 118–19.
[49] Hoyt Long, *On Uneven Ground: Miyazawa Kenji and the Making of Place in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

by the term *soboku*, or artlessness and rustic simplicity."[50] The word is often written with Chinese characters (古里), pointing to its spatio-temporal construction: "The temporal dimension is represented by the [first character] *furu(i)*, which signifies pastness, historicity, senescence, and quaintness….The spatial dimension is represented by the [latter character,] *sato*, which suggests a number of places inhabited by humans: a natal household, a hamlet or village, and the countryside (as opposed to the city)."[51] *Furusato* is a place you reach by the local train, not by a space-age jet or maglev bullet train.[52] The images and technologies associated with a conventional imagination of one's *furusato* thus drift ceaselessly into the past: home and origins are always fading, always distant, and often recalled with a potent sense of longing.[53]

Furusato is never a real thing; it is always a construction, and it is always at a distance. In the history of the term's usage, it has drifted from the literal reference to one's birthplace to take on communal meanings. One scholar suggests that the contemporary phenomenological *furusato* can be divided into two distinct categories: on the one hand, the "individual, unique *furusato*" [*kobetsu koyū kokyō*], a distorted personal memory or "phantom image" of the past.[54] Conversely,

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[50] Jennifer Robertson, *Natives and Newcomers: Making and Remaking a Japanese City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 13–14.

[51] This is perhaps the most common of a number of possible ways of writing *furusato*. The *furusato* idea is often also communicated as "*kokyō*," usually written using different characters with a similar meaning. Robertson, *Natives and Newcomers*, 14.

[52] This trope is played on satirically in the 1977 kitschy horror film *House*, in which a group of schoolgirls board a train on the "to *furusato* platform," decorated with a pastoral mural in pastels and the message "Come, young brides, to the countryside!" Ōbayashi Nobuhiko, *Hausu* (Japan: Toho Company, 1977), DVD. Similarly, Miyazawa Kazufumi's song "Kaerō kana" [Wanna go home] cites longing for an "oh, so distant *furusato*" (in this case, an appropriated Okinawa *furusato*), associated with "children's songs" and "lullabies." The refrain of "I wanna go home, wanna quit my job, get on the first train tomorrow" continues the association between *furusato* and a childhood lack of responsibility, while adding the now–antiquated image of the steam train [*kisha*] rather than electric line [*densha*]. The second half of the refrain refers to "coming out the other side of the tunnel," literally placing *furusato* in another realm from the singer's dreary, modern, urban existence. Miyazawa Kazufumi, *THE BOOM: Best Hit*, Sony Music DQCL–2128, 2008, CD, Track 10.

[53] Yamada Yōji's 1972 classic film *Kokyō* presents a the same story, focusing not on agriculture, but instead on the marginalization and ultimate devastation of a small family–operated rock–hauling business by the arrival of a giant, faceless corporation and the capital and behemoth iron ships at its command. Yamada Yōji, *Kokyō* (Japan: Shochiku, 1972), DVD.

[54] Matsumoto Hiroaki, "'Kyōdo' no hakken to kindai bungaku: egakareru 'kokyō' kara katarareru 'kyōdo' he," *Iwate kenritsu daigaku morioka tankidaigakubu kenkyū ronshū*, No. 4 (2002): 3, 5.

there is a communal *furusato*, an image created through the joint articulation of the idea in the realm of public discourse: this is the "*furusato* as it ought to be" [*aru beki sugata no kokyō*].[55] The latter, he argues, is the product of Japanese folklore studies' emphasis on *kyōdo*, specific localities ironically intended by their writers to represent a non-specific Japanese identity. Yanagita Kunio's folkloristic research on the family institution and ancestor worship lays the cosmological brickwork for just this process to occur: individual families' ancestors are worshipped over successive generations, until they transform into a collective of spirits [*kami*] standing in for the ancestors of the nation as a whole.[56]

My rereading of *furusato* is more theoretically geared toward its translation into "origins." Miryam Sas has written on the postwar Japanese avant-garde preoccupation with origins; or, rather, its obsession with denying the possibility of origins. The avant-garde is perpetually caught in a dialectical relationship whereby "undermin[ing] the process of artistic inheritance or the construction of tradition" relies on the reification of the origins which it attempts to deny.[57] This is why Goodman calls the postwar underground artists members of a "nostalgic avant-garde," perpetuants of "cultural memory" through the invocation of "spirits of the dead," and traditional theatrical forms.[58] These men and women often focused on the "atomic bombs" [*genshi bakudan*: lit. "primary particle explosion"] as the source of a denial of origin, a denial of pastness.[59] *Ankoku butoh* dancer Hijikata Tatsumi believed that origins begin at the moment of action (creation); a perspective echoed by his friend and contemporary Terayama Shūji (the

[55] Matsumoto Hiroaki, "'Kyōdo' no hakken to kindai bungaku," 4–5.
[56] Yanagita Kunio, *About Our Ancestors: The Japanese Family System*, Trans. Fanny Hagin Mayer and Ishiwara Yasuyo (Japan: Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, 1970), 120.
[57] Miryam Sas, *Experimental Arts in Postwar Japan: Moments of Encounter, Engagement, and Imagined Return* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 159.
[58] David G Goodman, "Angura: Japan's Nostalgic Avant–Garde," *Not the Other Avant–Garde: The Transnational Foundations of Avant–Garde Performance*, ed. John Rouse and James Martin Harding, 250–265 (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 250–1.
[59] Sas, 176, 203.

subject of Chapter 2).[60] The destruction of Tokyo in the wartime firebombings and unconditional surrender were artistically liberating; the patriarchy was de-legitimated and the visual signifiers of the old regimes of power were destroyed.[61] In this sense, the avant-garde were free to reimagine what their *furusato* might be, what the meaning and power of origins are. Throughout the following chapters, I follow this model by considering *furusato* less centrally as a discursive object—particularly one constructed and owned by the Tokyo/capital/center—and more in terms of creative praxis by which actors participating in aesthetic communities find meaning for themselves.

This is a divergence from the brief tradition of *furusato* studies in English-language scholarship, which invariably addresses its topic in terms of the metropolitan desire to recover a lost, fundamental ethnic-national identity. For example, Jennifer Robertson's early work on *furusato* indicates various instances of government appropriation and commodification of the idea. By deconstructing the discourses surrounding these appropriations, she convincingly demonstrates a deep interconnectedness between *furusato* and personal past, mother, childhood, etc. These are ideological categories which index the household system and, by way of the imperial metaphor of emperor as dual patriarch/matriarch, tie the discussion back to the national frame.[62] In short, her detailed discussion of the personal is ultimately refracted through the ideological lens of the imperial/national. Robertson's decision to conduct her study in Kodaira, a suburb of Tokyo, also reflects an emphasis on the opposition between *furusato* and Tokyo, and indeed the physical invasion of the former by the latter (as so clearly demonstrated by the title of

[60] Sas, 162–3.
[61] Kurihara Nakano, "Hijikata Tatsumi: The Words of Butoh," *TDR*, vol. 4 no. 1 (Spring, 2000), 18.
[62] Jennifer Robertson, "It Takes a Village: Internationalization and Nostalgia in Postwar Japan," in *Mirror of Modernity / Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, ed. Stephen Vlastos, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1998), 110–29, and Robertson, *Natives and Newcomers*.

her book: *Native and Newcomer*). From this perspective, *furusato* cannot be thought outside of a binary opposition with Tokyo, the ultimate symbol of national modernity.

Robertson's reading of *furusato* closely parallels academic discourses surrounding the German concept of *heimat*. Blickle describes *heimat* as an image associated with selfhood, love, longing, and also with house, native town, and country.[63] It functions as a paradise in which the Kantian split in modernity—the alienation of subject from the world it inhabits—doesn't exist: *heimat* is "an experience of disalienation in a spatially conceived world," the answer to the problems of modernity.[64] Following a similar premise, Santner sees *heimat* as a key in the national German psychological project, a method for recovering the communal "we" lost in the failed work of mourning in the postwar, post-Holocaust. The cinematic representation of *heimat* to the German people provided the grounds for the healing process to take place by filling in the lacuna caused by national trauma with an image of localized identity.[65] The identity provided is primal; it is non-modern, characterized by orality, closeness with death and birth, a lack or rejection of technology, and anything else to be salvaged from the wreckage of modernity.[66] Like *furusato*; however, *heimat* is not truly non-modern: it is the product of a modern consciousness, a desire for return to the left-behind by the modern bourgeois class.[67]

These themes of the trauma of modernity, *furusato* texts as the pharmakos by which the healing process of mourning is conducted, and the hectic search for meaning and identity in the world of the post-modern, all appear again in the pages of Marylin Ivy's landmark book, *Discourses of the Vanishing*.[68] In one chapter, she deconstructs the discourses created for

[63] Peter Blickle, *Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland* (USA: Camden House, 2002), 4.
[64] Blickle, 17.
[65] Eric L Santner, *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory, and Film in Postwar Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 1–15.
[66] Santner, 63, 67, 86.
[67] Blickle, 27–8.
[68] Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing*.

postwar, postmodern Japanese by the now-(in)famous Japan-Rail "Discover Japan" ad campaign, its message emblematic of Bubble-economy Japan's desperate need to recover a desire for desire, its nostalgia for nostalgia.[69] Her reading closely echoes Tanigawa Ken'ichi's earlier analysis of the project, in which he describes *furusato* as "phantasm" [*yōkai*].[70] Both provide a detailed analysis of the imagination of non-urban/non-Tokyo Japan as a topos of recovery from the losses of postmodernity. The influential ad campaign posited that an essential Japanese identity was waiting to be (re)discovered in the furthest peripheries of the Tohoku region (the most expensive leg of Japan Rail's northeastern line). Where Tohoku residents might also discover Japan, if they too had misplaced it, remains unclear. Rather, irrelevant: Discover Japan was produced for Tokyoites, and Ivy and Tanigawa's analyses of it provide insight into Tokyo's *furusato*, Tokyo's rural Japan. Ivy's pilgrimage in a later chapter to Mt. Osore in northern Aomori does little to ameliorate her Tokyoite perspective: after all, she merely goes through the motions of performing the temporary journey suggested by the travel company, and inevitably returns to the metropolis for the remainder of the book.

Japanese scholarship in *furusato* studies has produced similar conclusions regarding the discursive role of *furusato* as home=origins=anti-modern in popular consciousness. One scholar describes *furusato*/*kokyō* as pre-cultural [*genshiteki*], something which is necessarily lost in the transition into modernity. This loss cannot be recouped; the modern intellectuals who write *furusato* from the urban center are necessarily excluded from its absolute meaning. This denial contributes to the mystique of lost origins, resulting in its utopian representation.[71] A true return to *furusato* would entail a return to something akin to the Lacanian Real, a kind of pre-subjective mode of existence. Another scholar argues that the idealization of *furusato* is a response to a

[69] Ivy, 10.
[70] Tanigawa Ken'ichi, "Furusato to iu yōkai," *Dentō to gendai*, Vol. 55 (November, 1978), 15–24.
[71] Mastumura Tomomi, "'Kisei–ron': Sōshutsu sareru yūtopia," *Geibun kenkyū*, Vol. 77 (December, 1999), 46–7.

uniquely Japanese suffering in everyday life, which encourages a characteristic mutual cooperation within Japanese village communities.[72] He argues that the identification of origins with the future/past of a Buddhist afterlife means that *furusato* transcends the corporeal realm, and that attachment to physical place is an impediment to ultimate return.[73] This is contrasted with several western concepts of "home" (including the German *heimat*), concluding that the European "home" is equated with the place of action, the place of residence, in life; whereas Japanese *furusato* is always located in the past and in the afterlife/otherworld.[74] A more recent anthropological study also points to evidence of concurrent, but bifurcated *furusato*: media representation primarily via visual metaphor, versus personal discourse of home, which expresses *furusato* more in terms of human relationships (in/out group, country/city, localized identity).[75] Yet another literary scholar discusses *furusato* in completely different terms; those of fulfilling desire. Money, academic background, fame, and religion act as substitutes for *furusato*; "having money makes a person what he is."[76] Origins constitute our identities, and as such all humans need to recognize them; "people must have a *furusato* chiefly for the purpose of exceeding it, for the purpose of leaving it. Growing old without *furusato* is brutal [*mugoi*]."[77]

Furusato has been a common theme of representation in literature and critique as well. Dorsey, for example, examines Kobayashi Hideo's essay "*Furusato wo ushinatta bungaku*" [literature of the lost home] in juxtaposition with Sakaguchi Ango's various writings.[78] For the former, a Tokyo native, *furusato* is an identity-constituting mythology which makes

[72] Nishio Takaaki, "Furusato–kan no kenkaku: Nihon to Yōroppa," *Seiken ronsai*, Vol. 65, No. 5–6 (March, 1997), 375.
[73] Nishio Takaaki, 380.
[74] Nishio Takaaki, 383.
[75] Yoshida Tomoyo, "Hito ha naze 'kokyō' wo hitsuyō to suru no ka: Nagano–ken NPO hōjin furusato kaiki shien sentā no jirei kara," *Annals of Ochanomizu Geographical Society*, Vol. 47 (2007), 86.
[76] Ikeuchi Osamu, *Defurusato ki* (Japan: Shinchō–sha, 2008), 6–7.
[77] Ikeuchi, 8.
[78] James Dorsey, "Introduction: The Scribbler and the Sage," *Literary Mischief: sakaguchi ango, culture, and the war*, ed. James Dorsey and Doug Slaymaker, 3–22 (New York: Lexington Books, 2010), 12–22.

intersubjective communication possible; it is the common tradition of language, the origins of Japanese thought which has faded too far from the contemporary (interwar) Japanese mind, leaving its young moderns in a state of arrested development.[79] For Ango, who was born in rural "Echigo" (a pre-modern name for his home in Niigata), *furusato* was something much more terrible, something full of violence and contrariness.[80] He paired images of his native place with the stoicism of the male peasantry and feminine bodies of water that so often characterize *furusato* writing.[81] Uchida Hyakken wrote about visiting his birthplace in Okayama during the immediate postwar, penning a *furusato* essay preoccupied with death, loss, and change—writing home as part of the work of mourning.[82] Satō Aiko, daughter of the famed Tsugaru writer Satō Kōroku, also wrote of her "fading *furusato*." Not only was the physical landscape of her home in Naruo, Hyōgo Prefecture destroyed in an air raid during the war, and then reconfigured from an agricultural to residential space through urban development, but redistricting resulted in the elimination of "Naruo" when the location was annexed by neighboring Nishinomiya City.[83] Upon reuniting with an old neighborhood acquaintance there, Satō "reverted to being a ten-year-old girl," concluding "at that moment, I felt that *furusato* was still here, exactly as it was"; in other words, that *furusato* exists in memory rather than in space.[84]

Stephen Dodd's literary study of *furusato*, *Writing Home*, covers a period from the 1890s to the 1930s.[85] He engages in close readings of individual writers and texts including Kunikida

[79] Kobayashi Hideo, "Furusato wo ushinatta bungaku," *Shōwa hihyō taikei*, 209–214 (Japan: Banchō shobō, 1968 [1933]).
[80] This depiction of *furusato* shares a strong resemblance with Terayama Shūji's, the topic of the second chapter of this dissertation. Dorsey, "Introduction: The Scribbler and the Sage," 22.
[81] Robert Steen, "*Kataru koto nashi*: A Brief Tour of Ango's Native Place," *Literary Mischief: sakaguchi ango, culture, and the war*, ed. James Dorsey and Doug Slaymaker, 65–77 (New York: Lexington Books, 2010), 71–3.
[82] Uchida Hyakken, "Furusato wo omofu," *Gendai bungaku zenshū*, Vol. 47, 384–392 (Japan: Chikuma shobō, 1973 [1946]).
[83] Satō Aiko, *Asaame onna no udemakuri* (Japan: Kadokawa Bunko, 1980), 27–30.
[84] Satō Aiko, 35.
[85] Stephen Dodd, *Writing Home: Representations of the Native Place in Modern Japanese Literature* (Cambridge:

Doppo, Shimazaki Tōson, Satō Haruo, and Shiga Naoya; the trajectory of the book is to place them all into a coherent narrative context of Japanese modernity. Indeed, he avers that the medium for expressing *furusato* was state-sanctioned standardized language—in other words, *furusato* discourse is already inherently bound up in the discourses of modernity.[86] Dodd then subsequently puts the writers into dialogue with the same national narrative discussed above: *furusato* is an ideological tool used during times of upheaval (1880s, 1930s, 1960-70s) to hark back to a time and place of stable identity and national consciousness.[87] It is comparable to Seiji Lippit's study of mobile Japanese writers like Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Yokomitsu Riichi, Kawabata Yasunari, and Hayashi Fumiko, who migrated from countryside to city and throughout the Japanese empire, focusing on how they performed their struggles with self representation in an expanding, imperial Japan through their texts.[88] The authors in both studies write a variety of *furusato* and anti-*furusato* books in an attempt to salve the psychic trauma of modernity. Yet, the writers taken up in both of these studies are treated as subjects entirely defined by the history of the Japanese nation and modernity, and subsequently do not provide any radically new readings of *furusato* against, or outside of, Japan-as-nation.

The point of this summary critique is not to suggest that Robertson, Ivy, and others interested in *furusato* have gotten it wrong; rather, it is to indicate a blind spot in the literature which I address in the present project: *furusato* as written and performed outside of a Tokyo-centered national discourse; a *furusato* which does not subjugate specifically non-Tokyo subjects to a peripheral status. This is the analytical context into which I inject myself, with the explicit goal of finding different performances of origins which are not invested in the reconstruction of

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Harvard University Press, 2004).
[86] Dodd, 6.
[87] Dodd, 22
[88] Seiji Lippit, *Topographies of Japanese Modernism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

"Japan." These are texts which struggle differently from, if not against, the grain of dominant culture, national language, hegemonic capitalism, academic interpretation, whatever.

COMMENTARY

In the introduction to his work on anti-modernism in fin de siècle United States, Jackson Lears writes that "All scholarship is—or ought to be—a kind of intellectual autobiography."[89] Indeed, this project is just as much about where I come from—discovering my own *furusato*—as it is about "Japan" or "literature" or anything else.

Lears was writing in the early 1980s, and his thesis addressed turn-of-the-twentieth-century anti-modernism, not in terms of escapism, but as a legitimate protest against the changing mores of society and yearning for the return to "authentic experience."[90] It was an attempt to resist rationalization and intellectualization, the "disenchantment" of the theretofore hegemonic Christian theological cosmology in the USA and Europe.[91] The protest was figured in opposition to the retreat from hardship and pain in favor of medicalization, urbanization, comfort, and fantasy—hallmarks of modern science and consumer culture.[92] The receding role of the Church in everyday life was implicated in the drastic transformations of "familiar frameworks of meaning" and the resulting "spiritual homelessness."[93]

I read this book early during the conceptualization of this dissertation project, while simultaneously observing the rise of the so-called Tea Party in US politics. I am now compiling this final dissertation draft under the shadow of the impending Trump presidency. Both the Tea

[89] T. S. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880–1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), xviii.
[90] Lears, xiii, xvii.
[91] Lears, 6–7.
[92] Lears, 30, 33, 41, 47.
[93] Lears, 42. This phenomenon has also been described as a transformation of the "moral order of society," a kind of evolution in a widespread "social imaginary." Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 2.

Party and Trump incessantly invoke a similar type of rhetoric to that which appeared a century before: the cry for "austerity" instead of extravagance; "rugged individualism" versus an emasculating "nanny state"; the denigration of differing moralities regarding sexuality, or "gender ideology"; the critique of decadence against drug users, welfare recipients, politicians; the scandalizing of "trigger warnings," "safe spaces," and "social justice warriors." Trump's language in particular is a forceful performance of a breed of masculinity which has been questioned, threatened, by decades of progressive thinking in the field of gender and identity studies. The popular boom in the "prepper industry," once perhaps a small niche market geared toward survivalists and anti-government conspiracy theorists, reflects in part a strong valuation of the "real," a pushback against identity politics, an incipient anti-(post)modern revolution. In light of these recent events, Lears' book now seems almost prophetic, and his admonishment all the more stinging, for he concludes with the observation that ultimately, the "longings for heroic possibilities in life" that sat at the core of the anti-modern reaction is what led, in some cases, Europeans to turn to fascism in the early part of the twentieth century.[94]

Yet, at the same time we cannot merely reduce the Tea Party, Trumpism, or populist politics to ignorant intransigence, jingoism, or proto-fascism. I begin this dissertation with the quotation from Wendell Berry's first lecture for the National Endowment of the Humanities for a reason: the draw of identity and stability is powerful, and cannot be ignored. Place and emplacement, and what I call "place-consciousness" in the third chapter here, are very real. That is why Doreen Massey pushed back so forcefully against the David Harveys, Fredrick Jamesons, and other postmodernists' overstated "reeling vision of hyperspace" in which emphasis on discourse, fragmentation and dislocation forestall any possibility of truth or identity. She reduces the fear of place, of geography, of any form of grounding as "static, self-enclosing, and

[94] Lears, 308.

defensive," arguing that the complexities of the composition of place—intersections of gender, class, race, temporalities, etc—disallow a simple equivalence between geographic region and identity.[95] Furthermore, citing writers like bell hooks and Toni Morrison, she reminds the reader that the sense of "home" has never been a given fact for all members of society, and furthermore that masters of the discourses of "disorientation and placelessness" have been overwhelmingly western, and overwhelmingly male.[96] Which is all to say that assumptions about place and home which have driven both popular and academic discourses have been, until relatively recently, overlooked and under-theorized.

This brings me to the extremely personal: the intellectual autobiographical element of this project. I was born and raised in a small suburban town in New Jersey. My home was initially located in Bartley, a town so small (it did not have the population to maintain a post office) that it was incorporated into the neighboring municipality of Flanders sometime before my birth. Flanders technically has a main street—it's where the fire department is—but at least until recently the district lacked any significant sense of town planning. The local school system united Flanders, Mountain View, and Budd Lake, the three constituent subdivisions of the township (an idiosyncratic New Jersey municipal territory). As a child growing up in once-Bartley then-Flanders, my limited sense of place consciousness was primarily formed at the level of the school district/township, less at the level of the "town" (which in my case was a purely residential exurb) or larger scale of Morris County. Either way, "home" beyond my parents' house has long been defined more by educational, commercial, and recreational institutions (schools, clubs, shopping malls) than by a sense of history-bearing community.

[95] Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 163.
[96] Massey, 166.

Certainly a significant proportion of my limited consciousness of place was derived from my relation to personal technology as well. Due to a variety of circumstances, my upbringing could be described to a degree in terms of isolation: the distance between my house and the rest of civilization was significant enough to disallow much chance for independent travel. Without the option of running off to play with the neighborhood kids, I fell increasingly into habits of reading and interacting with different kinds of electronic media. I ultimately spent much of my formative years indulging in what Lears' anti-moderns would criticize as fantastic escapism, rather than the "reality" offered by more traditional involvement with the local religious or proximal community.

In short, I categorize my pre-college upbringing as a prototypical postmodern existence, my understanding of the world determined as much by digital technology, literary discourse, and state institutions, as by the confluence of historical and social meanings upon the geographically-specific place of Flanders, New Jersey. Furthermore, between graduating high school and coming to Japan for field research in 2013, I moved my physical residence a minimum of once per year. Certainly this was not a lifestyle amenable to developing attachment to place, and also hardly a unique experience for a graduate student—particularly one studying a distant part of the globe.

This experience starkly contrasts with my time living in Hirosaki, which I first moved to as a research student after graduating college. This city, and the Tsugaru region in general, offers itself up as a self-aware place; it invites engagement with questions of the relationship between inhabitant and local history, between community and self-identified "local culture," with the language, music, and lived everyday experiences of the area. Much of this local identification is obviously driven by the tourism industry and other economic factors, but it undeniably also

creates a strong basis for place-consciousness. True: New Jersey has "Jersey Pride," pork roll, mischief night, and "goin' down the shore," but I remained easily ignorant of the former two until the advent of Facebook, and have yet to once participate in traditionalized mischief or go "down the shore." In Tsugaru, there is little option of remaining ignorant of the Neputa Festival: the sound of practicing drummers pierces the local soundscape each July and August, and streets are closed down for both the parade and transporting the massive floats. Skiing is not just a hobby: it is a mandatory physical education credit in many local elementary schools. Marked vernacular speech may not be a feature of one's immediate home environment, but it is unavoidable in public places, and is featured as a regular topic in local news media. Buying "local" food in Hirosaki also means buying produce grown in fields adjacent to the city (whereas buying "local" vegetables while in residence at the University of Chicago most often meant settling for California-grown over Mexican imports).

This personal testament is not meant in any way to suggest a hierarchy of place between Chicago, Flanders, and Hirosaki; nor do I fetishize the otherness of Hirosaki with the wide-eyed wonderment of a naïve college student. Indeed, Flanders may have invited place-consciousness much more openly to me if I was living there at a different time in my life, or if the specific conditions of my upbringing had been different. In this space, I simply intend to contextualize my relationship with both Flanders and Hirosaki within my personal history, acknowledging the role that my personal and intellectual development has played in forming my understanding of place. And just as Fukushi Kōjirō, discussed in chapter 3, gained new insight into the importance of Tsugaru to him as an individual during his twenty year sojourn in Tokyo, I too have learned to appreciate my own *furusato* as I have contemplated the meanings of the texts I read in this dissertation. Furthermore, as I become more aware of the value of place, of community tied to

the land, held in the hearts of those people who identify it—those anti-(post)moderns—I have come to look at the impulses of the proponents of populist politics in a different light. The danger of populism to fall into easy reactionary politics, nationalism, or fascism cannot be ignored; yet equally, the value of stewardship and the recognition that the present is built upon an intricate mortar of mixed personal and communal pasts, deserves recognition: it is the font from which self knowledge, for many, springs.

None of the authors of *furusato* discussed in the following pages disallow change, but many caution against the completely unmooring effects of a postmodern worldview. It is thus part of my personal project to seek the meaning of groundedness, of place consciousness, in this and future research.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The main body of this dissertation is comprised of three chapters offering parallel readings of: issues of aesthetic unevenness across the field of folk and mass musics, creative ethical praxis engaged in Japan's postwar avant-garde arts communities, and the production of Tsugaru-as-place across a variety of socio-cultural institutional networks. Each chapter is presented as an independent study, with the goal of offering three largely autonomous perspectives on home and origins. While the chapters may be read in any order, they have been organized in the following manner because chapter 1 explores the literal discourse of *furusato* and rural Japan in the postwar period in greater depth; chapter 2 reads several works within that specific context; and chapter 3 concludes with a variety of broader perspectives and the theme of mobility, preparing the reader for the concluding section, which briefly engages with Tsugaru-outside-of-Tsugaru.

Chapter 1 is centered around the key figure of musician Takahashi Chikuzan, and lays the ground for a novel approach to the study of Tsugaru "folk music." In it, I retell the history of Chikuzan's "Tsugaru-jamisen" style, focusing on the role of production and technology, rather than on the artistic genius of a limited set of historical performers. After establishing Chikuzan's influential place in that history, I pivot to his oral olfaction discourse of the "stink of the earth," and unpack how this ephemeral metaphor provides insight into the aesthetics of his musical style. I critique conventional musicological analyses of Tsugaru-jamisen, which I argue over-rely on transcription and westernization, concluding that Chikuzan's conceptualizations of "smell" and "principle" are more effective tools for describing his improvisatory, "folk" performance. I close the chapter by considering the musical field through terms of Harootunian's theorization of temporal "unevenness," thinking through the phenomenological processes of writing, performing, and analyzing music.

Chapter 2 focuses on the postwar avant-garde artist Terayama Shūji and the rewriting of his *furusato*. Terayama's story can be interpreted as one of exploiting or misrepresenting his birthplace of Aomori for personal gain; however, I show that his artistic philosophy argued that the pro-active abandonment of attachment to origins and the destruction of home were fundamental to his philosophy of the processes of subjectivity. He offered a number of treatises on such creative destruction as a critique of inherited forms, state ideology, and diachronic time; on the value of the "real," and danger of reliance on "proxy-agents." Focusing on his quasi-autobiographical prose works, I demonstrate Terayama's preoccupation with a Deleuzian-like immanence, a Spenglarian phenomenology, an ethics for living-in-the-moment, and situate it in the ethos of the postwar avant-garde art community.

The final chapter contains a broad survey of the history of literature in Tsugaru, or of Tsugaru literature, and dissects the institutional mechanisms by which this history has been produced. I shift between scales of close reading, interpreting numerical data on authors and publishers, reading local newspaper columns and looking at international connections. Rather than merely translating the calcified canon of Tsugaru literature for an English audience, I dig further into it to reveal the practice of place at levels of literary community, region, and the personal. The central portion of the chapter draws out the history of Fukushi Kōjirō, a pillar of the modern Tsugaru literary community, and the evolution of his concerns for place. This section culminates with an analysis of his "regionalism movement" and the education of a cohort of "vernacular literature" disciples. The latter part of the chapter follows the discourses of these writers, focusing particular attention on Takagi Kyōzō, through the themes of "dialect" and "Tsugaru esprit." I conclude that members of this regional literary establishment were attentive to the place of Tsugaru, constructed it through writing and actively reproduced it through conscious practice, and addressed its people in literal and meaningful ways.

CHAPTER 1

SMELLING MUSIC:

NEW APPROACHES TO TSUGARU MUSIC

On May 16, 2016, Dr. Kozakaya Juichi of the Hachinohe Institute of Technology debuted his latest technological achievement, the fruition of over seven years of labor: a shamisen frame rigged with microphones attached to each string, connected to a computer configured with special software able to record and transcribe a performance almost entirely automatically (a professional musician is required only for final accuracy checks). A report on the research lauds multiple technical achievements, such as the microphones' ability to reduce noise interference created by sympathetic resonance, and how the software has been fine-tuned to analyze even high-tempo performances "with nearly a 100% rate of reproducibility [*saigenryoku*]." [1] The researcher decided to take up this challenge after discovering a lack of pedagogical tools for busy shamisen students in the modern world, who are unable to devote the time and energy to mimetic oral instruction. Additionally, as explained on his professional website, this technology is intended "for the preservation of traditional music (Tsugaru-jamisen, Nanbu-jamisen, etc)," in part through transcription into forms of both "western score and Japanese score."[2]

This research initiative, while apparently quite an achievement of technical mastery within its author's field, poses an interesting dilemma to the ethnomusicologist or cultural scholar regarding the future of these musical styles. The descriptive annotation of a primarily

[1] "Oto wo jidō de fumenka: Hakkōdaiin Kozakaya Juichi kyōju ga sōchi kaihatsu, Tohoku no min'yō 30 kyokubun kansei," *Mainichi Shinbun,* last modified 18 May, 2016 <http://mainichi.jp/classic/articles/20160518/ddl/k02/040/006000c>.
[2] "Kyōin purofuiiru," *Hachinohe Kōgyō Daigaku*, accessed 8 November, 2016 <http://www.hi–tech.ac.jp/profile/database.cgi?cmd=dp&num=11>.

oral art form in service of its popularization, as a mnemonic aid, or as a valiant effort to slow or prevent the disappearance of a deeply-valued cultural practice is indeed laudable, and I admit to genuinely appreciating the ingenuity and enthusiasm of the innovator. Yet, the choice of auto-transcription to reach these ends simultaneously brings into relief the stark and central contrast between the acts of preservation [*hozon*] and those of inheritance [*keishō*]. The former reifies practice into form, often spatializing or visualizing (transcribing) in order to delimit the definitions, the identity, of practice as thing; the latter treats practice as practice, takes act as embodied within the performer, and by virtue of its fundamental nature, necessitates a tolerance of change and evolution.

Dr. Kozakaya clearly, and by his own admission, falls on the side of preservation, and may be criticized as therefore complicit in some of the misapprehensions of a Silicon Valley-style technocratic worldview which has risen to prominence in tandem with the so-called "information age." Digital analysis and representation claim a cold form of "truth" in the form of "fact," an essentialism based on "objective" factors through the production of information (the giving-form-to); however it does so necessarily through the elimination of the mental processes of interpretation in both performance and audition.[3] The failure to grasp the distinction between digital representation and analog practice—the overcoming of which is the implicit goal of all automatic transcription programming—echoes the more specific shifts in listening practices across globalized society which makes so-called "traditional" or "folk" musics anachronistic, particularly in the perspective of the profit-oriented modern music industry.

[3] In other words, the conceit of the objectivity of the machine is that it obscures the arbitrariness of the rules imposed upon it. A machine transcription into conventional "western" or "Japanese" notation systems (versus, e.g. spectrographic analysis) necessarily introduces limited/ing cultural abstractions into the process. A 1964 *SEM* report on the "Symposium on Transcription and Analysis" provides insight from a very different perspective: faced with the recording of an oral performance (Hukwe song), four ethnomusicologists produced four extremely diverse transcriptions involving the invention of novel notation diacritics. Each transcription provides different information about the recording, yet none is complete. Nicholas M England, et al, "Symposium on Transcription and Analysis: A Hukwe Song with Musical Bow" in *Ethnomusicology* vol. 8 no. 3 (1964), 223–277.

In the following chapter, I think through the stakes of the informationalization, the digitization, of music production and consumption habits, and argue that it has been undergoing a process massification since long before the invention of the electronic computer; and that digitization has reprogrammed the mass-listening ear in fundamental ways. In order to carry out a study of a music-resisting-massification, one's modern listening practices must be reflexively analyzed and brought to meet the target music with respect to its intended listening practices. It is therefore absolutely not my intention to argue against alternative or critical listening techniques; rather, I hope to illuminate how, at least in the case of Tsugaru-jamisen and Tsugaru *min'yō*, a lack of such reflexivity has hampered our comprehension of these primarily non-digitizable, un-massified musics. In the process, I propose a new perspective on the history of this music, focusing on processes of production and media technologies, and introduce a vocabulary for discussing its performance.

Any history of Tsugaru-jamisen must also contend with the question of change within an evolving style. I emphasize the term inheritance, because the systems of enculturation, training, and appropriation which characterize these musical practices all situate practice in the present with lineages stretching into the past. Grappling with the problem of Tsugaru-jamisen and Tsugaru *min'yō* means asking questions about the relationship between performance and origin. It additionally means recognizing that Tsugaru-as-practice, in the form of an evolving aesthetics, is not specific to the particular geographic locality of Aomori prefecture. As I show in the following pages, there is a continuous struggle, a tension pulling across time and space, which complicates any too-easy interpretation of Tsugaru-jamisen, and Tsugaru itself, as something bounded, monolithic, and static.

There is a common saying which links the discourse of origins to the music directly: "folksong is the heart's hometown" [*min'yō ha kokoro no furusato*]; we (Japanese) know who we are, feel comfortable familiarity, in folk song. Here, I rather want to flip the phrase back on itself to pose the question: "what is the hometown of folksong," or, how can we apprehend the identity of the specific folk music traditions of the Tsugaru region via an understanding of their origins? Both Tsugaru-jamisen and Tsugaru *min'yō* demonstrate an uncanny chimerical quality, frustrating conventional attempts at classification. If these are "traditions of change,"[4] then we might ask how might one measure or comprehend change without reference to a single unified form?

Henri Bergson's thesis in *Time and Free Will* provides a philosophical foundation for conceptualizing change. He argues that change can only be apprehended through the cognitive processing of experience over time. For example, a song's melody can only coalesce in the form of a sequence multiple moments of memory being synthesized in present-tense cognition.[5] Understanding change, therefore, means a collapsing of multiple instances in the past through the filter of present consciousness. Thus, to construe Tsugaru-jamisen merely as an object in constant flux, something existing without any kind of inheritance or reference to the past, would both make observation of change impossible, as well as misrepresent the plurality of continuities within the style's aesthetics and performance practice. Even a constant state of revolution must be upending something, acknowledging its past through "cultural memory."[6] Accordingly, the following historiography and aesthetic analysis of Tsugaru-jamisen addresses the present and the

[4] See: Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
[5] Henri Bergson, *Time and Free Will: An Essay on the Immediate Data of Consciousness*, Trans. F. L. Pogson (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), 101–4.
[6] David G Goodman, "Angura: Japan's Nostalgic Avant–Garde," *Not the Other Avant–Garde: The Transnational Foundations of Avant–Garde Performance*, ed. John Rouse and James Martin Harding, 250–265 (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 250.

past simultaneously. Instead of treating this music as representative of the nostalgic pre-modern *furusato* of popular discourse, I bring together the myriad voices of musicians and historians of the style who express its evolving, and sometimes contentious, relation to origins.

INTRODUCTION TO "TSUGARU" MUSIC

The following chapter engages in a critical rethinking of the history of Tsugaru *min'yō* and the derivative instrumental style Tsugaru-jamisen. While scholars often separate these two musics categorically, their present forms are inextricably linked by a foundational canon, performance community, and most importantly, shared aesthetic roots. Before drawing out the nuances of this new perspective, however, I will provide a brief overview to help ground the following discussion.

The music referred to today as Tsugaru *min'yō* originated as any other folk music: it was a collection of songs sung by non-specialized people during work, play, and worship. The description of such performance as *min'yō* [lit. people's song] is a product of Japanese importation of modern European folkloristic techniques.[7] The appellation "Tsugaru" to *min'yō* came even later, as the recognition of it as a particular style or subset of regional songs among others came as late as the prewar period and its spread beyond northern Tohoku and Hokkaido; before then the music was simply known locally as *uta* [うた, songs]. The genesis of both Tsugaru-jamisen and Tsugaru *min'yō* as "work," as opposed to "art," can be found in the practice of *bosama* and *goze*, who were members of the Edo period guild system; in this case, guilds for the blind.

[7] For detailed analysis of the history of *min'yō* in English, see, e.g.: David Hughes, *The Heart's Hometown: Traditional Folk Song in Modern Japan*, (PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, 1985). In Japanese, see: Kawamura Kiyoshi, "Kokumin bunka toshite no min'yō no tanjō" *Ningen, Kankyōgaku*, no. 8 (1999): 69–82.

The music created by guild members held none of the pretensions to universal appeal, consumability, or maximizing profitability which characterize popular music today. Rather than hosting a space of competing free-market forces across the musical field, pre- and early-modern Japan was characterized by guild systems and artistic patronage.[8] First, the Tokugawa caste system and older social taboos greatly restricted who was allowed to practice music professionally. As a result, many musicians came from the ranks of the visually impaired, those who were unable or not allowed to participate in society proper. Two guilds for the blind, the *Goze-za* and the *Tōdō-za*, for women and men respectively, controlled a great deal of "professional" folk music production.[9] They did so not by competing within a free capitalistic market, but by working in conjunction with the Tokugawa government to create special allowances for guild members and to limit musical participation of others. In areas within the guild's reach, visually-impaired musicians were forced to join their ranks and pay dues, or else be banned from public performance. In one significant case in 1674, the *Tōdō-za* won a court case against a rival guild; as a result, the latter's members lost the privilege to perform both shamisen and koto professionally, and were restricted in the type of singing and chanting they were allowed.[10] These privileges were awarded to members in exchange for the payment of hefty dues: the *Tōdō-za* and *Goze-za* were pyramid schemes which simultaneously funneled money up to their most senior members while often legally compelling membership. Both guilds eventually

[8] Throughout this essay I refer to the "Tsugaru–jamisen field" and "music field." I borrow these terms from Bourdieu's literary field, which describes how performers negotiate between competing systems of symbolic and economic values. The field is populated by regulating institutions which influence performers, limiting their paths or guiding them in certain directions; however, the actors within the field are also accorded the freedom to engage in tactics, using their own volition to alter their trajectory through the field. The result of this negotiation is an evolving "habitus" that is never wholly massified or folkish. See: Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 72–95; Michel Hockx, introduction to *The Literary Field of Twentieth–Century China*, ed. Michel Hockx (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 4; Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (California: University of California Press, 1984).
[9] Much of the following draws on: Gerald Groemer, "The Guild of the Blind in Tokugawa Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 53 no. 3 (Autumn, 2001): 349–380.
[10] Groemer, "The Guild of the Blind…," 351.

became so powerful that their upper echelons diverted their energies away from the transmission of skills and knowledge in order serve the Tokugawa samurai class as money lenders.[11] The guilds may have done some good in advocating for the vast number of visually-impaired members of Japanese society, but as an organ of the military government, they would quickly become an unsustainable enterprise in modernizing, Meiji Japan. The *Tōdō-za* was ultimately dissolved in 1871, three short years after the Restoration, which symbolically instigated the democratization and modernization of Japan.[12]

Guild members who traveled far from the elites in Edo sometimes eluded the grasp of the central guilds' arms, becoming *hagure-goze* and *hagure-bosama*, essentially rogue musicians on the lam. This escape from the limitations of the guild system was one of the reasons why musical experimentation in northeastern Japan ultimately led to the creation of some of the most popular folk music in the country.[13] These musicians, as well as guild members who were touring the provinces when the guild was dissolved, sometimes became attached to the local area, filling multiple roles of entertainer, beggar, prognosticator, and good luck charm. They formed beggar communities, supporting and sustaining each other, and traveled throughout northern Tohoku collecting food and coin from the generous.[14]

In the 1910s, *bosama* spontaneously began organizing popular song festivals throughout the Tsugaru region, and exceptional singers used them as a venue for spreading their name and

[11] Groemer, "The Guild of the Blind…," 357, 373.
[12] Groemer, "The Guild of the Blind…," 373–4.
[13] This is depicted in a rivalry between guild–member *bosama* and the lone–wolf Nitaboh in the 2003 animated feature *NITABOH*, based on the work of Daijō Kazuo, which tells the semi–apocryphal story of the birth of Tsugaru–jamisen music. *NITABOH: Tsugaru shamisen shisō gaibun*, dir. Nishizawa Akio (Japan: WAO, 2004), DVD.
[14] One such community, in Aomori city, was located in the Jikken–chō ghetto, lost during the World War Two firebombing of the city. Many itinerant performers, including the famed Takahashi Chikuzan, found family, friends, and various kinds of material support there as members of the "unclean" professions gathered from across the local region. One former resident claims that Jikken–chō was great evidence to "the prejudice against the 'Newly–Made Citizens' [*shin heimin*] of Meiji," as the disenfranchised poor were forced out of the community streets, public view, and consequently, out of mind. Nozawa Yōko, *Chikujo: Bosama shamisen wo hiku* (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 2006), 34–5, 71–3, 76, 87.

popularity. The transition from door-to-door begging to festivals and song troupes divided the musical labor between singer, shamisen, and percussionist.This signaled the beginning of a shift from the singer's anonymous status as a "folk performer" to a named "popular singer." The competitive nature of these festivals encouraged participants to prioritize developing the technical aspects of their art, increasing overall performance length, as well as melodic range and complexity. Competition between shamisen players formed the basis of Tsugaru-jamisen's contemporary form as a solo instrumental style. During the twenties and thirties traveling entertainment troupes brought singers and dancers on circuits throughout northeastern Japan, and later overseas as "comfort" for troops in places like Sakhalin, Manchuria, and Korea.[15] The recognition of banner singers who attracted crowds with their virtuosic singing signaled the completion of the transformation of a subset of folk singers from amateur to professionals, marking a point of divergence in the scope of the definition of "the popular."

"Popular" is a chimerical term which has been used at different times to describe the vastly different realms of "folk" [*minzoku*-] and "mass" [*taishū*-] culture. The popular of the folk derives from a sense of universality, an aesthetic sensibility shared among a particular people: it is popular because everyone likes it. Consciousness of this folkness was cultivated in Japan in the field of folklore studies [*minzokugaku*], generating an influential association between the popular and the imagined national-historical folk body.[16] The folkish popular in Japan is thus a pre-modern object which was constituted by a modern gaze. This construction is in contrast with mass culture, which was developed as "a whole new social order around capital," a

[15] Nozawa, 192.
[16] Thus, studies of the popular in Japan may be influenced by the legacy of folklore studies and its implication in the project of modernization beginning in late Meiji. Jennifer Robertson, *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 27

quintessentially modern form.[17] On the other hand, the "mass" of mass culture refers both to cycles of mass production and consumption, as well as the undifferentiated mass of people constituting the market for those products. It is, in a sense, what masses of people consume.[18] Modern popular culture is dominated by mass culture, a product of dominant social powers and capitalist classes, and has been roundly criticized as a powerful medium for spreading uncritical, pleasure-oriented consumerism, pacifying the masses.[19] However, modern popular culture can also be looked at as a realm of resistance to and critique of dominant discourses, as consumers appropriate and subvert the texts even as they are produced by hegemonic and conservative forces. It is the "culture of the subordinate who resent their subordination": a conflicted site of subversion and restraint within a broader, capital-infused field of power.[20]

The transition in Tsugaru was largely one of *min'yō* singers moving from the folk-end of the musical field to the mass-end of things. Many would gain name recognition throughout Japan, less through touring and live performances, and more through mass media of phonograph records and radio performances.[21] The move to the national stage, both in the form of concert tours and media broadcast, is what led to the necessity of the label "Tsugaru-*min'yō*," distinguishing it from other regional songs and performing styles. After World War II, in 1954, Radio Aomori Broadcasting was established, providing a local outlet in Tsugaru to listen to *min'yō* on the airwaves. Shamisen innovator Yamada Chisato calls this the beginning of the

[17] Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the Popular," *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, 442–453, Ed. John Storey (New York: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 1998), 442.
[18] Hall, 446.
[19] See Adorno's essays, "On Popular Music" and "On Jazz": Theodore Adorno, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
[20] John Fiske, *Reading the Popular* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 2, 7.
[21] Gerald Groemer, *The Spirit of Tsugaru: Blind Musicians, Tsugaru–jamisen, and the Folk Music of Northern Japan* (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1999), 48–9. This phenomenon is not limited to Tsugaru–based musicians; anthropologist Kawamura Kiyoshi reports a similar process of popularization of folk song from the Noto Peninsula in Ishikawa prefecture, arguing that representation in audio media (specifically radio and cassette tapes) in the postwar is what saved this "ailing" [*hokorobikaketa*] practice. Kawamura Kiyoshi, "Min'yō wo Shutsugen Saseta Kenryoku to Media," *Gendai Minzokushi no Chihei 2: Kenryoku*, pp 102–134, ed. Akasaka Norio (Japan: Asakura Shoten, 2004), 102–3, 107–8, 114.

"Radio Period," because it represented a shift in primary listening practices from live to mediated. Five years later, the industry transitioned into the "Television Period," again altering both performing and listening practices.[22]

Min'yō thrived on television throughout the country during this time, partly as the result of a pervasive nostalgia for an "authentic Japan" in the rush of economic modernization and expansion. In recent years, this type of folk music has plummeted in popularity; both performance and audition are exceedingly niche practices compared with any kind of contemporary-popular or western-classical music (excepting, perhaps, at one's local Bon festival). The now-specialized nature of the music effectively removes it from the realm of the "popular" and thrusts it back into the now-anachronistic category of the "folk." Tsugaru *min'yō* is still practiced by devoted amateur communities and a number of professional musicians, but in no scale comparable to, for example, the modern popular music industry in Japan.

Sung Tsugaru *min'yō* is generally strophic, and performers have an extensive archive of lyrics and verses to draw upon—indeed, some songs are intended to be performed for hours on end, as in the case of the summer Bon festival songs [*jinku*] and drinking songs like "Donpan-bushi."[23] However, due to the limitations of recording media technologies, and the format of the concert and competition performance, performances have been subjected to stringent time

[22] Yamada Chisato, *Tsugaru min'yō no nagare* (Japan: Aomori ken geinō bunka kenkyūkai, 1978), 75–6. This period overlaps with a wider adoption of television as a tool of the music industry for promoting artists "based on their appearance and personality as opposed to their musical talents—on…idol singers." Michael Bourdaghs, *Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon: A Geopolitical Prehistory of J–Pop* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 186.
[23] A wide variety of popular and scholarly works have recorded variations upon variations of lyrics. The most comprehensive study, conducted at the behest of the Japanese government's by Sasamori Takefusa, records at least six different categories of lyrical structure for a single song, "Tsugaru Aiya–bushi." *Aomoriken no min'yō: min'yō kinkyū chōsa hōkoku sho* (Japan: Aomoriken kyōiku iinkai, 1988), 48–9, 62–3, 74–5, 78–9, 148. For information on the background and execution of the "emergency folk song survey," see: Gerald Groemer, "Fifteen Years of Folk Song Collection in Japan: Reports and Recordings of the 'Emergency Folk Song Survey,'" in *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 53 no. 2 (1994): 199–209.

limitations: two or three verses are quite common for most sets.[24] Historically, lyrics were often improvised, but now the same few popular verses dominate most of the five-song canon. Songs are belted out from the diaphragm, loud and clear, and are generally suitable for outdoor performance. The melody, as such, is highly melismatic, and most singers often employ a high frequency of *kobushi,* exaggerated and uneven vibrato. The length of *kobushi* and shape of melisma sung over both lyrics and vocables is highly personalizable, either via in-the-moment improvisation, or through composition and practice beforehand. This malleability of the vocal line makes it difficult to pin down a definitive concept of "melody," and also ties into the broader argument regarding defining and writing oral music, which I engage in the latter half of this chapter. It is primarily in this compositional aspect, and in the tonal color of their voice, that singers leave their personal mark on a performance.

Tsugaru *min'yō* is generally accompanied by *shime-daiko* [medium-size drum] and shamisen, or alternatively sometimes shakuhachi. The singer will often include *ai-no-te* [intermittent rhythmic clapping] while the percussionist provides *kakegoe* [chorus shouts] in between verses or phrases. Clapping can be substituted for percussion when there is no *taiko*; however completely a capella performances are now exceedingly rare outside of pedagogical contexts. Shamisen players also communicate to the singer and percussionist via grunts or shouts indicating the end of instrumental sections and vocal phrases.

[24] The technological limitations of media exerting influence over compositional and performance choices was by no means limited to Japanese folk. See, e.g.: Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 32–33.

SHAMISEN CONSTRUCTION AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICE[25]

The shamisen is a three-stringed spike lute with a square sound box covered in dog skin. The contemporary "Tsugaru-jamisen" is a variation of the *futozao-jamisen* [thick-necked shamisen] with a longer and thicker neck than the *hosozao* [thin-necked] shamisen, famously used in urban music by female entertainers, and the *chūzao* [medium-necked] shamisen, primarily employed in other folk musics.[26] The larger instrument has greater dynamic range, and the thick, tautly-stretched dog skin can take much more physical beating than the traditional cat-skinned shamisen (synthetic skins are now used for low-end beginner instruments, and new technologies are being developed to compensate for the rise in cost of ethically obtaining dog and cat skins). The Tsugaru-jamisen differs also from its predecessor, the *futozao* used in the music of *bunraku* puppet theatre, in four major aspects: (1) instead of curving gradually as it enters the sound box, the neck extends straight into it, expanding the upper range of the instrument (2) Tsugaru-jamisen (usually) uses dog skin on the front and back of the soundbox, whereas the older instrument uses cat skin on the side facing the performer's body, improving sound projection out of the back of the soundbox (3) the addition of the *azuma-sawari*, a static resonator formed by a cavity located under the first, lowest, string, removing that portion of the

[25] Much of the information included in this section on practice is based on years of amateur Tsugaru–jamisen practice and performance. I first began learning the music in 2008 in the Hirosaki University shamisen club, associated with the Tada school of shamisen. I soon began taking private lessons with Shibutani Kazuo of Hirosaki City, and have played on and observed a wide variety of stages, competitions, and rehearsals across many different contexts as diverse as impromptu performances at private drinking parties to formal concerts before a crowd of hundreds. I have conducted formal and informal fieldwork throughout the Tsugaru region and in some parts of Tokyo, speaking with a variety of masters and students across different schools, including Tada, Shibutani, Yamada, Satō Michihiro (under Yamada), Manji, Fukushi, and Yamashita. Due to the variety of pedagogical and performance practices across the Tsugaru–jamisen field, it is imperative to clarify that while I strive for as comprehensive an analysis as possible in the following pages, a true and complete representation of practice throughout this community is an impossibility. For alternative perspectives, refer to works by Hughes, McGoldrick, Kmetz, Groemer, and Kinoshita Shin'ichi.

[26] Tsugaru–jamisen is also referred to as "Tsugaru–shamisen." Some have argued that the latter is the proper pronunciation; however, in order to respect the vernacular pronunciation of the local Tsugaru people, I opt for the former orthography. For an extensive discussion of the history, material culture, and variety of performance styles associated with shamisen, see: David Hughes, *The Shamisen: Tradition and Diversity* (Boston: Brill, 2010).

upper bridge; this causes the string to create a buzzing sound as it strikes the wood of the neck (most Tsugaru-jamisen now include a small screw-adjusted wooden or ivory peg to control the length and quality of this sound) (4) Tsugaru-jamisen players typically use lower gauge strings overall, almost universally adopting synthetic nylon (sometimes cheap, but damaging, teflon) for the thinnest string instead of the heavy silk customary in *joruri* and *bunraku*.

The shamisen strings are plucked with a large wedge-shaped plectrum [*bachi*] made from a variety of materials. The handle can be made from plastic, wood, ceramic, ivory, or buffalo horn and is sometimes weighted with a piece of metal inserted inside; the edge that strikes the instrument is composed of turtle shell, plastic, wood, or even carbon fiber. Each material provides a different tactile feel and has its own acoustic properties; other factors include the plectrum's thickness, weight, and outer contour. The density of turtle shell [*bekkō*] can vary widely, but it is generally prized for its visual beauty and suppleness, which allows for more delicate technique than a stiff wooden or carbon tool. The shape of the plectrum is derived from that used in *biwa* [mandolin] performance, although it is much smaller in overall size. The plectrum used with *futozao* shamisen in other styles is narrower and thicker, whereas in Tsugaru-jamisen it is usually thinner and broader, the corners coming together at approximately sixty-degree angles.

Tsugaru-jamisen plectrum technique [*bachi sabaki*] is also distinct from other genres. The two primary distinctions are *tataki-bachi* [striking plectrum] and *kyōjaku* [strong-weak]. *Tataki-bachi* is a method of producing sound by striking a string such that it is depressed all the way into the body of the instrument. The note is sounded as the string slips off of the plectrum and snaps back; simultaneously, the plectrum continues the downstroke motion, hitting the skin of the shamisen. The shamisen body is literally constructed as a drum, and therefore this action

produces an iconic percussive drubbing beneath the vibrating string. This typically occurs when striking in the rear position [*ushiro-bachi*], the "strong" half of *kyōjaku*. In Tsugaru-jamisen, the rear position is located approximately in the center of the body of the instrument; the forward position [*mae bachi*] is just at the point where the skin meets the wooden shamisen body. The forward position is often accompanied by muting [*nezumi*], in which the little finger of the right hand is extended to rest on or behind the bridge a split second before the plectrum touches the string. This increases the dynamic contrast between the un-muted "strong" strike in the center of the body, and the muted "weak" at the edge. Other shamisen genres have *kyōjaku* as well, but the distance between the forward and rear positions is significantly less, a matter of an inch or two from the leading edge of the body. The distance separating the two positions in Tsugaru-jamisen, and their locations on the body of the instrument, amplify the dynamic difference, increase the force of the *tataki-bachi*, and exaggerate the movement of the hand back and forth, emphasizing the rhythmic foundation of a song. The fundamental rhythm of "Tsugaru Jonkara-bushi" (new version), for example, is strong-strong-weak-weak; the rhythm of "Tsugaru Aiya-bushi" is strong-weak-weak. In western musicological terms, then, movement of the hand back and forth lays out the basic time signature or fundamental rhythm of the piece. This rhythmic element creates one of the most fundamental distinctions within the five-song canon [*go dai min'yō*]

This material history of the shamisen—its roots have been traced back to a creative reinvention of the Chinese *sanxian* and Okinawan *sanshin*—is marked by the appropriation of locally-obtainable building materials like dog skin and turtle shell. The use of plectrum was adapted from itinerant *biwa hōshi* performers, and both the instrument and repertory were disseminated through the guilds for the blind. Thus, both the material and social history of the shamisen, from its very inception, reflect appropriation and hybridization. Tsugaru-jamisen's

further material evolution, and more importantly its popular fusion with other instrumental styles and genres, has been the impetus for much of the recent scholarship on the topic, and the labeling of the style as a "tradition of change."

SHAMISEN TUNING AND PERFORMING IN TUNE

Unlike most guitars, banjos, and lutes, shamisen lack frets. Instead, the neck is divided into *tsubo* [notes/points], named locations which can be combined into musical scales.[27] The *tsubo* may be memorized, penciled on the neck, stuck on with a translucent seal, or otherwise marked to aid the player. Most Tsugaru-jamisen thick-necked lutes are built in three interlocking pieces that fit together like a puzzle, unambiguously marking certain *tsubo* for the eye or finger. For example, the fourth *tsubo* of the first string lies on the line facing the player where the two upper neck pieces fit together; the third *tsubo* is halfway between the fourth and the first, which is at the very top edge of the neck. The second *tsubo* is located halfway between the first and third. The sixth *tsubo* can be found by measuring an equal distance from third and the fourth with one's index and ring fingers and then sliding the whole hand down the neck so that the index finger rests on the fourth *tsubo*. In short, *tsubo* are placed based on mathematical principals, and therefore can be calculated proportionally in relation to each other.[28]

Because of the mathematical relations between *tsubo*, they can often be intuited in the moment of performance, with confirmation from the sympathetic resonance which occurs

[27] The technical, but far less common name for *tsubo* are *kanjo*, written as 勘所 [intuition place] 感所 [feeling place]. The characters used to write *kanjo* emphasize the importance of the attunement of the player to instrument: unlike those on an instrument with a fretted neck, shamisen notes must be felt out, through a combination of proprioceptive memory, the relative weight of the neck in one's hand, the feel of the uneven surface of the neck, and through sympathetic resonance with the open strings.

[28] However in practice, strings stretch during a performance, and players will have to compensate on the spot by adjusting their *tsubo* positions or, in extreme cases, turning a tuning peg or moving the bottom bridge in the middle of a song. This is analogous to how a tubist may change her embouchure or pull a tuning slide as her instrument warms and cools.

between properly-tuned strings. This effect is amplified by the *azuma sawari*, a device attached to the first string with creates a buzzing noise when it vibrates without being depressed. During a technical, rhythmically-dense song, the first string will continue ringing throughout the majority of the performance, as long as the other strings are being played in tune. Additionally, as anyone who has listened to an amateur ensemble musical recital well knows, out-of-tune pitches are quickly recognized via their relation to the intervals between the notes sounded previously or simultaneously, even without a robust harmonic structure.

Because the main Tsugaru-jamisen canon usually begins with a tuning of the instrument, players constantly train their ears to tonic, subdominant, and dominant intervals, and reinforce them by playing octaves and alternate fingerings of the same pitches during the body of the performance itself. By (actively or passively) memorizing the series of intervals used in these scales, players are able to discern whether they are holding the *tsubo* correctly or not without the aid of frets or visual guides; the listener knows what sounds "right" and "wrong." Additionally, they use portamento *unari* [growling] and *yusuri* [rubbing] vibrato to disguise imprecise notes, providing half a second to search for the exact *tsubo* placement without committing immediately to a single position. Furthermore, contemporary shamisen performers often press each *tsubo* with great force to produce a clearly-defined, sharper tone; they eventually actually cut grooves or pits into the neck over time.[29] As the neck takes the player's shape, the *tsubo* begin to feel natural because of the form the wood takes on itself. This has its drawbacks, in that consistently missing *tsubo* over a long period of time can create a neck which reinforces those mistakes. Finally, while the neck of the shamisen is intended to be plane, slight variations in its natural surface cause different positions to feel and sound differently. For example, before shaving it down, my

[29] Shamisen necks, particularly those made of softer wood, must be shaved down periodically. Because this changes the shape of the neck, an instrument can only undergo the process a limited number of times: a full–time professional shamisen player can run out of neck in just four or five years.

performance shamisen rang especially well on the fourth *tsubo* of the first string, making it easier to locate than others. To sum up the above, the performer relies on a wide variety of cues—sonic, tactile, propreoceptive, sometimes visual—which can change from instrument to instrument, to locate the correct *tsubo* and produce the desired tones.

ISSUES IN PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP ON TSUGARU-JAMISEN

Tsugaru folksong gained nationwide popularity with the spread of recording and radio broadcast technologies in the early twentieth century. This created the opportunity for Tsugaru-jamisen, the folksong accompaniment, to grow into a largely independent instrumental style. Yet despite its widespread establishment within national consciousness beginning in the 1970s and its explosive popularity and early international recognition since the late 1990s, Tsugaru-jamisen has not received a significant amount of critical scholastic attention. The books and essays which deal with the topic typically fall into one of the following categories:

First, there is writing aimed at the popular market. These books are either personal memoires or biographies which provide a historical account of a musician, and treat Tsugaru-jamisen only as an appendage of that subject. This category includes a number of biographies about Takahashi Chikuzan, as well as books on contemporary performers like Agatsuma Hiromitsu and the Yoshida Brothers.[30] Approximately half of Kinoshita Shin'ichi's *Tsugaru Shamisen Style Book* is comprised of a pop-star-like biography, while the latter part serves as a pedagogical aid for autodidact shamisen enthusiasts.[31] Contemporary biographies such as these

[30] See, e.g.: Takahashi Chikuzan, *Tsugaru–jamisen hitori tabi* (Japan: Chūkō bunko, 1991); Yoshida Kyōdai and Shiozawa Yūji, *Yoshida Kyōdai to iu ikikata* (Japan: Sora, 2005); Honma Shōko, *Shamisen Rannā, Tensai/Agatsuma Hiromitsu: sekai wo kakeru Tsugarujamisen* (Japan: Tokyo shoseki, 2001).
[31] Kinoshita Shin'ichi, *Tsugaru Shamisen Style Book: Kore ga Tsugaru–jamisen da!* (Tokyo: Shinko Music, 2003).

latter two tend to function to further commodify prominent popular figures already economically tied to the mass-music industry.

Second, there are popular historical accounts of Tsugaru performing arts written by performers and amateur historians. These take a genealogical approach, and trace through the big names which contributed to various stages in the music's history. This category includes Daijō Kazuo's seminal *The Birth of Tsugaru Shamisen Music*, works by Matsuki Hiroyasu, and Yamada Chisato's *Tsugaru min'yō no nagare*.[32] There is also a plethora of folklore-style song collections and editorials by singers focusing on the history and reception of individual songs, like Narita Unchiku's *Tsugaru min'yō chawa*.[33] One connection that these and many other works like them share is that their authors either practice *min'yō* themselves or hail from the Tsugaru region itself. The autobiographical element in these works—Yamada's book practically culminates with his rise in the *min'yō* world—lends an air of authority to the perspective of their narrators: the stories of Tsugaru and of *min'yō* are theirs to own and represent in their own words.[34]

Finally, there has been some recent academic work done on Tsugaru-jamisen. Western scholars have been more active in bringing historiographical, musicological, and anthropological methodologies to their studies, and help to put the music and its history into context. There have been several masters theses in English,[35] but the most exemplary foundational work remains

[32] See, e.g.: Daijō Kazuo, Anthony Rausch, and Suda Naoyuki, *The Birth of Tsugaru Shamisen Music: Origin and Development of a Japanese Folk Performing Art*, trans. Anthony Rausch (Japan: Aomori University Press, 1998); Matsuki Hiroyasu, *Tsugaru–jamisen mandara: Tsugaru kara sekai he, sōsha tachi no kutō to sono rekishi* (Japan: Hōgaku jānaru, 2011); Yamada, *Tsugaru min'yō no nagare*; Nozawa, *Chikujo*.
[33] Narita Unchiku, *Tsugaru min'yō chawa* (Japan: Tōōnippō–sha, 1952).
[34] The connection between authorial identity and authenticity of writing is analyzed more closely in reference to the local literary community in the final chapter of this dissertation.
[35] Michael Peluse, *Folk Revival or Pop Sensation? : The Latest Tsugaru Shamisen Boom*, MA thesis, Wesleyan University, 2002; Gerald McGoldrick, "The Tsugaru–jamisen: its Origins, Construction, and Music," MA Thesis, York University, 2005; Luciellen Diane Dunsmoore, "Tsugaru Jamisen: the Development of a Solo Genre in Japan," MA Thesis, University of Washington, 1983.

Gerald Groemer's *The Spirit of Tsugaru*, which contains a serious historiographical treatment, detailed musicological analyses, and a translation of Chikuzan's autobiography.[36] Groemer has continued to do impressive work on both the historiography of Japanese music and detailed treatments of Tsugaru-jamisen improvisation, as well as the closely-related *goze-uta* shamisen style.[37]

While all of these works provide a solid basis of background, indicating historically-significant performers and societal factors which influenced the style, they tend to refrain from the type of theoretical engagement which is important for making the study of Tsugaru-jamisen relevant to a broader academic audience. Much of what has been written about Tsugaru-jamisen to date seems interested in either uncovering a progenitor of the style or clamping down musicological definitions for improvised works. Concerning the former, it is almost a prerequisite to include a genealogy chart with one's book on the subject.

For example, Daijō Kazuo attributes the entirety of the "birth" of the style to the sole male figure of Nitabō (b. Nitarō, 1857) in the town of Kanagi. This narrative operates via a genealogical principle: a complex present network of performers and performance styles can be traced back to a single progenitor, who represents a coherent and stable stylistic kernel upon which innovation has been diachronically layered. Tsugaru-jamisen is what Nitabō created, and therefore finds unity within that figure. We can understand what Tsugaru-jamisen is, even if it changes, because it has a starting point: this type of historiography is heavily reliant upon an *iemoto*-like consciousness, and assumes that musical and technical influences can be traced along this genetic line.

[36] Groemer, *The Spirit of Tsugaru*.
[37] Gerald Groemer, "Tsugaru–jamisen in okeru sokkyōensōtekiyōso no bunseki," *Tōyō ongaku kenkyū*, no. 57 (1993): 41–61; Gerald Groemer, *Goze to goze–uta no kenkyū: kenkyū hen* (Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku shuppan kai, 2007); Gerald Groemer, *Goze uta* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2014).

Iemoto are based on a principle of artistic families organized in a pyramid structure, with the *iemoto* master [*shishō*] at the top, *shihan* advanced students/secondary teachers below him (in the case of Tsugaru-jamisen, almost always a "him"), a wider circle of disciples [*deshi*], and finally low-level inexperienced students [*seitō*] at the bottom. As one advances through the various ranks or levels of a particular *iemoto*, he or she gains opportunities to expand the style, taking on students to teach not only the *iemoto* form, but their own personal method as well. As a result of this system of oral transmission is the intentional potential for slippage between generations; there is even a native term sometimes employed to describe this progress of gradual change over time: *shu-ha-ri*.[38] Historians like Daijō begin (and sometimes end) by constructing genealogy charts in an apparent attempt to reach back to a past point of genesis.

Yet in contrast to more rigorously-managed formal arts, Tsugaru-jamisen is particularly messy. Based on observations of the main shamisen schools in Aomori prefecture, I see very little overt formal structure; most teachers have no system of *shihan* accreditation, and while *shishō* may give their closest disciples performance names [*natori*], they will often avoid using them in public.[39] Because of these structural quirks, instead of *iemoto*, the term *ryūha* [school, faction] is often employed to describe the relationship between Tsugaru-jamisen teachers and students. Additionally, the assumption that the teacher-student relationship plays the most fundamental role in the development of a musician or musical style is too narrow-sighted.

[38] Written with characters meaning "maintain," "break," and "distance," this term refers to the three stages of mimetic learning, self expression based on learned form, and finally the creation of an entirely new form (or new *iemoto*).

[39] Takahashi Chikuzan's disciples include the "second" Takahashi Chikuzan, Ichikawa Chikujo, and Kōtō Chikushun, each of whom use their *natori* professionally. In fact, Chikuzan was Takahashi Sadazō's *natori* from his master, Narita Unchiku. Conversely, Yamada Chisato's students do not traditionally use their *natori* publically, including the "second" Yamada Chisato, who goes by his birth name, Shibutani Kazuo. Anecdotally, multiple performers have informed me that they always want to reserve the ability to strike out under their own name, to innovate without the burden of having to represent a school or teacher. I can also anecdotally report that, in one case, a student was forced to officially cut ties with his master in order to progress in the professional Tsugaru-jamisen world.

Discourses of Tsugaru-jamisen reaching back to prewar figures often include the pivotal role non-pedagogical experiences play in their musical development—an observation which I expand upon below—and biographical works almost universally tend to downplay any active instruction, emphasizing instead the effort of the student in mimicking the sound of his or her teacher.[40] Nature, society, contemporary musical landscapes, economic conditions, and even physical quirks of the performers themselves are all cited as critical elements of musical innovation on the individual level.[41] Sounds of nature and jazz standards are commonly called upon as sources of inspiration, and it has been standard practice to steal techniques from friends and rivals throughout the history of shamisen in Tsugaru.[42] Cross-school and cross-genre pollination took place at least as early as the interwar period, and illuminates the deficiencies of relying on a genealogical or *iemoto*-based model. Indeed, because the shamisen was invented as the result of the importation of the Chinese *sanxian* [jp. *sangen*] and Okinawan *sanshin* [jp. *sansen*, *jamisen*, *jabisen*] to Japan in the 16th century—and after other musical performing styles for stringed instruments had already been in regular practice—much of the initial shamisen repertoire was "closely connected to" these other earlier genres such as "early period kabuki dance" and the "refined ballad" [*fūryū odoriuta*]. This "close connection" should be taken as a near-direct importation of those genres' song structures into the new shamisen *kumiuta* style, and therefore Tsugaru-jamisen's performance practice roots in other shamisen styles already

[40] Satō Michihiro learned primarily through copying Yamada Chisato's LP records, claiming that his goal was to play exactly along with the recording, or at least to sound like a close copy. The Yoshida Brothers mention their original instructor in their book, but they emphasize their cultivation of technique and development of their groundbreaking performance style to a much greater degree. Agatsuma's fauning biographer barely mentions the fact that he had a teacher at all, and practically denies any of the mentorship that he received early in his career from the renowned Tsugaru–jamisen player Kinoshita Shin'ichi.

[41] See, for example: Daijō, *The Birth of Tsugaru…*, 95, 102.

[42] The latter example is portrayed as a key plot point in film *Yume no matsuri* [festival of dreams], in which the protagonist wins a competition only by tricking his rival into stealing his second best technique. Osabe Hideo, *Yume no matsuri*, written and directed by Osabe Hideo (Japan: Fuji Television, 1989), DVD.

implicate it in a mixed and evolving tradition which exceeds the boundaries of a single body or lineage.[43]

Despite the complexity of the style's history, writers like Daijō maintain that "without a doubt" Tsugaru-jamisen can be traced back to the iconic *bosama* Nitabō around the turn of the twentieth century, and he draws a genealogical chart tracing "Tsugaru-jamisen" directly back to him.[44] By focusing exclusively on the shamisen instrument and the creative genius of its performers, he also makes the assumption that the thing of "Tsugaru-jamisen" can be wholly separated from vocal performance even from its conception. This assumption strains the fabric of that taut narrative, as it removes the foundation of song from the picture completely. This is especially critical considering the fact that the shamisen did not become a solo instrument until decades—generations of performers—after Nitabō; indeed, it was only in the 1930s that Shirakawa Gunpachirō's virtuosic improvisations earned him enough clout with his song troupe to be allowed extended overtures leading into sung performances.[45]

Overemphasis on isolated teacher-student relationships in Japanese scholarship also ultimately obscures the quite drastic changes in performance practice that have occurred over time and across schools, and the fact that each generation of performers has sought to reinvent their music in new ways. To argue that Nitabō's contribution of *unari* (repeated portamentos) is

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[43] Urushizaki Mari, "'shichiku–shoshin–shu,' 'Ikanobori,' 'Onusa'' ni okeru ryūkōka," (*Hokkaido Tokai University Bulletin: Humanities and Social Sciences* vol. 12, 1999): 239.

[44] Daijō generously includes himself in this sparse chart of important players. Although perhaps an overzealous self representation, this inscription of self into the historical narrative hearkens back to the phenomenon of authentication of the authorial voice through identification with the object of study, mentioned above. Daijō, *The Birth of Tsugaru…*, 110. Other writers, like Takahashi Chikujo and Satō Sadaki were direct participants (as performers and musical producers) in the history they write. Matsuki Hiroyasu's calling upon his own knowledge of and experience in the Tsugaru climate accomplishes a similar effect. In fact, he opens one study of Tsugaru–jamisen by asking "what makes the Tsugaru people?," giving his answer through a short discussion of history, language, and climate. He refracts this discussion through his own family's history of immigrating from Echizen Obama to Tsugaru, as so many others did during Genroku (1688–1704). Additionally, he recalls his own experience of *jifubuki* blizzards as a child, citing the deafening and inescapable scream of the wind as one of the sonic features of the landscape in which *bosama* had to practice their music. Matsuki, *Tsugaru–jamisen mandara*, 12, 15.

[45] Groemer, *The Spirit of Tsugaru*, 55

somehow more fundamental than Chosakubō's *nezumi* (from *nejime*, muting), Takahashi Chikuzan's radical expansion of the canon, or Kinoshita Shin'ichi's successful fusion into a rock setting is not productive, and merely uses a diachronic principle to arbitrarily weight value toward the past.

EXTRA-ARTISTIC FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A STYLE

At the risk of diminishing the importance of the pedagogical relationship, I instead choose to emphasize the plethora of elements public and personal, economic and mental, which colored each performer's contributions to the style. For example, Umeda Hōgetsu's practice was significantly affected by his malformed hands, and he was forced to develop an idiosyncratic way of holding the plectrum and striking his instrument. Although they had only fleeting professional contact, Takahashi Chikuzan recollects Umeda and his plectrum technique as one of his most powerful influences;[46] the Yoshida Brothers' breakthrough came partially through their incorporation of a Peruvian *cajon* drum; and Agatsuma Hiromitsu recalls being forced to learn *min'yō* from every region of Japan in order to satisfy urban audiences early in his career.[47] Different histories, like those told by Yamada Chisato, Takahashi Chikuzan, Satō Sadaki, and Ichikawa Chikujo, provide more holistic representations of the grand trajectory of musical folk performance which muddy the clarity of Daijō's tale: they take a wider view, encompassing folksong and sometimes dance, and emphasize the complexity and variety of the historical stages leading up into the present. Ichikawa Chikujo grasps this grand-scale evolutionary concept not as "Tsugaru-jamisen, tradition of change," but simply as the "three-hundred year shamisen"

[46] Indeed, while Chikuzan's teacher, Toda Mosuke, was a student of Umeda's, his tenure was so short that Chikuzan denies the status of *mago–deshi* (second–generation disciple). Matsubayashi Takuji, *Tamashii no neiro: hyōden Takahashi Chikuzan* (Japan: Tōōnippō–sha, 2000), 33–5, 37.
[47] Shiozawa, Yoshida, and Yoshida, 16–19; Honma, 98–9.

[*sanbyaku-nen shamisen*], a process of appropriation and inheritance which stretches back not to a single performer, but to the creation of the shamisen instrument itself.[48]

Technology played a central role in the progress of the grand narrative of Tsugaru-jamisen and Tsugaru-*min'yō*.[49] This is particularly apparent in Yamada's *Tsugaru min'yō no nagare* [the historical course of Tsugaru *min'yō*], which describes a series of "periods" [*jidai*] through which the music developed. These include the professionalization of music in the *kado-dzuke* [door-to-door begging] period; "The Golden Age of *Min'yō*," including the "Age of the Record," the song competition period, the interwar song troupe period; and the postwar "Boom Years" [*zenseiki jidai*], containing the RAB radio period, and the "Age of Television": three out of the major epochs he describes are characterized by media technology. He also emphasizes the role of song competitions, which were and still are generally sponsored by newspaper companies. For Yamada, the word *min'yō* encompasses song, dance, and musical accompaniment, and his book follows the familiar structure of enumerating the great men and women—dancers, singers, instrumentalists—who contributed to its development.

There is abundant overlap and exchange between each respective period, and redundancies between his history and other accounts. Where Yamada's book stands out is in that there is a clear effort to delineate evolutionary stages in the maturation of Tsugaru *min'yō*, represented as a teleological motion toward the present (and beyond) rather than a search backward into the past. The book concludes with Yamada's personal role as an active and influential member of the contemporary Tsugaru *min'yō* world, looking forward toward the

[48] Nozawa, 231.
[49] This is by no means a feature unique to the folk music of northern Japan: for example, it has been indicated that in England, large–scale outdoor music festivals could not have taken place without amplification technology, and long–play records shaped the postwar music market by establishing a new repertoire, which then reached back to affect contemporary concert repertoires. Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985), 24–5.

future of the style.[50] More importantly, he comments on the technology and media of production and consumption, and specifically how they affected performance and listening practices. This narrative conception is bolstered by Yamada's secondary emphasis on the differences between pre- and post-microphone *min'yō*. The early adoption of the microphone in live performances allowed female singers with less powerful voices to challenge, and ultimately largely replace, many of their male predecessors while simultaneously changing the standards for vocal quality.[51] Furthermore, with the establishment of the Japanese recording industry in the 1910s, Tsugaru musicians like the singer Kansei Kuniko and shamisen accompanist Kida Rinshōei moved to Tokyo to take advantage of the new market. This lead not only to a national boom in Tsugaru folksong popularity, but also to the types of standardizations that affected all early recorded music.

Like Daijō, Yamada begins the story of Tsugaru *min'yō* from just before the turn of the century—in other words, following the grand embarkation of the Meiji Restoration, the opening on Japan to international relations, and the rapid onset of government-driven modernization. The beginning stages of democratization of the nation saw the removal of the sumptuary laws and dissolution of guild systems. The guilds for the blind held a *de facto* monopoly over shamisen performance, legally controlling the repertoire, sumptuary regulations, Buddhist performance names, the right to public performance, etc.[52] The end of this pre-capitalistic guild system led to a burgeoning of creativity, both artistic, and in terms of musical production and business savvy.

[50] In *Yamada Chisato wo kataru*, Daijō Kazuo ironically both emphasizes his transformation in the hands of his producer from entrepreneur into artist, and the importance of his business acumen and industrious spirit; however, what is clear is the significance of the mark Yamada left on the shamisen world. Daijō Kazuo, *Tsugaru–jamisen: Yamada Chisato wo kataru* (Japan: Hirosaki–shi nanjō nishi, 1986).
[51] Yamada, 56–7, 76.
[52] Groemer, "The Guild of the Blind…," 351; Groemer, *The Spirit of Tsugaru*, 5.

The result was greater freedom for people to engage in musical experimentation and performance; this, Daijō attests, was the catalyst for Tsugaru-jamisen's creation.[53]

This marks the beginning of the period of "*bosama* shamisen," which might be separated out from other contemporary Tsugaru performance styles primarily by virtue of the social status of its performers. Bosama were a combination of ex-guild members and other visually-impaired beggars who made their living as itinerant musicians, entertainers, and masseurs. Thus, the *bosama* shamisen so central to both Ichikawa Chikujo's and Takahashi Chikuzan's accounts of their personal pasts merely constitutes a footnote for Yamada, despite the fact that they all treat vocal and instrumental performance on relatively equal terms. The ultimate importance of the *bosama* on the development of Tsugaru *min'yō* in general may therefore have to do more with the multi-talented figures (combining various singing, instrumental, and spoken word arts) who rose from their ranks to play significant roles as the music's historical narrative unfolded, than the specific music which they performed at the time. This includes not only contributions to performance practice, adoption of new technologies, and penning of popular lyrics, but also acts of production which afforded opportunities to musicians to continue their performances in new contexts, and which increased audience sizes and the popularity of the style.

Additionally, the rhetoric of Narita Unchiku, Takahashi Chikuzan, and Ichikawa Chikujo among others draws upon the *bosama* era in particular when defining the moral character and proper attitude of the ideal *min'yō* performer. These artists portray the shift from folk singer to popular music artist as a gradual fall from a sort of purity of lifestyle [*kurashiburi*] into the decadence of the "entertainer" [*geinin*]. The representation of shamisen as work rather

[53] It is important to note that Gerald Groemer's history reaches further back through the Tokugawa Period as he traces the development of the *tōdōza* [guild of the blind]. Additionally, while Ichikawa Chikujo does not elaborate a specific historical narrative of such extent, she does off her "three–hundred year shamisen," which reaches back in some way to the performance tradition of the instrument's earliest incarnations during the Tokugawa Period. On the power and effects of the guild system, see: Groemer, "The Guild of the Blind…," 349–380; Groemer, *Goze uta*, 206.

than artistic pursuit is common, and has its roots in the folk origins of the style, and the way it provided a distinctly unglamorous, down-to-earth livelihood for its performers. Yamada Chisato gives a humorous example of this in a live recording from 1998, in which he ironically invokes his (somewhat apocryphal) humble beginnings in a large concert hall while simultaneously being recorded with high-tech audio equipment. In his idiosyncratic Tsugaru language, he briefly and humorously recounts: "I remember asking the shamisen what it was saying when I was a kid. It said 'Don't have enough cash, give me some food and drink and I'll pay with a *toroshuko, shuton ton*.' I heard it say, 'If you can remember that, then you can play this shamisen.'"[54] The *bosama* acted as a driving force in the development of the production and consumption styles which had the greatest effect on the music itself: in other words, the *bosama*s' importance to the history and development of Tsugaru *min'yō* had less to do with their collective genius and musical creativity, and more to do with their inventiveness as artistic producers and businessmen.

WRITING, RECORDING, AND SECONDARY ORALITY: MUSICAL NOTATION

Technology did not impact Tsugaru-jamisen only in terms of amplification of volume and wireless broadcast, vastly increasing the potential audience size: it has also significantly and necessarily altered pedagogical paradigms and listening epistemologies. It is with recording technology, both in the form of prescriptive written musical notation and in descriptive phonographic reproduction, in mind that I suggest that the history and evolution of Tsugaru-jamisen must be re-conceived through the audio-filter of Walter Ong's "secondary orality," a consciousness of text and sound fundamentally redefined by the act of recording. Altering the

[54] "*Ora, warahando da zu doki, kono shamisen–ko nante shambetterun datte kiidakkya. Totta jenko tarine, nonde kute chondo ee, toroshuko, shuton ton tte yatterunda zu*. *Kore onbiriba, kono shamisen–ko hiku nen da yo, ttsu keda dakyae*." Yamada Chisato, *Yamada Chisato tai Shibutani Kazuo: Jonkara Tsugaru–jamisen shitei kyōen*, Columbia COCF–14768, 1998, CD, Track 4.

epistemological field through which music is listened to necessarily impacts the *furusato*, or aesthetic origins, of the music. To preview the argument to follow, technologies of recording, both in audio and visual forms, create an objective correlative against which live performances can be compared. The underlying assumption of this chapter is that consciousness of Tsugaru-jamisen as a style is formed through a consciousness of the relation between present and past: by altering the ways performers recognize the style's *furusato*, recording technology necessarily also affects performance practice in the present tense.

To better understand the changes in literary and oral consciousness wrought by the writing of music, it may help to first consider the forms and meanings of shamisen notations on their own merits. The problem of musical notation for shamisen in Japan bears mention here as the first technology which rendered the music spatially. However, the conservative nature of the *iemoto* system impeded the widespread expansion of comprehensive prescriptive musical nomenclature until as late as the Meiji Period when the influence of western music technologies became overwhelming.[55] Until then, teachers of performing arts in Japan maintained and protected their own repertoires of songs and techniques, and would have certainly seen comprehensive pedagogical documentation (i.e. instruction manuals for performance) as a threat to the total control they wielded over their creations. Additionally, the identification of the musical style as originating within the body of the *iemoto* or *shishō* himself, the essential connection between master and art, would have been compromised, sapping his authority: if one could learn a musical style from a book, then there would be no need to depend upon direct

[55] In his foundational essay on the practice of ethnomusicology, Charles Seeger argues for a distinction between prescriptive and descriptive notation, whereby the former is an extrinsic imposition of cultural form onto a musical object in the form of musical notation, whereas the latter uses an "automatic graph" to aim at "maximum objectivity" by recording and representing physical stimuli as they are. Using contemporary technology, the automatic transcription shamisen introduced above is a prime example of prescriptive notation; spectrograph analysis an example of descriptive. Charles Seeger, "Prescriptive and Descriptive Music–Writing" in *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 2 (April, 1958), 188, 194.

transmission through the school system, no need to compensate for that education with sustained financial support, and no need to identify oneself with any one particular *iemoto* or *ryūha*. Furthermore, as evidenced by the guild for the blind's [*tōdōza, gozeza*] strong-arm tactics in the Edo Period, it is clear that control over repertoire and performance rights had significant economic benefits for those wielding the power within each guild and schools' respective hierarchies.[56] Secrecy, in the form of oral transmission hidden from public view, was one technique for suppressing competition.[57]

This does not mean that the concept of musical notation was completely foreign to Japan until the late 19th century. Nakamura Sōsan's *Shichiku shoshin-shū* [shichiku beginner's collection], published in 1664, is believed to be the first example of written music for Japanese instrumentation. It is a collection of songs aimed at novice musicians, and includes three distinct sections providing instructions for interpreting *hitoyogiri* (a type of shakuhachi), *zokusō* (non-traditional koto), and shamisen notation.[58] Documentation for the same five tunes is provided for each instrument, reflecting a common repertoire, or at least demonstrating the adaptability of these particular instruments to the popular medium. The text suggests that these were extremely popular songs which readers would already be familiar with, and thus the sung melodies do not require representation alongside the lyrics.[59]

The shamisen music, for example, is merely a transcribed form of *kuchi-jamisen* [mouth shamisen], a kind of solmization like Scottish canntaireachd, a series of sung vocables

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[56] Groemer, *The Spirit of Tsugaru*, 5.
[57] Tomie Hahn discusses the transference of knowledge through a dance *iemoto* in terms of "embodied knowledge," a system in which performance traditions are maintained primarily through practice. As with the case of Tsugaru–jamisen, the dancers find both authenticity and exclusivity in their master's bodily technique: two *iemoto* values which may be upset by the introduction of mechanically–reproducible recording techniques. Tomie Hahn, *Sensational Knowledge: Embodying Culture through Japanese Dance* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2007), xiii–xiv.
[58] Nakamura Sōsan, *Shichiku shoshin–shū* (Japan: Gyokuchō, Waseda University Library) < http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/>.
[59] Urushizaki, 238.

corresponding to specific pitches or techniques. The written form of *kuchi-jamisen* does not represent meter or rhythm, and thus lacks the horizontal temporal aspect required for pragmatic sight reading. The entire *kuchi-jamisen* system represented in the *Shichiku shoshin-shū* is comprised of sixteen characters divided between the lute's three strings: shi-ki sa-ka (first string) tsu-ru to-ro su-ku (second string) and chi-ri te-re ta-ra (third string). Each syllable indicates a left-hand position and a right-hand striking style.[60] While Tsugaru-jamisen teachers also historically employed *kuchi-jamisen* pedagogical techniques, such a simple system is clearly insufficient to the task of recording or otherwise transmitting a complex solo line or ensemble composition; rather, they are suitable for teaching folksong accompaniment only, emphasizing basic rhythm and the forward-backward movement of the plectrum.

Because *kuchi-jamisen*, written or orally-transmitted, does not attempt a comprehensive representation of every tonal, rhythmic, or technical aspect of a piece, it functions more as a mnemonic tool than a script. It would be impossible to reproduce a song merely by looking at the *Shichikushoshin-shū* or listening to one's teacher speak it aloud if the student had no prior knowledge of that particular piece of music.

Nagauta *iemoto* Kineie Yashichi the Fourth (1890-1942) saw this lack of information as an impediment to the preservation and proliferation of traditional music in modernizing Japan. While previous generations of *iemoto* may have had the luxury of students whose musical consciousnesses—sonic and rhythmic sensibilities—were based in styles similar to their own, the wide saturation of Kineie's students' everyday lives with western musical genres and new-style popular music complicated their musical sensibilities, and compromised their learning capacity.

[60] Nakamura, vol. 3.

Changes in the immediate musical environment made foreign music which had once been part and parcel of everyday life.[61]

Kineie the Fourth established a women's school of music in 1922 with the explicit goal of propagating *nagauta* as an "ethnic music" [*minzoku ongaku*], clearly in opposition to the drowning out of Japanese musical aesthetics in the face of widespread "westernization." Later, she would also employ the national radio system for the same purpose. Perhaps in response to the pressure on her *nagauta* school, which was suffering from students' anemic ability to memorize works in her traditional idiom, Kineie set about producing an explicit prescriptive musical notation. Her first attempt, with the aid of her pianist/violinist husband, was transcription into western-style notation. However, it failed to gain popularity because musicians interested in learning *nagauta* were rarely trained in reading western-style notation, and its complexity posed too steep a learning curve for practical adoption. Her second attempt resulted in a greatly simplified three-line tablature called *shamisen bunkafu* [cultural notation], which remains the most common and accessible method of shamisen notation today.[62]

According to long-time Tsugaru-jamisen scholar Matsuki Hiroyasu, Oyama Mitsuō (then: Oyama Mitsu) was the first to use *shamisen bunkafu* for Tsugaru *min'yō*. Oyama was a student of Kita Rinshōei's, but although hardworking, he was a slow learner. Unable to properly learn by ear, and failing to learn western-style notation, Oyama seemed destined for ignominy. However, sometime during the 1960s he encountered a shakuhachi player named Kamiyama Tensui, who introduced him to *shamisen bunkafu*. As a result of this experience, Oyama grew as

[61] The current Kineie iemoto, Kineie Nami, has utilized video–sharing websites like Youtube and NicoNico Dōga to contact a wider audience, and she began using shamisen and shakuhachi to cover popular songs from video games and anime in 2010 in an effort to bridge the lacuna between musical sensibilities of contemporary listeners and her "traditional" idiom. Indeed, the title of the article in which she expresses her project translates to "Making it easier to appreciate Japanese instruments." Her efforts fall in line with some of the larger trends in the Tsugaru–jamisen field, following the Yoshida Brothers' poppification of their musical style over ten years prior. Kineie Nami, "Wagakki wo tanoshimi yasuku," *Kōsei hogo*, no. 1 (2014): 8.

[62] "Kineie to ha," *Kineie Shamisen School Homepage*, accessed 8 September, 2014 <www.kine–ie.com>.

a musician, went on to found one of the largest and most well-organized Tsugaru-jamisen *iemoto* in Tokyo today, and to produce the first series of publications of Tsugaru-jamisen sheet music. It is worth noting that his school's publishing ventures were supported by NHK, the national broadcasting network, and primarily aimed, by default, at Oyama's Tokyo-based students.[63]

Shamisen bunkafu for Tsugaru-jamisen and other folk music has imported the concept of meter and measure from western music. The tablature is broken up into measures of a specific number of beats, often given a time signature, and *tsubo* [position] numbers are underscored with a number of dashes to indicate the duration of the note (e.g. no line = quarter note, one line = eight note, two lines = sixteenth note, etc). Numbers above the *tsubo* markers indicate which finger (index, middle, or ring finger) to use. Additional symbols delineate the type of sound-producing technique to use. Techniques may refer to *bachi-sabaki* [plectrum technique], including *tataki* [striking], *sukui* [upstroke], *suberi* [slipping from one string to the next]; or they may refer to techniques for the left hand, including *uchi* [hammer on], *hajiki* [pull off], and *unari* [portomento]. Further symbols from western musicology, like triplet markers, can also be found: in essence, *shamisen bunkafu* now has been adapted to have the same capacity for prescriptive specificity as a five-line score. This is the same "Japanese style" score produced by Kozakaya's automatic transcription machine.

Despite its apparent usefulness in studying repertoire and growing popularity, *shamisen bunkafu* is still not ubiquitously employed as a teaching tool. This is especially true in the case of Tsugaru-jamisen, where the form of each song in the central repertoire is determined by the individual player in the moment of performance.

[63] Matsuki, *Tsugaru–jamisen mandara*, 85–7.

Like the previous *kuchi-jamisen* transcribed by Nakamura Sōsan, *shamisen bunkafu* is a musical score tailored specifically to a single instrument.[64] It lacks the broad adaptability of a western five-line staff, and can therefore generally only be read with an instrument of similar construction (e.g. *shamisen bunkafu* could be easily adapted to Chinese *sanxian* or Okinawan *sanshin*, but not to a euphonium, Theremin, or thumb piano); on the other hand, because it is created for a specific instrument, it is comparatively intuitive to learn and well suited to reflecting contemporary performance techniques. Like guitar tablature, *shamisen bunkafu* models the instrument itself, representing the strings of the instrument with lines on the page, and indicating with numbers where those strings should be pressed. Because the shamisen repertoire is much more extensive now than when Sōsan was writing, *bunkafu* has been engineered to relate a much greater amount of detail. This level of detail, however, also reflects the fundamental shift in the musical epistemology which I continue discussing below: the shift from a primarily-oral to a primarily-modern conceptualization of the aesthetic object of performance.

PRACTICES OF TRANSMISSION

The problem of trying to apply a definition to the Tsugaru-jamisen repertoire and its aesthetics in terms of the oral or secondary-oral rests also upon the practices of transmission. In one of the few comprehensive general studies of Tsugaru-jamisen in English to date, Gerald McGoldrick details some of the various modes of transmission.[65] Calling on the usual sources

[64] McGoldrick gives an overview of *shamisen bunkafu* and its history in his thesis. McGoldrick, 100–105.
[65] McGoldrick did his homework, organizing the significant English and Japanese–language scholarship on Tsugaru–jamisen, detailing elements of the instrument and style's history and transcribing and dissecting several recordings. Yet the problem that plagues this essay is the lack of clarity concerning the object of his discourse: he ranges freely between "art," "*min'yō*" and "Tsugaru–jamisen," making it difficult to track exactly what his claims are. This lack of specificity casts a shadow across his ethnographic accounts as well. While his time spent training in a variety of shamisen genres is laudable, he is not forthright in clarifying the context and content of his experiences. Readers are not clued in to how his interactions may compare and contrast with other students, that his experience is significantly tied to the particular teacher and school he studied with, nor how his location in Kyoto may have

(Daijō, Chikuzan, Groemer) and personal experience as a student of shamisen, McGoldrick introduces a variety of transmission methods which might be characterized as aural instruction, tactile education, oral-mnemonic *kuchi-jamisen*, "pedagogical methods for self instruction," and written musical notation.[66] According to McGoldrick, the most critical moment in the history of transmission of the style came in the 1920s, when "fewer blind men were forced by economic necessity to become *bousama*[sic]. This, and the fact that growing numbers of sighted players wished to learn from other sighted players and teachers, meant that traditional tactile and oral methods of transmission fell into disuse."[67] Thus, it was beginning in the 1920s that the culture of Tsugaru-jamisen began to shift from non-sighted to sighted, and therefore from a virtually non-literate to a semi-literate base. This development made possible the later widespread adoption of shamisen *bunkafu*, but more importantly aided in the shift from an oral to a literate epistemology of music.

This shift toward literacy may be critically observed in part through the technology of musical transcription. McGoldrick importantly describes *shamisen bunkafu* as being "sufficiently detailed today that someone familiar with the conventions of the music can learn a new piece without ever having heard it." He goes on to call it "indispensable" for learning longer pieces.[68]

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impacted that education. In short, this thesis is a useful collection of background information on shamisen music and history, but its original research component must be taken with a grain of salt. McGoldrick, "The Tsugaru–jamisen."

[66] Aural instruction here refers to the practice of putting oneself in an environment in which the target music can be heard with regularity, as in Takahashi Chikuzan traveling door to door listening to his mentor Toda play for alms, or as Ishikawa Chikujo experienced *bosama* shamisen as a baby strapped to her adoptive father's back. This practice is intensified via the value of merit in stealing, and is a fundamental technique for contemporary shamisen players, who constantly expand their musical vocabularies by poaching from not only their teachers, but audio and video recordings as well. Tactile instruction, described in Daijō's account of Nitabo, involves the master sitting the apprentice in his lap and physically moving his hands for him—quite similar to that which I experienced the very first time I laid hands on a shamisen, and found my hands manipulated directly by my teacher. Pedagogical methods here is intended to indicate instruction manuals or how–to books; virtually the opposite of oral transmission methodology.
McGoldrick, 92–3.

[67] McGoldrick, 93.

[68] McGoldrick, 95–6. *Min'yō* scholar Machida Kashō co–edited a volume with Kineie Yashichi titled *Practicing Shamisen by Yourself with Bunkafu*; clearly even the written music's originator intended for it to be comprehensive

While this is a fair characterization of the prescriptive complexity of modern *shamisen bunkafu*, it succinctly, but unselfconsciously, sums up the problem of recording technology and musical epistemology which I have been alluding to in the pages above.

The earliest performers of Tsugaru-jamisen were overwhelmingly visually impaired, and therefore for all intents and purposes universally pre-literate: written music could not have been "indispensable" to them, nor even marginally useful! The *bosama* repertoire was originally extremely limited, consisting of only several songs; furthermore, *bosama-shamisen* was typically little more than unskilled, perfunctory strumming in between sung verses. Even with the rise of Tsugaru *min'yō* song contests, the main canon only increased from three to five main tunes (*Jonkara-bushi, Ohara-bushi, Sansagari, Aiya-bushi*, *Yosare-bushi*), each of which is strophic and therefore highly repetitive—in other words, easy to learn and play at length. However, even should we look to the *Heike monogatari*, one of the longest and most complex musical traditions in Japan, one discovers a history of visually-impaired musicians called *biwa hōshi* learning by rote a completely oral tradition. What is of particular interest is that because the *Heike biwa* was, until the advent of musical transcription and phonographic technology, a purely primary-oral art form in which the identity of the piece of music, the parameters defining what exactly the *Heike monogatari* and its musical accompaniment are, were completely organic in nature, possessing a propensity to change over time in little ways, from performance to performance and through the process of transmission.[69]

What McGoldrick's practical experience with shamisen *bunkafu* informs us, therefore, is how indispensible it may be for grasping the song as a post-literate object of thought, meaning how written music serves an audience which has a preconceived notion of song as text, rather

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enough for this type of self study. Kineie Yashichi and Machida Kashō, *Bunkafu ni yoru shamisen hitorikeiko* (Japan: Shamisen bunkafu gakkai, 1937).

[69] Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Routledge, 2002) PDF e–book, 62.

than as practice. Written music, even when used as a memory aid, defines a sonic phenomenon in prescriptive terms of what happens when and where, and provides a concrete model against which a live dynamic performance may be checked for accuracy. The notion that notation provides enough information for a piece of music to be conjured up by one without the benefit of an aural memory emphasizes this point: that the identity of a particular song can exist in space and not time, that it can be represented as something whole in a single moment, and therefore be compared against a live performance in time for deviation from that script. As suggested above, the introduction of the script seizes the *furusato*, the origin, as a static image; whereas embodied knowledge realizes form primarily through practice itself. It should be emphasized that, as demonstrated by the evolution of Kozakaya's automatic-transcription device, conventional improvised Tsugaru-jamisen works can be exceptionally difficult to capture in this manner, and that a keen aural sensibility is essential to feeling out the critical compositional elements of each tune as a kind of imaginary unto itself. Conversely, new pieces composed using the *bunkafu* are perfectly reproducible by sight, as they become literate compositions conceived of and recorded in a visual medium.[70]

It is unsurprising that McGoldrick records his teachers' lessons, and often requires in-person clarification of techniques insufficiently described in the shamisen *bunkafu*.[71] From my personal observations, shamisen players and *min'yō* singers alike now commonly record their

[70] One ethnomusicologist indicates a hazard of overreliance on transcription as an analytical device, and of annotation as a pedagogical tool is the conflation of music and text, can lead to a misunderstanding of music as a reproduction of some "autonomous existence independent of performance." He divides "art" music as "ocularcentric," privileged in modern society, from jazz, which prioritizes the ear. Nicholas Cook, "Making music together, or improvisation and its others," *The Source: Challenging Jazz Criticism* 1 (2004), 7–8. Nooshin writes that "current discourses of musical creativity are predicated on a series of dualisms which have served to reify certain aspects of music–making and to reinforce implied essential differences between pairs of categories such as improvisation and composition, improvisation and performance from a notated score…'aural–oral' and notated traditions, and so on," resulting in a colonialist/orientalist contextualization. Laudan Nooshin, "Improvisation as 'Other': Creativity, Knowledge and Power — The Case of Iranian Classical Music," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 128 (2003): 280.

[71] McGoldrick, 97–100.

lessons digitally, on cassette tapes, or via camcorder. Recording lessons is simply more convenient than rote memorization because of the severely limited amount of time most non-professional practitioners can dedicate to practice and lessons.[72] Conversely, I have seen few instances of written score being used as a pedagogical tool in the Tsugaru region itself, or by teachers in Chiba prefecture.[73] Regardless, both video and audio recording have a similar effect to the use of score in the sense that they reify the performance into a singular form.

ORAL CULTURE AND *SUJIMICHI*: A PREVIEW

Rather than conceiving of music like Tsugaru-jamisen produced via a folk epistemology as a collection of self-contained texts, I argue that they are better approached from the point of view of *sujimichi* [core principle] and oral culture. *Sujimichi*, a favored term of the performer Takahashi Chikuzan, describes a kind of folk epistemology which has become more and more difficult to grasp as the musical landscape has evolved and become permeated by modern/western sensibilities. As dominant musical tastes change, it becomes more difficult to comprehend older musical styles within their own idiom, to hear the *sujimichi* of the song. The shift from a largely folk-music based aesthetic economy to a western or mass-music based aesthetic economy can be characterized as a shift in perception away from texts defined by principle to those defined by more monolithic forms, thus paralleling the epistemological shift described by Walter Ong from pre-literate to literate societies.

[72] McGoldrick's un-self-conscious description of a biweekly schedule is clearly exceptional. Typical students may only receive lessons once or twice a month. This is particularly true for mobile teachers, like Shibutani Kazuo, who maintains practice sessions in Tokyo and Osaka, and now Taiwan, as well as Hirosaki, and only manages to travel to the more distant locations less than once a month.

[73] While I have witnessed a number of students using *bunkafu* for supplementary study to increase their repertoire, in Tsugaru I have witnessed only two *shishō* using it as a pedagogical tool. I have never witnessed or heard of *bunkafu* being used live during a Tsugaru–jamisen performance, although such cases surely exist.

Ong's argument is that oral societies conceptualize literary works as archives of tropes and concepts which are combined together in an improvisatory manner. His assertion that "the same formulas and themes recurred [in oral literature], but they were stitched together or 'rhapsodized' differently in each rendition by the same poet…" is a practical description of conventional Tsugaru folk music performance.[74] A folk musician or oral storyteller strings together essential elements of a narrative through creative means. As long as all of the core elements (tropes) are present, the story remains the story that it purports to be. Thus, two speakers can relate the same narrative with different aesthetic approaches or degrees of skill to widely varying effect. Similarly, for example, two Tsugaru-jamisen players can perform the same "Dodare-bachi" song with wildly differing interpretations, as long as the fundamental rhythm and structure line up with the sung verse. This means that the core identity of an oral text is conceived of as being comprised of a series of keywords, phrases, momentums, and themes in contrast to the sentences, paragraphs, and chapters which constitute the works of literate cultures. In other words, Homer's *Iliad* may have been recited one thousand different ways and still be the *Iliad* in its oral tradition, but *The Great Gatsby* must always have the same words in the same order.[75]

This sense of an oral text as a series of touchstones or signals guiding its telling, its performance, is a very close metaphor for the *sujimichi* which delineates the horizontal melodic progression of Tsugaru folk songs and bodily techniques of performance. In this way, the *sujimichi* of Tsugaru folk performance operates on what Wolf calls an "anchor" principle,

[74] Ong, 58.
[75] One of the difficulties in comparing literate and oral texts in this manner is that the former takes on, to some degree, the properties of the latter in the performative act of reading. Oral texts exist only in action, just as improvisational music does. However, written works become similarly mutable (although to an arguably mitigated degree) as a reader "poaches" from their text, just as musicians reading from a score inevitably add layers of interpretation in the act of performance. See: Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (University of California Press, 1984), 167–70; Nooshin, "Improvisation as 'Other…."

"organizing events around selected moments and places" in order to ground aspects of a cultural identity—in this case, a song. Anchoring can take the form of anticipation, a fundamental aspect of the experience of listening to Tsugaru-jamisen. For example, improvisations often employ multiple extended and evolving cadences [*kamashi*], putting the listener on the edge of her seat in anticipation of their resolution. Wolf additionally indicates the fingerboard, its orientation, and the players' bodies as spaces in which anchors are invoked.[76] Anchoring and *sujimichi* realize the identity of songs in the act of performance, neither of which are represent-able in an audio recording or conventional musical notation.

Following the analogy of folk performance-qua-oral culture, contemporary mass music can be said to be analogous to literate texts. Mass music is composed, often written down, to be reproduced as a faithful copy. Not only is mass music often written on paper, but it is almost by definition recorded and commodified, technologically mass-(re)produced, ingraining in the listener a definitive or authentic singular form—this so profound that subsequent live performances must all be heard in juxtaposition with the memory of the record. When it comes to recorded mass music there is often no good or bad interpretation of a universal text, there is only the singular definitive performance by one specific artist. Covers and live performances become citations or reinterpretations of the original text: they are related, but not recognized as being the same. Mass music has developed its own consciously easy-to-consume aesthetic and its own attendant compositional idiom.[77] In contrast, songs in the genre known as folk music are typically not associated with one specific author or artist, and as a result they are always open to more reinvention and reinterpretation. They follow different compositional rules, and therefore require a differently attuned ear in order to be appreciated.

[76] Richard Wolf, *The Black Cow's Footprint: Time, Space, and Music in the Lives of the Kotas of South India* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 4, 7, 21.
[77] See: Frith, *Sound Effects*.

ENTER TAKAHASHI CHIKUZAN

I borrow the term *sujimichi* primarily from Takahashi Chikuzan. Chikuzan was a transformative figure of Tsugaru folk music who strove to elevate the perception of his craft in the eyes and ears of the young postwar generation. Chikuzan was born into poverty in Tsugaru, and was forced to take up the shamisen as an itinerant beggar after losing his eyesight at a young age and dropping out of school. He began by traveling northeastern Japan by himself, joined up with other artists in different genres and in traveling song troupes during the war years, and took up a stable presence on the radio and television accompanying Narita Unchiku, the contemporary "god of folksong" during the postwar period. After his long-time teacher and professional mentor Unchiku retired in the 1960s, Chikuzan launched an unprecedentedly successful solo career combining both his unique brand of instrumental performance and intimate narrations of his compelling life story.[78] He was a master storyteller, and his thick Tsugaru accent was an indispensible aspect of his persona. Chikuzan was practically a household name throughout the 1970s: he performed in small and large venues all across the country and abroad, and was the subject of multiple television specials and a feature-length biopic. His anti-war and sometimes anti-state attitude, and emphasis on engagement with real, everyday life experiences contributed to his appeal among youth culture, while his apparent rustic simplicity helped to secure his place in a broader contemporary popular culture fanatic about all things nostalgic.

Much of Chikuzan's popularity was due the fact that he appeared to 1970s Japan to be an anachronism. He was the perfect representation of its desired, disappearing (imagined) past identity which was becoming increasingly invisible as the country rebuilt after devastating

[78] Chikuzan was not alone in either innovating new techniques or performing solo, although he was arguably the most important representative of Tsugaru–jamisen in the popular eye. Shirakawa Gunpachirō and Kida Rinshōei, roughly early contemporaries of Chikuzan, also exerted wide influence throughout the shamisen performing community. Among other accomplishments, Kida was responsible for establishing a system of performer certification [*shihan seido*] for his massive network of students in 1970. Daijō. *The Birth of Tsugaru…*, 110.

decades of war. His performances themselves combined markers of this vanishing Japaneseness (in language, musical tonal mode, and instrumentation) in a musical field increasingly crowded by western appropriations, recalling the humanistic sensibilities of a non-modern "storyteller."[79] He was thus an alien self from another time and another land, visiting modern (urban) Japan from a chronotope of pre-modernity.[80] Visually-impaired, uneducated, performer of folk music and marked speech, he embodied a stereotype of the non-modern which was romanticized for its authenticity or realness.

Does this mean that he was complicit in a minstrelsy by which he parodied his native place of Tsugaru? That he was responsible for abetting the formation of the 1970s popular-*furusato* boom? He, and the likes of his producer Satō Sadaki, were necessarily in dialogue with those discourses, and they did not act naively when it came to exploiting Chikuzan's very visible otherness. It is no coincidence that Chikuzan was rarely depicted in promotional materials in full color, or that television cameras always seemed to have a strong attraction to his milky, diseased eyes. However, I prefer a more charitable reading: their invocation and appropriation of the rural stereotype onstage was multifaceted, and while they certainly capitalized on the contemporary cultural objectification of the Tsugaru and other rural folk arts, Chikuzan also complicated its representation through contrasting discourse, his own response to the meaning of written and performed *furusato*.[81] He did so in one form by twisting the critique of a dominant olfactionized

[79] Walter Benjamin's famous essay on the "storyteller" contrasts modernized narration qua data exchange, with the storyteller's ability to communicate human experience in a performative act. Mass media like the newspaper and television industries are well suited to the former. Conversely, the emotive connection forged between speaker and listener gives life and aura to the exchange. See: Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller: Reflections on the Work of Nikolai Leskov," trans. Harry Zohn in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, 83–110 (New York: Schocken Books, 1955 [1936]).

[80] See: Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[81] Ōta Yoshinobu coined the term "cultural objectification" [*bunka no kyakutaika*], referring to the phenomenon of local actors reevaluating their place–identified customs after those customs as a direct result of the objectifying outside (e.g. tourist) gaze. The nostalgia boom of the 1960s and 70s popularized and fetishized many aspects of

discourse back onto itself. However, before addressing the specific case of the smell-metaphor in discourses of Japanese music, it may help to consider some methodological approaches to the study of smell.

OLFACTION STUDIES

Olfaction studies is a subfield of the growing field of the history of the senses. As the name suggests, olfaction studies scholars focus on the experiences and meanings of smell, and particularly how they construct and are constructed by society. Classen's foundational work on the subject combines anthropological and discursive analysis techniques to examine a range of historical societies, leading to the conclusion that smell is a widespread and powerful tool which is often engaged to create and reaffirm group consciousness. This is achieved partially through the pro-active application of fragrance (e.g. perfumes), but more significantly through the practice of othering foreign groups through olfactionized discourse. It follows that dominant or in-groups tend to classify themselves as inodorate or pure, meaning that any allusion to a group's olfactory distinctiveness automatically tend to mark it with alterity.[82]

While genetic factors, culinary culture, hygienic habits, living and working conditions can actually cause the biological production of specific scents to the human body, Classen emphasizes his observation that odor associated with the Other "is far less a response to an actual perception of the odor of the other than a potent metaphor for the social decay it is feared the other…will cause in the established order"; in other words, a fear of contamination.[83] This

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"local culture," like "local cuisine" [*kyōdo ryōri*] and performance practices, which contributed to their revival and renaissance. Chikuzan's burgeoning mid–career success certainly overlapped with the invigoration of this fresh, reflexive gaze. Ōta Yoshinobu, "Bunka no Kyakutaika," *Toransupojishon no Shisō: Bunkajinruigaku no Saisōzō*, pp 55–94 (Japan: Sekai Shisō–sha, 1998).

[82] Constance Classen, "The Odor of the Other: Olfactory Symbolism and Cultural Categories," *Ethos*, vol. 20, no. 2 (1992): 158.

[83] Classen, 135.

statement suggests that olfaction discourses are produced within hierarchical power structures in which a dominant group passes judgement on disadvantaged groups, reinforcing the unequal relationship. Reinarz bolsters this assessment particularly through his analysis of racial and class-based social constructs, indicating that othering slurs are often linked to aroma via food, an intimate aspect of ethnic identity and extremely personal marker of the alterity of minority communities.[84] He also points out how sophisticated smelling technique has primarily been studied as a legitimating property of the upper class, associated with the breeding and education of perfumers, physicians, and religious leaders. Such scholarship tacitly reinforces the way these social hierarchies are constructed, as it pays attention to the refined and sensitive upper-class proboscis while ignoring evidence of highly-skilled working class noses.[85]

Classen, Reinarz, and other olfaction scholars tend to focus on sources originating in the western world, yet their analyses and conclusions are followed very closely in Moeran's study of the Japanese perfume industry. Reaching back to the Heian Period, Moeran uses *The Tale of Genji* as an example of how the capital elite used fragrance to distinguish themselves from the common classes: the Prince Genji's sons are named "Lord Fragrance" and "Prince Scent"; he himself was renowned for his skillful concoctions of incense; and members of his in-group were reportedly able to identify each other merely through their use of custom perfumes. Thus, he writes that "incense burning enabled people of a certain class to share a common experience and olfactory unity with others in that class," dividing the upper and lower classes in the same way a Roman wearing a pungent indigo dye was distinguished from the plain-smelling plebeians.[86]

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[84] I discuss this exact phenomenon in the case of "reeking of butter" in Japan in the pages below. Jonathan Reinarz, *Past Scents: Historical Perspectives on Smell* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 91.

[85] Reinarz attempts to address this imbalance by digging into the other side of the picture, illuminating how, for example, workers in the brewing industry needed to develop a keen sense of smell in order to regulate the quality and safety of their product. Reinarz, 145–6.

[86] Brian Moeran, "Japanese Fragrance Descriptives and Gender Constructions: Preliminary Steps toward an Anthropology of Olfaction," *Etnofoor*, vol. 18, no. 1 (2005): 99.

Moeran's survey of contemporary sources concludes that rather than aristocrats using scent to reinforce class boundaries, in (post)modern Japan, fragrance companies and weekly periodicals dictate "how women should be or appear in the modern world,"[87] reflecting Classen's assertion that "social categories are constructed and conveyed by olfactory codes" in Japan as well.[88]

While these studies go a long way in identifying ways in which smell is used to construct and reinforce social relationships in particular historical situations, they stop short of addressing the ways in which olfaction rhetoric has evolved into pure metaphor, where "smell" becomes a rhetorical device with no direct allusion to a biologically-perceptible odor at all. This metaphorical evolution is perhaps a natural outcome of the subconscious reinforcement of the discourses mentioned above; they become so ingrained that the objective correlative of sense-able smell itself becomes expendable.

OLFACTION DISCOURSE IN JAPAN: REEKING OF BUTTER

One such example is the sense of *bata kusai*, to "reek of butter." Historically, cows in Japan were employed as beasts of burden, but not widely exploited as a source of nutrition. Thus, when Europeans first arrived in Japan, their consumption of butter was looked upon as foreign and exotic. Following Classen's notion of "olfactory coding" in which olfactory rhetoric is used to define cultural others,[89] an indexical link was established between a butter-based culinary culture and western alterity.[90] As a result, the epithet *bata kusai* may be applied to anything with

[87] Moeran, 113.
[88] Classen, 133.
[89] Classen, 133.
[90] Conversely, a similar observation can be made of Japan from an international perspective, but regarding a lack of smell. One academic has written about Japanese technological exports as "culturally odorless," meaning that certain consumer goods like the Sony Walkman "do not evoke images of a Japanese lifestyle, even if consumers know it is made in Japan and even if they associate 'Japaneseness' with technological sophistication." Things that have a Japanese "odor" or "fragrance," like samurai and geisha, rely more on a stereotypical consciousness of an "Oriental" Japan, whereas "odorless" exports do not evoke the same kind of images. Koichi Iwabuchi, "How 'Japanese' is

"western" features in Japan—including architecture, facial features, and linguistic expression—despite their having generally nothing to do with butter or a sense-able smell at all.[91] *Bata kusai* has been directed at religious practices—specifically Christianity[92]—Taisho-era imported popular culture,[93] and even literary practice.[94] The variety of usage examples shows how

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Pokémon?" in *Pikachu's Global Adventure: The Rise and Fall of Pokémon*, ed. Joseph Tobin (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 56-8.

[91] The "smell" has to do with the impression given rather than perceptible smell. A *Yomiuri* article from 1967 uses "*batā kusai*" in an extraordinary way to this effect (the long /a/ reflects the fact that this phrase is technically different from the idiomatic phrase *bata kusai*, but its deployment still clearly illustrates the indexicality of "smell" introduced above). Reporting on a new regulation aimed at preventing margarine manufacturers from misleadingly labeling their products, the article states that "consumers have continued complaining about [margarine products] being sold with *batā kusai* names." In other words, should the name bring to mind or produce either an image of butter or of foreign culture, it is *bata kusai*. "Kana de māgarin: raigetu kara kisoku, batā kusai hyōji dame," *Yomiuri Shinbun*, morning edition (7 February, 1967), 15.

[92] Since its introduction in the 16th century, Christianity has generally stood as a symbol of European culture in the Japanese imagination, and thus been interpreted as "*bata kusai*." Japanese who converted to Christianity in particular have been targeted with the label: just as the spread of the foreign religion was observed by some as a contagion, so too was *bata kusai* catching. For example, Chikazumi Jōkan's novel take on Shinshū-Buddhist religious practice in the Meiji Period was an "appropriation from Christianity," designed to make Buddhism more relevant to younger, modern, urban Japanese. He did this in partly by embellishing his literature with biblically-inspired flourishes, apparently tingeing it in the process with a buttery aroma. Omi Toshihiro, "Modern Shinshū and Christianity: The Missionary Strategy of Chikazumi Jōkan," *Religion and Society*, vol. 17 (April, 2011): 27. Even as recently as 2008, a fourth-generation Protestant college student is recorded as describing her personal experiences of attending mass in terms of feeling *bata kusai*. Miura Ako, "Shinkō no 'seijuku' to 'shinka': Aru seinenki josei no jiko jitsugen purosesu wo tōshite," in *The Journal of Psychology and Education, Kanagawa University* (2008): 20.

[93] The rapid influx of foreign ideas during the Meiji Period, compounded by the explosion of mass culture during the Taisho years, made early twentieth-century Japan seem especially butyraceous. A *Yomiuri* retrospective, for instance, recalls how Asakusa *misemono* spectacles such as the *Asakusa Opera* represented the burgeoning "*bata kusai* mass culture," explaining their object as "something which merged modernism, exoticism, and a kind of eroticism." "Shōwa jidai: senzen / senchūki (6), Toshi bunka = ka (rensai)," *Yomiuri shinbun*, morning edition (23 March, 2013), 27. This incursion did not affect the adult and adolescent consumers of Asakusa popular culture alone, but also pervaded Taisho schoolchildren's songs. Such tunes as the 1923 "March of the Toys" [*omocha no māchi*] employed diatonic scales—particularly major modes employing fourth and seventh-degree pitches—and were sung with a lively, pulsating tempo. This composition technique was deployed in clear opposition to "Japanese-sounding" songs employing the staple "*yo na nuki*" scale, which omits fourths and sevenths. (See Chapter 2 for more detailed discusson on this musical technique). The lyrics of this song in particular reference imported toys like tin soldiers, kewpie dolls, and French dolls, all contributing to a "western mood" [*seiyōfū na mūdo*] also described as *bata kusai*. "Uta monogatari: meikyoku wo tazunete, omocha no māchi = jō modan kononda yōsetsu shijin," *Yomiuri shinbun*, morning edition, (July 30, 2000), 4.

[94] More recently, internationally-selling author Murakami Haruki has been targeted with the label due to his idiosyncratic writing style. Murakami's writing has been disparaged for mimicking English diction, using simple language and an internationalized vocabulary. He describes himself as an "outcast" in the Japanese literary community, whose works he claims to read little of, and devotes significant time and energy to translating English novels into Japanese. One might surmise that his outspoken praise of European and American authors is responsible in part for the perceived affinity of his writing style. Steven Pool, "Haruki Murakami: 'I'm an Outcast in the Japanese Literary World,'" *The Guardian*, last modified September 13, 2014 <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/sep/13/haruki–murakami–interview–colorless–tsukur–tazaki–and–his–years–of–pilgrimage>. Murakami has also famously experimented with the composition technique of writing in English, and then translating it into Japanese. It has been argued, however, that the critique hinging on his

ubiquitous, yet arbitrary, the nature of olfaction discourse can be, while at the same time demonstrating how its primary function was to marginalize and mark its object with alterity.

Jazz and popular music have also been described as *bata kusai*, but in a more complex manner than the cases mentioned above. During the militaristic nationalism of the early Showa period *bata kusai* became a convenient label used to stigmatize unpatriotic practices of enjoying "western culture." For instance, famed Tsugaru-born jazz singer Awaya Noriko recalls how Columbia Records refrained from picking up Dick Mine after his jazz-singing debut in the 1930s. Noriko recommended him to her producers, who turned him down because with Noriko, they had enough "*bata kusai* songs" on their roster, implying that the label's reputation would suffer in the increasingly nationalistic political environment if they signed too many jazz singers.[95] As the Japanese military began to confront the Allied forces, their government labeled "jazz" an "enemy music" [*tekisei ongaku*] and enacted a series of restrictions on its production and consumption. In 1940, "ballrooms" in which male customers close-danced with hired dancers to hot jazz tunes were shut down, the performance of "jazz" was banned along with any songs with English lyrics, and by 1943 everything from trumpet mutes to the number of saxophones in an ensemble was being regulated in an attempt to contain the penetrating creep of *bata kusai* values and influence.[96]

"westernization" is a misperception of Murakami's rejection of the 1960s literary avant-garde, which had been naturalized, nativized, and deodorized by the time Murakami began experimenting with his unique voice. Murakami's writing was thus *bata kusai* in comparison with Ōe Kenzaburō for the same reason that Ōe's had been *bata kusai* for his innovations upon the high modernism of Kawabata Yasunari and his contemporaries. Roland Kelts, "Lost in Translation?," *The New Yorker*, last modified May 9, 2013 <http://www.newyorker.com/books/page–turner/lost–in–translation>; Matthew C Strecher, "Beyond 'Pure' Literature: Mimesis, Formula, and the Postmodern in the Fiction of Murakami Haruki," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 57, no. 2 (May, 1998): 375; Margaret Hillenbrand, "Murakami Haruki in Greater China: Creative Responses and the Quest for Cosmopolitanism," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 68, no. 3 (Aug., 2009): 739.

[95] Awaya Noriko, "Tensei no koe: ikina kamae Dick Mine–san wo shinobu," *Yomiuri Shinbun*, evening edition (11 June, 1991), 7.

[96] George Yoshida, *Reminiscing in Swingtime: Japanese Americans in American Popular Music: 1925–1960* (San Francisco: National Japanese American Historical Society, 1997), 51, 91, 97.

Yet, the mark of buttery otherness was not always necessarily applied with the intent to defame—indeed, the government's need to enact bans on and suppress jazz and social dancing itself testifies to their widespread desirability. Often the ultimate form of *bata kusai* music came packaged in the bodies of Nisei (Japanese American) singers and musicians. In his landmark study of jazz in Japan, Atkins recounts how record companies in the prewar period actively sought out Nisei jazz singers, who were popular with audiences not only because of their ability to sing naturally in the English of jazz's native place, but because their dual ethnicity provided them access to both the safe relatablility of "Japaneseness" and the credential to perform "authentic" American jazz. This aura of authenticity was sometimes expressed through the metaphor of *bata kusai*.[97] George Yoshida suggests that as Japanese jazz audiences in the 1930s grew more sophisticated, they came to desire the "genuine" quality of Nisei performance—again, not only because of their pronunciation of English lyrics, but also because they were thought to be somehow "jazzier" than their native Japanese counterparts, and more attuned to syncopated rhythms.[98]

These discourses created an equivalence between *bata kusai*, "American experience," and a jazzy musical sensibility. By contrast, *tsuchi kusai* is implicitly equated with "Japanese experience" and a native pentatonic or rhythmic sensibility. Such a discourse effectively homogenizes the extremely musically, culturally, and ethnically diverse United States, setting aside the complexity of heterogeneity for the simplicity of a fetishized "American" uniqueness, while perhaps exerting similar forces on conceptions of Japan (or Asia). What the prewar discourses of *bata kusai* jazz certainly did accomplish, however, was the priming of the Japanese public for thinking music and cultural essentialism in terms of an olfactive metaphor.

[97] E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001) PDF e–book, 82.
[98] Yoshida, 45, 48.

OLFACTION DISCOURSE IN JAPAN: STINKING OF EARTH

Rural Japan has been constructed in the popular imagination partially through ambiguous, although generally patronizing, dirty terms of olfaction: *tsuchi kusai* [stinking of earth], *doro kusai* [stinking of muck], and *inaka kusai* [stinking of the countryside]. These terms are most often used to describe rural objects, and Chikuzan frequently invoked them in his spoken and musical discourse.[99] These words reflect the implicit idea that city versus country is synonymous with class division: the city is perceived as saturated with elite political, military, and religious figures and all of the cultural, political, and economic capital they wield; whereas the countryside is perceived to be dominated by the uneducated and uncultured working class. There is no "*toshi-kusai*" [stinking of the city], despite the fact that the odors of Tokyo can rival those of elsewhere any day. Thus, while the term *tsuchi kusai* literally refers to the smell of soil, it is deployed strictly in opposition to the city, and following a free exchange of associations between uncultured = rural = farmer = soil = earthy/natural smell, it also comes to function as an epithet meaning "unrefined."[100] The same applies to the virtually-synonymous *doro kusai* stinking of muck.

[99] While the following discussion is primarily grounded in the discourses of 1960s–70s Japan, there appears to be little evolution in the usage of these words, including among the Tsugaru folk music community, up to the present.

[100] This discursive configuration can be observed in modern literature across a variety of genres and time periods. For example, in his famous postwar novel *Shayō*, Dazai Osamu depicts the fall from aristocracy of the main family as a slipping through these layers of significations. The urban home is sold, and the family moves to the periphery of elite civilization. The daughter is forced to lower herself from the privileged and clean position on the veranda, a visually–oriented space for gazing across the vista, into the lowly soil of the vegetable garden, a deeply tactile space. As she exerts herself, she wears special thin *jika tabi* shoes, bringing her into closer connection with the earth and symbolizing her distance from the neutral, clean, aloofness of her ever–aristocratic mother. Dazai Osamu, *Shayō* (Japan: Shinchō bunko, 1947), 39–46. In Katō Takeo's short story "Tsuchi no nioi" [Smell of the soil], the soil is associated with the older generation via the figure of the grandmother. At the same time, the middle–aged narrator makes essentialist claims of his connection to the earth by virtue of his rural place of birth, stating that "…for those of us brought up in the countryside, we absolutely need the soil. It's exactly like how a fish needs water. Someone like you [city–girl] could never know the joy of working the soil—but I do." He goes on to show his large, thick–fingered hands and inherited "spirit of the people of the fields" as genetic proof of the connection between soil, rural Japan, and its people. Katō Takeo, "Tsuchi no nioi," *Kyōshū* (Japan: Shinchōsha, 1919), 234–6. Elsewhere, Katō contrasts "urban literature" and "rural literature," in which he ascribes "genius" and "technique" to the former, and unselfconscious "nature" to the latter. Katō Takeo, "Chihō bungaku to tokai bungaku," *Wa ga shōgaban*, 119–123 (Japan: Shinchōsha, 1924), 120. Sōma Gyofū's 1943 poem "Tsuchi ni kaeru" [Return to the soil] similarly associates

The third term, *inaka kusai*, referring to the "stink of the countryside," is used to explicitly label rural inhabitants as uncultured back numbers, ignorant people who use marked vernacular speech: how vulgar![101] Whereas, for instance, an object directly connected to the soil can literally be *tsuchi kusai*, the "stink of the countryside" does not refer a real-world sense-able smell associated with place, and is in fact most often directly attributed to people and behaviors. It is defined only through opposition and negation (not urban, not educated, not fashionable), and unquestionably designates alterity in the body of the rural folk. In all cases, then, these earthy words of olfaction discourse are complicit in the formation of an uncomfortable metonym by which an imagined urban ideal is vested with immense cultural capital denied to its rural counterpart.

The ironic coupling of stereotype and positive valuation of authentic American experience sometimes suggested by the label *bata kusai* is at times paralleled in *tsuchi kusai*. In certain contexts, *tsuchi kusai* may be used as a positive valuation of "unrefined," in the same vein as *soboku* [unadorned simplicity, rusticity]. The visceral wetness of the smell metaphor importantly provides the substance of the absence in "unrefined," the meat or culture of its "simplicity." Fallow earth does not reek; it is the rot and nutrition permeating a rich soil which creates the stink only when it is turned over, dug up, and exposed to the air. In a metaphor offered by Sakaguchi Ango, soil is the medium of the farmer, and it is so much more powerful

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the soil with the past, with "ancestors," and agricultural folk songs, contrasted with modern, capitalistic greed and the "betrayal" of the earth. The final lines of the poem complete the analogy of the relationship between farmer and soil, positing a transformation of the sweat of labor into the fruits of harvest. Sōma Gyofū, "Tsuchi ni kaeru," *Nōdo nihon shishū*, ed. Matsumura Mataichi, 96–98 (Japan: Futaba insatsu, 1944), 96–98. Natsume Sōseki also invokes the earth in several novels, particularly connecting "the smell of the earth" with "the tender memory of my [the narrator's] mother and father"; yet he also connects the act of smelling the earth with a dangerous stagnancy or over–attachment to the past. Natsume Sōseki, *Kokoro*, trans. Edwin McClellan (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1957), 138, 116.

[101] This usage parallels words like "hick," "hayseed," "bumpkin" or "redneck" in US parlance: strong accent and vernacular vocabulary are assumed to connote a lack of breeding, education, and/or intelligence. Comparisons can be drawn with the negative perception of speakers of Black English Vernacular as well. The discriminatory *inakappei* literary stereotype was historically used as shorthand for an uneducated and uncultured yokel; while rude, *inaka kusai* does not seem to be considered vulgar to the same degree.

than any other artistic medium because it contains the history of the farmer's family and of the nation.[102] But the farmer is not aloof; in the act of plowing, seeding, harvesting, his or her body becomes coated with fresh soil; the stink of the earth and the history contained within it clings and penetrates. The vitality of the past in the present symbolized by the intimate relationship between farmer and soil stands in sharp contrast to the city, the sterile concrete-and-asphalt, the cultural odorlessness of industrial modern machines.[103] In an account of postwar Japan, Daijō Kazuo writes that "a gray-colored culture of the *instant* crept up on Tokyo, the face of Japan, as it rode the wave of the high-growth economy, and before long it was transformed into an urban desert." To him, this excess proved less than the wet vitality of Tsugaru stink, and "it was the authentic shamisen music, not a counterfeit or imitation, of Tsugaru-jamisen which so intensely shocked the desiccated souls of the people of Tokyo."[104]

The people and the place of Tokyo were dried out of life and culture, and it was only the wet, vital, and smelly imagination of Tsugaru and other *furusato* topoi that could come to revitalize it. This usage reflects a romanticized view of rural life. In such cases, words like *tsuchi kusai* praise art and artisans precisely for being non-modern and lacking sophistication, and therefore play into the thorough encoding of the countryside as some idealized lost pre-modern topos; a caricature with a positive connotation, but a caricature nonetheless.[105] In other words, it is praise derived from a poor premise. For example, art critic Okino Iwazaburō praises the *tsuchi kusai* art of Jean Francois Millet in a 1941 commentary, making favorable observations

[102] Sakaguchi Ango, "Tsuchi no naka kara no hanashi," in *Tsuchi to furusato bungaku zenshū*, vol. 9, 238–245, Eds. Senuma Shigeki, et al. (Japan: Ie no hikari kyōkai, 1976 [1947]), 238.
[103] Classen, 149.
[104] Daijō, *Tsugaru–jamisen,* 5.
[105] This opposition is played out in one scholar's classification of "regional literature" versus "urban literature," where in the former is characterized by naturalism and lack of artifice, and the latter is a bourgeois literature born of idle talent and an obsession with technique. Katō, "Chihō bungaku to tokai bungaku," 119–20. Also, for a detailed discussion of the coding of the countryside as an idealized *furusato*, see: Jennifer Robertson, *Natives and Newcomers: Making and Remaking a Japanese City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

regarding the authenticity in his portrayal of the peasant folk. The interpretation goes that Millet was more skilled at representing rural life than urban Japanese artists are, because he himself had grown up in a farming family. However, Okino believes that Millet's success is derived in a large part from his "cowardice [*shōshinsa*] unique to rural folk" which can be "perceived through his paintings."[106] In this way, his *tsuchi kusai* is offered as a compliment, but it was ultimately grounded in an othering, belittling, and homogenizing perspective.

Finally, one early collection of "farmers' literature" [*nōmin bungaku*] in Japan neatly collects all of these images into the single space of its title: *Tsuchi to furusato bungaku zenshū*, the "collected works of literature of the soil and *furusato*."[107] The collection presupposes an intense connection between farmer, soil, and *furusato*. It poses to the reader the thesis that our *furusato*=origins is located in the soil, and that it is best expressed through the literary work of agriculturalists. This reflects the widespread fetishization in the 1960s and 70s of the countryside as a topos of origins, attributing some kind of ambiguous authenticity of experience to its inhabitants just as *bata kusai* Nisei were thought to bear the kernel of American jazziness.

CHIKUZAN'S CULTURAL CRITIQUE

Takahashi Chikuzan and other regionally-identified performers actively appropriated *tsuchi kusai* and *furusato* stereotypes more broadly as tools for defending their artistic authenticity. One telling example was the image transformation of Yamada Chisato in the hands of his producer, Asō Yoshinobu. In the process of turning Yamada from a business-minded, pragmatic song troupe leader into an "authentic performer" [*honmono no geijutsu*], Asō hired a stylist to redo his hair and image. Most importantly, he replaced Yamada's standard formal attire

[106] Okino Iwazaburō, *Atena inki: bijutsu to shumi no zuihitsu shuu* (Japan: Tōsui–sha, 1941), 262–3.
[107] Usui Yoshimi, ed., *Tsuchi to furusato bungaku zenshū* (Japan: Ie no hikari kyōkai, 1976–7).

of *montsuki hakama* with farmer's work clothes [*noragi*] adorned with the Tsugaru geometric embroidery called *kogin-zashi*.[108] This semiotically dense transformation played across a whole spectrum of olfactory, class-, and regionally-based discourses to affirm Yamada's integrity as a serious "artist." Asō, a Tokyo native, clearly had a strong instinct for his audience, as it is still quite common to see Tsugaru-jamisen players clad in the folk-style *kogin-zashi* (a now exceedingly pricy "folk craft" [*mingeihin*] largely absent from contemporary everyday life); or even on occasion its more recent counterpart, the brightly-colored coveralls and split-toed shoes worn by construction workers.[109]

These are the discursive elements which Chikuzan appropriated into his cultural critique; not by attempting to bridge the gulf between urban and rural Japanese—we are all the same people!—nor merely by advocating for the positive aspects of his home region. Instead, he levels an attack on Tokyo itself, lowering it to the status of its own uncouth representation of the countryside, responding that

> there are those who think we people of "Tsugaru" don't count among human beings at all, because we're just "that lot in Tsugaru, crawling around in the mud, stinking of earth." This is just utter nonsense. If you ask me, it's Tokyo that's backwards! First of all, there's no Tokyoite eating food of higher quality than the people around Aomori. In Tokyo, they don't know what they're putting in their mouths: they take food that was harvested who knows when, and mix in all sorts of sugar and other seasoning before eating it—now, you tell me which is of better quality. That's nothing to put in your mouth! I also really get steamed when I listen to what writers and scholars have to say about us. No one in Aomori is drinking public water that stinks [*nioi no suru*] like it does in Tokyo. If you ask my opinion, that's what I'll tell you.[110]

[108] Daijō, *Tsugaru–jamisen*, 15, 18–9.
[109] Depending on the event, professional performers generally choose between a variety of formal *montsuki hakama*—Chikuzan's garb of choice—*happi* festival coats, *kogin–zashi* embroidered vests, or (particularly among the younger crowd) a flashy modern fashion or custom costume emphasizing their personality and uniqueness.
[110] Here, Chikuzan literally calls Tokyo "the countryside" [*inaka*]. Satō Sadaki, *Takahashi Chikuzan ni kiku: Tsugaru kara sekai he* (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 2010), 138–9.

Here he subverts the center-periphery relationship by accusing Tokyo of being the "smelly" place, suggesting that the city, the epitome of modern civilization, was backwards and polluted.

These words resonate strongly with the literature of olfaction studies. Classen argues that olfaction discourse is deployed to reaffirm group consciousness; *tsuchi kusai* is used to defend the idea of an inoderate, modern, urban Japan, but Chikuzan's intervention is a clever reversal of the dominant discourse and attempt to subvert its implied power relations.[111]

OWNING *TSUCHI KUSAI*

Chikuzan goes on to appropriate the "mucky smell of Tsugaru" by identifying it with an innovative concept of aesthetic beauty: the smell of the earth is a good thing which can be refined. He would continue to make his life work the elevation of "the stink of the earth" (in his parlance, sometimes: *tsuchi no kamari-ko*) as a conscious musical sensibility.[112] Far from being ashamed by it, he considered the "scent of Tsugaru" an essential aspect of his own performance, something that defined his music through every step of its evolution.

Chikuzan's various marks of rural origin automatically indexed *tsuchi kusai* and all of the connotations associated therewith: this, he could not change. Instead, he strove to elevate his performance by creating new semiotic associations, bringing "*tsuchi kusai*" "folk music" into the avant-garde art space of the Shibuya "little theater" Jean Jean, to the stages of the primarily classical-music oriented National Workers Music Association [*zenkoku kinrōsha ongaku kyōgikai*, hereafter "Ro-on"], and ultimately even Carnegie Hall. Ro-on is a particularly

[111] Classen, 133

[112] Chikuzan's use of this metaphor is not limited to Japanese or Tsugaru music: among his extensive collection of LPs, Chikuzan said that he most enjoyed the "ethnic scent" [*dozokuteki na nioi*] of Spanish Flamenco guitar. His producer Satō Sadaki also suggested that at one point that "perhaps a whiff [*nioi*] of the Mozart that he listened to so passionately had bled into his shamisen." Matsubayashi, 184–5. Furthermore, he describes Aomori prefecture as having the "fragrance of a young woman" [*anesama kamari*], the town of Hakodate as having a "market smell" [*ichiba kamari*], and the Hokkaido ferry boats as "smelling…of the sweat of migrant laborers." Satō, 47.

interesting case, partly because the organization can be credited with Chikuzan's initial breakout success, but also because they pride themselves on a history of democratizing access to the fine arts and improving laborers' "taste" [*jōsō*] "refinement" [*kyōyō*], and "human qualities" [*ningensei*].[113] While Ro-on was complicit in affirming the entrenched cultural capital of elite arts like opera and orchestral concerts, they strove to improve its accessibility to the everyday person. By adding Chikuzan to their roster, Ro-on aided in his project of resituating Tsugaru folk music into a less marginalized sphere. As a result, Chikuzan was able to push back against the negative or regressive associations of *tsuchi kusai* folk music—these including concerns over moral laxity afflicting contemporary popular singers' "lifestyles" [*kurashiburi*] and the general sense that folk music was only suited for providing background entertainment for drinking establishments and town festivals. In the process of elevating his music within the realm of art, Chikuzan redefined his audience from "customers" [*kyaku*] to "listeners" [*kikite* = 聴き手], making *tsuchi kusai* music into something to be listened to carefully [*kiku* = 聴く] as opposed to merely heard [*kiku* = 聞く].[114] In Bourdieu's terms, this would constitute a shift across the literary (musical) field from the pole of economic to symbolic capital.[115]

Chikuzan's aesthetic argument hinged upon maintaining his *tsuchi kusai* quality even as his music changed. He reports that his claim to *tsuchi kusai* began to be questioned when he responded to audience demand by creating faster, more rhythmically complex performances. This reflects an assumption that *tsuchi kusai* is incompatible with complex or technical performance. He counters that it was outrageous to think that he had lost touch with his *tsuchi kusai* roots because "…we call it the mucky smell [*doro kusasa*] of Tsugaru, and that smell [*nioi*]

[113] "Ro–on to ha," *Tokyo Ro–on Concert Guide*, last modified September 26, 2015, < http://www.ro–on.jp/about/ >.
[114] Satō, 106.
[115] For a spatialized representation of the field, see: Hockx, 4.

won't be cleansed from shamisen. Instead, I am striving for [*benkyō*] something a little pretty within it, something that people will want to listen to, and then make that into music." Yes, he essentializes *tsuchi kusai*, but his appropriation and redefinition created new value for that label. His passion was driven in part by the crisis he perceived in the potential loss of this "smell":

> The scent [*nioi*] of Tsugaru in Tsugaru songs [*uta*] and the shamisen of Tsugaru has faded over time. I especially feel this in recent years. I am sure that the reason many people in Tokyo, Osaka, and even around Kyushu have begun to play Tsugaru-jamisen is because it has a powerful appeal, but I am concerned that if that results in the loss of the scent of Tsugaru, then in the end everyone will become disenchanted with it.[116]

In other words, Chikuzan uses smell as a metaphor to describe an unquantifiable and ineffable quality of music intrinsically connected to the place and people of Tsugaru, which gives it its most fundamental sense of identity. While he acknowledged that folk traditions change over time, and indeed actively participated in Tsugaru folk music's historical evolution, he also valued the stability of a folk music embedded in place and its performers' obligation to maintain its proper form, its smell. The practice of that form by bodies not steeped in the placeness of Tsugaru, its sounds, rhythms, and traditions, are simply unable to replicate and maintain that ambiguous mark of authenticity.

PERFORMING THE SMELL IN *SUJIMICHI*

Chikuzan did not define his musical aesthetics solely through this inversion of the place-grounded olfaction metaphor. He organized this semiotic definition around the sonic articulation of *sujimichi* [principle], a term which quite skillfully articulates the tenuousness of the smell metaphor. *Sujimichi* might be best visualized as a core of an idea which is held in common between, for instance, various improvised performances of a single song, or throughout the diachronic historical evolution of Tsugaru-jamisen.

[116] Satō, 137.

I argue that the concept of *sujimichi* is derived from a folk epistemology reminiscent of Walter Ong's oral culture, and has become more and more difficult to grasp in its own idiom as the dominant musical landscape has evolved and become permeated by modern, massified music sensibilities. The shift from a largely folk-music based aesthetic economy to a mass-music based aesthetic economy is a shift in perception away from songs defined by *sujimichi* to those determined by more monolithic definitions.

Pop music is a commodity-producing system comprised of mass-music practices and recording technology: it is a process, a *sujimichi* unto itself. In contrast to the industry system, pop songs themselves tend to have definitive ontological forms.[117] Pop music songs tend to sound very similar because they are basically interchangeable commodities drawing from a limited vocabulary of rhythmic and structural elements (e.g. syncopation, AABA structure, common time), lyrical subject matter (e.g. "love songs," "youth anthems"), emotional coding of chords and keys, and instrumentation. This database of mass music techniques is an archive which listeners naturally internalize and use to interpret new musical encounters. Each song or performance is evaluated as an instantiation of the wider corpus of mass music.

In contrast, the folk music being discussed here are transient works realized only in the moment of performance or recording. Terayama Shūji makes an analogous commentary on modern jazz: "action is ontological"; a recording is only a memory of the in-the-moment performance.[118] Thus, while shamisen players may emulate their teachers in practice, or steal

[117] Bob Dylan's "It's Alright, Ma (I'm Only Bleeding)" has been characterized as a work comprised of three distinct "modules" which have been re–imagined in countless different settings. In this way, "It's Alright, Ma" is much closer to an oral or folk song, and therefore is much closer in conception to a Tsugaru *min'yō* than a massified product of the music industry. Steven Rings, "A Foreign Sound to Your Ear: Bob Dylan Performs 'It's Alright, Ma (I'm Only Bleeding),' 1964–2009," *Music Theory Online*, vol. 19, no. 4 (December 2013) <http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.13.19.4/mto.13.19.4.rings.php> (accessed: 12 December, 2015), 15.
[118] Terayama Shūji, *Sengo shi* (Japan: Kōdansha Bungei Bunko, 2013 [1965]), 22–3.

licks from rival performers, it would be almost unheard of for them to simply replicate another performer's solo note-for-note.[119]

The perceptual shift from performative, *sujimichi*-based aesthetics to mass-music commodity music can be observed in Gerald Groemer's historiographical work on Japanese folk music, which argues that the rapid capitalization and industrialization of music in modern Japan caused a widespread and fundamental shift in listeners' perceptions and values; what I have been describing as a move away from a folk epistemology. Mass music is designed to be easily consumable in a way that folk music is not: it relies entirely on hooks, brevity, and clichéd musical and lyrical tropes. Whereas Japanese folk music is often characterized by vernacular language, linguistically-complex lyrics, malleable length and content; mass music tends toward homogenization and universal appeal. As a result, mass-music listeners become consumers lacking the tools to appreciate the music of a folk aesthetic economy, leading also to the precipitous decline in the viability of the folk musician profession, particularly in the postwar period.[120] It may be argued that Tsugaru-jamisen and Tsugaru folk music's enduring popularity and commercial success can be accounted for largely due to its performers' exceptional ability to incorporate their fundamental folk epistemology into a mass-music aesthetic economy, but placing too much focus on aspects of change and evolution hazards the danger of masking the importance of a distinctly non-modern, non-mass musical underlying aesthetic.

The Tsugaru-jamisen artists most undeniably influential in tilting the aesthetic field from folk to mass compositional techniques are Yoshida Ken'ichi (b. 1979) and Yoshida

[119] The exception that proves the rule of professional shamisen players not learning and performing other's solos is significantly Kevin Kmetz's recording of Agatsuma Hiromitsu's performance in the animated film *Nitaboh!*. Kmetz is a central figure in a growing network of international/English–speaking Tsugaru–jamisen students, and is vocal about his intentions to improve the style's accessibility through non–conventional pedagogical techniques. Kevin Kmetz, "Nitabo's solo," Youtube.com <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UPRpufTXpMg> (accessed: 4 October, 2015); Kyle Abbott, Bachido.com <www.bachido.com>; Kevin Kmetz, God of Shamisen <www.godofshamisen.com>.
[120] Groemer, *Goze uta*, 209, 213–216, 221.

Ryōichirō (b. 1977), the "Yoshida Brothers."[121] They released their first album *Ibuki* [Breath] in 1999, featuring four canonical songs along with original compositions "*Modan*" [Modern] and "*Ibuki*."[122] While both songs contain extended sections of conventional "Tsugaru Jonkara-bushi" style improvisation, these breaks are metronome-perfect, and integrated lock-step with the metrical composition of the larger piece. The brothers also employ overarching structures reminiscent of pop songs: for example, "*Modan*" follows an A-B-C-A-Coda form in 4/4 time, with eight- and sixteen-measure long phrases. The "Jonkara" improvisation in part C is an odd 28+1 measures long, but the rest of the song fits with the conventional formula. The repeated A section also employs relentless syncopation in its hook: this is the part of the song we remember; this is what gets stuck in our heads. The form is extended to A-B-A-B-C-A in the second version of "Modern: Labyrinth" and then greatly simplified to a simple Intro-A-B-A form in the third version, "Chapter 3."[123]

Similar metrical and structural observations can be made not only throughout the brothers' repertoire, as of early 2017 spanning 38 singles, CDs, crossover albums, best-of albums, and DVDs, but also throughout recordings by any number of performers in the post-Yoshida Brothers era. Young front-runners Asano Shō, Nitta Masahiro, Oyama Yutaka, and Shibata Masato combined forces in 2006 to record a "battle" "to the future" in which they not only wielded dueling shamisen in an all-out "Jonkara" technical improv throw-down, but they also performed several pre-composed works in a variety of genres based on motival repetition, eight-

[121] They were not the first to experiment with fusion and mixed setting musics: Kinoshita Shin'ichi and Agatsuma Hiromitsu were playing in rock bands years before the brothers' break, and Yamada Chisato and some of his students performed with non–traditional instrumentation; however, none of them have achieved the same household–name status as the Yoshida Brothers. In fact, electric guitar wizard TerauchiTakeshi recorded a "Tsugaru jongara bushi" duel with shamisen player Mihashi Michiya as early as 1967. See, e.g. Michael Peluse, "Not Your Grandfather's Music: *Tsugaru Shamisen* Blurs the Lines between 'Folk' and 'Pop,'" *Asian Music* (Summer/Fall 2005), 65–66, 69; Honma, 63: Bourdaghs, 137.
[122] Yoshida Brothers, *Ibuki: Tsugaru Shamisen* (Victor, Japan) VICG–60297 (VZCG–5027), 2000, compact disk.
[123] Yoshida Brothers, *Soulful* (Sony) SRCL 5330, 2002, compact disk; Yoshida Brothers, *Frontier* (Sony) SRCL 5565, 2003, compact disk.

bar phrases, and 4/4 time.[124] Satō Michiyoshi uses similar metrical compositional devices, both in rock songs like "*Kotobuki*" [Celebrate!] and "traditional"-sounding, *joruri*-inspired works like "*Kachi kachi yama*" [Crackling mountain].[125] Other artists with roots in Tsugaru-jamisen focus on using shamisen as a tool to adapt to different genres or cover pre-existing works. One significant example of this is Kevin Kmetz and his student Mike Penny, both members of Monsters of Shamisen, a group which specializes in shamisen interpretations of world folk musics.[126]

While the most overt impact surrounding the Yoshida Brothers' popular acclaim and the successors to their innovation are elements of genre mixing, the incorporation of modern-style vocals, and often kitschy synthesized or rock-band accompaniment, my fundamental critique is that the adoption of the metrical conventions, structural repetition, and regular phrase lengths which define the greater part of modern, mass music, have done the most to move Tsugaru-jamisen performance into the realm of mass music consciousness. This shift makes it a relatively simple task to analyze and categorize Yoshida Brother songs; conversely, it can seem impossible to define the outer limits of conventional performance practice. What exactly is "Jonkara-bushi"? McGoldrick struggles to describe it fully:

> …a typical *Jonkara kyokubiki* [improvisation or solo] composition is made up of a number of large sections (often three), which resemble one another but are not iterative in any usual sense of the word.... Within each *dan* [major section] are several sections, and all *dan* in all typical *kyokubiki* have roughly the same form, which put in the simplest terms possible is this: The[sic] music starts in a low register, moves to a high register, and returns to again to[sic] a low register. This is an oversimplification, but it is the governing principle of movement within every section of *kyokubiki* I have analysed. Very soon after beginning, the musician hits the open first-string—the lowest note on

[124] "*Jiu*," "*Tomodachi no tori*," "Hard Wired," and "IMPACT" from: Nitta Masahiro, et al, *Tsugaru 4: Mirai he* (Chito–shan) KATO 612, 2007, compact disk.
[125] Kotobuki Band, *Ni: Shojo (Sekando bājin)* (Kotobuki GOLDEN CARNIVAL) KOTOBUKI 0002, 2013, compact disk; Satō Michihiro and Satō Michiyoshi, *Hibikiau neiro, Karamiau kansei* (Aoi Sutajio) XNAO 10001, 2010, compact disk.
[126] See, e.g.: Monsters of Shamisen, *Resonance* (Monsters of Shamisen) 888174649498, 2014, compact disk; Aaron Seeman and Mike Penny, *Shamalamacord* (Shamalamacord) 884502067408, 2009, compact disk.

> the instrument—at which point he makes his way towards the fourth position on the third-string—the highest notes on the instrument, and eventually works his way back to the lowest note.[…][127]

Nationally-renowned Tsugaru-jamisen wizard Kinoshita Shin'ichi offers a much more liberal definition, writing that "Nowadays, what is called Tsugaru-jamisen '*kyokubiki*' basically just means a solo shamisen performance….because 'Tsugaru Jonkara-bushi' was originally a Tsugaru folk song, it naturally had a melody: the [sung] song was the main element, and the shamisen definitely played an accompanying role…" but, "if I were to take an extreme position, I would say that anything played in *ni-agari* [tonic-dominant-tonic tuning], two-four time, and in a minor scale would become 'Jonkara-bushi.'"[128] Because "Jonkara-bushi" is played in two-four time it can also be inserted seamlessly into a pop-song setting, often in the form of improvisational breaks bookended by more conventionally-structured pop riffs, as in each of the Yoshida Brothers' different versions of "*Modan*."[129] Both McGoldrick and Groemer valiantly transcribe, transcribe, and transcribe in their works, but just like Kozakaya's automatic-transcription process, this practice ultimately becomes a limited descriptive process which prejudices analysis in particular directions.

One of the best descriptions of "Jonkara-bushi" unsurprisingly comes from a professional—and non-academic—musician: Kevin Kmetz. In an online instructional essay, he begins with a vaguely orientalist-sounding pronouncement that

> The first step is to clear your mind of any western notions of musical performance that might cause pre judgement [sic] and thus cloud your direct experience. This is not a "Song" to be learned note for note. There are no perfect examples for you to copy. Each

[127] McGoldrick, "The Tsugaru–jamisen," 119–20.
[128] Kinoshita, 46–8, 50.
[129] "Aiya–bushi," "Sansagari," and "Yosare–bushi" are each usually played in something like a six–eight time. "Ohara–bushi" switches from a triplet feel into two–four time, but is played in the *hon–chōshi* tuning within which it is apparently more difficult to improvise. It is interesting to note that some performers will play "Roku–dan," a standardized arrangement of "Jonkara–bushi," along with pop songs because it contains the same regular beat.

> perfect example will only be perfect for the individual performing. Yours will have to come from within you.[130]

Kmetz's focus on individual artistic creativity can be understood through his idiosyncratic performance technique; more importantly, however, is the declaration that "Jonkara-bushi" is not a "song," that it is not defined as a series of "notes," and that the musical concept is foreign to our modernized, "western" ears.

> He continues to list a series of images through which the solo progresses:
>
> Choushi awase [sic] "Calling forth the spirit of nature"
>
> Fubuki, Striking the Ichi no Ito "Winter Wind!" or "Snowstorm"
>
> Kyou jakku [sic] "The snow dies down only to return with force"
>
> Haru "melting snow" or "the melting of our heart"
>
> Ki "The seedling becomes a tree!"
>
> Yo ga akeru "The sun through the clouds. "
>
> Taiyo no odori. "Dancing in the sunlight!"
>
> Satogaeri "Return to nature!"[131]

The metaphorical story of the performer progressing through a harsh winter, storm breaking, spring arriving, and sunlight streaming in gives form to the song through a vocabulary completely absent from academic critique, and yet it provides the most accurate conception of the solo I have encountered yet. In Kmetz's description, "Jonkara-bushi" follows a principle, a *sujimichi*, based on a series of tropic turning points. Indeed, he does not attempt to define its

[130] Kevin Kmetz, "The Nature of Tsugaru Jongara bushi," *The Bachido Blog*, last modified March 30, 2013, < http://bachido.com/blog/the–nature–of–tsugaru–jongara–bushi>.
[131] A more literal translation of the Japanese terms would be: "tuning," "blizzard, striking the first string," "strong–weak," "spring," "tree," "morning breaks," "sun dance," and "going home," respectively.

form, but simply introduces its "nature."[132] If it sounds like Jonkara, it if moves like Jonkara, if it makes you feel like Jonkara, it is Jonkara.[133]

THE TSUGARU OF TSUGARU-JAMISEN

Groemer's survey of contemporary Tsugaru-jamisen recordings is interested in technical, quantifiable factors, and concludes that new improvisatory techniques are too numerous to track, and that they lack "logic" [*ronrisei*] with respect to their relationship to "Jonkara-bushi" proper—the vocal form of the *min'yō*. He chalks up the difficulty of studying Tsugaru-jamisen to the inherent contradiction between the confines of "tradition" and the possibilities of improvisation, which invariably leads to the "thinning of Tsugaru-ness" [Tsugaru *rashisa*].[134] His appeal to compositional "logic" is uncomfortably juxtaposed with the distinctly a-logical value of "Tsugaru-ness" which he regrets fading from the music.

"Tsugaru-ness" is another expression for the stink of the earth, or *sujimichi*, and its stubborn presence in discourses of Tsugaru-jamisen has perhaps misdirected some secondary scholarship on the topic as well. For example, Henry Johnson's "Tsugaru Shamisen: From Region to Nation (and Beyond) and Back Again," although laudably attempting to move the study of Tsugaru-jamisen from the field of technical musicology to more theoretical terrain, somewhat falls victim to this tendency.[135] The main thrust of the paper is to elaborate a process of "localization" or "regionalization" which occurs during the dialectical interactions between

[132] Kmetz, "The Nature of Tsugaru Jongara bushi."
[133] "Jonkara–bushi" exists in practice as "techniques of the body" embodied in communal tradition. These are acquired through repetition and mimicry; the "nature" of the songs become "second–nature" through bodily practice. See: Marcel Mauss, "Techniques of the body," *Economy and Society*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1973), 72–75; Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993), *xiii*.
[134] Groemer, "Tsugaru–jamisen in okeru sokkyōensōtekiyōso no bunseki," 50–1.
[135] Henry Johnson, "Tsugaru Shamisen: From Region to Nation (and Beyond) and Back Again," *Asian Music*, vol. 37, no. 1 (2006): 75–100.

nation-state and local identity.[136] He points to the rise of nationalism during the interwar period as a foundational point in that relationship, claiming that

> Tsugaru provided the sense of the furusato (hometown) sentiment that was later to help create a whole new genre of shamisen performance. But what is particularly interesting here is that it was a sense of an other that was internal to Japan that actually contributed to a feeling of nationhood…in terms of the nation-state; it was part of the hometown sentiment that helped shape a longing for home and a feeling of an imagined national unity.[137]

Here, he lays the contemporary form of Tsugaru-jamisen completely at the feet of the Tsugaru region's alterity, tacitly confirming its "Tsugaru-ness" (while conversely not recognizing the enterprising nature of performers like Takahashi Chikuzan and Yamada Chisato, and moreover their producers, who capitalized on the center's preconceptions of their alterity).

This nation-state-centric perspective dominates Johnson's entire perception of regionalism, at the expense of attention to lived practice. A symptom of this is his glossing over Tsugaru-jamisen's history and performance practice. While it is a useful and interesting exercise to analyze the construction of a region through its juxtaposition with the larger idea of "Japan"—Tsugaru as the little "other" to the national self—this tack obscures the real heterogeneity of the "Tsugaru" imaginary. This is important, because Johnson, perhaps unintentionally, tends to homogenize and reify Tsugaru throughout the article:

> "…closer examination shows [Tsugaru] is actually one of several of Japan's unique and distinct regions that has its own subcultural identity"
>
> "Tsugaru…is certainly a remote and peripheral region"
>
> "[as for] the Tsugaru district, there is certainly a geographic boundary, a political boundary, and cultural and linguistic boundary markers"

[136] Johnson, 75.
[137] Johnson, 87.

> "The very existence of regionalism is inherent to the Japanese state, and identities are formed not only because of their regional and unique traits, but also vis-à-vis other regions and with the help of national political structures and systems."[138]

Thus despite his astute invocation of Appaduridian flows and discursive construction, Johnson ultimately reproduces a relatively mundane framing of the regions which does not subvert the discourse of nation-state in any way. At the same time, he suggests that Tsugaru is a calcified monolith from which Tsugaru-jamisen emerged, separated, and returned. Johnson unequivocally labels Tsugaru "remote and peripheral," tacitly corroborating the conception of the region as "other" "furusato (hometown)" and "past." This representation limits our understanding of the geographical spread and modernization which so deeply characterizes Tsugaru-jamisen and the lived experience of Tsugaru itself.

On the contrary, I argue that there is no contradiction between the "Tsugaru" of Tsugaru-jamisen and its practice; that variations of "Tsugaru" exist in the moment of practice, and that Tsugaru exists wherever it is created.[139] Tsugaru-jamisen has not, as Johnson posits in the very title of his article, moved beyond Tsugaru; rather, Tsugaru has stretched and grown with the uneven development of its music. In the hands of musicians and audiences alike, Tsugaru-jamisen has expanded in scope, massifying and modernizing while simultaneously maintaining forms of *sujimichi* (while appropriating and incorporating aspects of mass music aesthetics as well). Thus, Tsugaru-jamisen itself embodies one aspect of the unevenness of Tsugaru, an unevenness which subverts popular and academic discursive constructions of the region.

Writing about Tsugaru and Tsugaru-jamisen requires a new theoretical perspective to liberate it from the fascism of binaries. One such concept can be found in Harry Harootunian's

[138] Johnson, 76, 79, 80, 93.
[139] I examine place as a function of practice in much more detail in Chapter 3.

"unevenness," which can be brought to bear on the map of Tsugaru in a powerful way, redrawing the entire geography of Japan through attention paid to specific details of practice and lived experience, releasing the regions [*chihō*] from the manacles of the discursive construction of space and time in modern Japan. While Tsugaru-jamisen bears the name of a specific "region," the history and performance practices detailed above clearly complicate the geographically-bounded regionality implied by the moniker: the style is not confined by its physical location on the face of the earth, nor by the racial construct of its performer; it is an amorphous principle more than a concrete and bounded thing. Tsugaru is Chikuzan's "stink of the earth": ungraspable, and yet so very perceptible. An ongoing theme of this dissertation is how Tsugaru has long been mobilized in discourses of Japanese modernity as a representation of rural lag: this demonstrates an equivalency between rural *chihō*, pastness, folk tradition, etc, consequently portraying Tsugaru as an object of nostalgic desire for an absent authentic "Japan." However, in reality and in practice, Tsugaru-jamisen tests the bounds of the geographical concept of the Tsugaru-region and its chronotopic encoding as non-modern.

One element contributing to uneven development was processes of production. The period between the Meiji Restoration and fracturing of guild monopolies, and the second decade of the twentieth century saw proto-Tsugaru-jamisen *bosama* performers evolve from perambulatory beggars to participants in an incipient professional musical culture featuring skilled and specialized singers, dancers, accompanists, and percussionists. The combination of professionalization of skills and marketing of named performers led directly to "development" beyond the idiom of "folk music." For example, although not often seen as a revolutionary musician, Yamada Chisato's efforts in producing new opportunities for musical performance and consumption directly fed into musical and technical development. Yamada was responsible for

establishing the first national Tsugaru-jamisen competition, which continues to this day; as well as numerous *min'yō* events, including a "folksong festival in the style of a [theatrical] musical."[140] Each instance of production, layered upon a base of "folk" practice, contributes to an unevenness, as the shape of conventional performance stretches and contorts into a more "modernized" form.

The second crucial factor contributing to Tsugaru music's unevenness can be found in its relationship with technology. The extended discussion of *bunkafu* tablature and secondary orality provides one aspect of this history. In addition, with the establishment of the Japanese recording industry in the 1910s, Tsugaru musicians like the singer Kansei Kuniko and shamisen accompanist Kida Rinshōei moved to Tokyo to take advantage of the new market. This lead not only to a national boom in Tsugaru folksong popularity, and indeed the initial recognition of "Tsugaru" folksong as a subset of national folk tradition, but also to the types of standardizations that affected all early recorded music. Songs which when performed live had improvised lyrics and endless rounds of verses were recorded in abbreviated form, codifying a limited set of popular lyrics. Later, during the 1950s and 60s, Tsugaru folk musicians had to comply further with radio and television industry programming standards concerning timing and use of dialect, resulting in some formal similarities with other mass musics.[141]

Tsugaru music has thus, from at least as early as the turn of the twentieth century, undergone a prolonged process of production, involving the pro-active appropriation of media technology. The contemporary popularity of acts like the Yoshida Brothers and Agatsuma

[140] "When telling the story of Yamada Chisato, perhaps one could make a distinction between his time of industrial enterprise [*kōgyō jidai*] and the time when he became publically recognized as a Tsugaru–jamisen player. However, the foundation for his work as a Tsugaru–jamisen player was laid during his time as an entrepreneur." Daijō, *Tsugaru–jamisen*, 26, 28–30.

[141] This phenomenon closely follows the effects of the recording industry on popular music as observed by Simon Frith in his landmark study of the British music market. See: Frith, 61–151.

Hiromitsu, which have thoroughly integrated into the mass music industry through the appropriation of the musical vocabulary of modern popular music, is the most obvious trajectory of the style: bringing the shamisen instrument into a more familiar, more palatable idiom. And yet, as Kevin Kmetz articulates and virtually every contemporary improvisation of the canonical repertoire demonstrates today, Tsugaru-jamisen still encapsulates the problem of aesthetic unevenness—not quite complete massification. In order to explicate what I mean by the term "aesthetic unevenness," we must start with a short detour through Harootunian's dissection of the effects of modern capitalism.

Capitalism is totalizing, utterly reshaping the grounds of globalized modern society. It seemingly penetrates every aspect of our everyday lives, permeating particularly deeply into our conception of time—we constantly hear, particularly keenly in the post-Trump era, talk of "winners" and "losers," "developed" and "underdeveloped" nations. Yet, it has also long been observed that within the oceanic field of capital there is temporal unevenness—conditions of co-temporality—where non-capitalistic time interacts with the other.[142] Becoming aware of such unevenness is crucial to understanding and critiquing the historical moment of modernity and the façade of monolithic capitalism. On this point, Harootunian writes: "By uncovering heterological temporalities and histories—recognizing uneven flows and the never-ending prospect of untimeliness—'progress' is released from its unilinear mooring and rethought as a relative term that considers missed opportunities and defeated possibilities."[143] What he proposes is this: by

[142] Harootunian is careful to distinguish between "national time" and "the time of capital." The former attempts to combine the cyclical calendar year, with its holiday monuments to national foundations, their regularity predicting the continuation of the nation in perpetuity; and heterological time, which legitimizes the nation through shared pastness. The latter, the time of capital, attempts to squeeze out all forms of uneven time, "totalizing the various temporal processes resulting from the division of labor." Thus, the co-existence of the nation and capital already gestures toward unevenness. The force of capitalistic time on the aesthetic field of Tsugaru–jamisen clearly pushes folk epistemologies toward the margins, lubricating the mass–aesthetic end of the field. See footnote 3: Harry Harootunian, "Remembering the Historical Present," *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 33, no. 3 (Spring 2007), 473.

[143] Harry Harootunian, "Memories of Underdevelopment after Area Studies," *Positions*, vol. 20, no. 1 (Winter,

recognizing "heterological temporalities," unevenness within the field of progressive time, the linear-quantitative concept of "progress" which lies at the heart of capital is challenged as the future potentials of the past are juxtaposed with the progressive present.

The pervasive discursive construction of Tsugaru to which Johnson and others allude is thoroughly out-of-time. Tsugaru is represented in all manner of media coded heavily with otherness: it is wild snow country, agricultural, producer of folk crafts and music, and spoken in esoteric dialect. This one-dimensional alterity, that of temporal lag, is posited in opposition to Tokyo, and makes invisible the internal unevenness of Tsugaru, and the diversity of its inhabitants' lived experience.

Unevenness in Japan has been depicted as a malignant phenomenon from the early stages of its conscious awakening to modernization, with an eye strongly toward differences between "eastern" and "western" modernity. Yanagita Kunio, for example, found the "time lag" between the Japanese city and countryside to be evidence of a superstructure biased toward unequal development, modernizing Tokyo at the expense of the countryside.[144] In this, he precipitated the interwar intelligentsia's trepidation concerning the global time lag between Japan and Euro-America, only in a domestic form.[145] Early Yanagita advocated for remedying this unevenness through extensive industrial development uniting city and country, homogenizing a modern temporal landscape.[146] The idea was essentially to boost the lagging part of the country into co-temporality via access to the industrialized present. He later participated in a significant 1942 symposium on "Overcoming Modernity," which attempted to reframe this unevenness as a cultural, rather than economic problem, in order to "overcome the spectacle of

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2012): 8.
[144] Harootunian, "Memories of Underdevelopment…," 24.
[145] Harootunian, *Overcome By Modernity*, xv–xvi.
[146] Yanagita, "Jidai to nōsei" in *Yanagita Kunio zenshū* vol. 2, 229–386 (Japan: Chikuma Shobō, 1997), 261–2.

social division and observable unevenness between city and countryside, metropole and colony, and class and gender…[with a program] aimed to transform the negativity of unevenness produced in history into the positivity of cultural evenness, with its attending associations of authenticity and inauthenticity, respectively, marked by different spaces."[147] Japanese unevenness in modernity became not a problem of center (Tokyo) versus periphery (rural Japan), but of the Japanese nation versus the modern West.

The teleology of Yanagita's future temporally "even" society recalls Ernst Bloch's Marxian writing on "nonsynchronicity" from 1930s Germany. Bloch believed that the proletariat were of the Now, driving the wheels of historical materialism. By contrast, the remnant feudal peasant class and the idle bourgeoisie were "nonsynchronous," outside of the Now, and therefore counter-revolutionary figures harboring the seed of fascism.[148] To get with the times, in other words, meant being a revolutionary and moving history forward. Yanagita and Bloch find nonsynchronicity in different places among different classes, but they both find a desirable path to modernity in the hands of the industrial worker.

More importantly, however, Bloch acknowledges the critical fact that the nonsynchronous exists in tandem with the Now, and that the "still *possible future*" may be "liberate[d]" from the past through an "alliance" with the present.[149] In other words, eddies in the stream surging toward the singular goal of modernity pose questions about that goal, and contain the potential not only to dam up, but also to branch out and redirect the flow of progress. By attuning ourselves to recognize unevenness, we can open up new possibilities for development in which the Past and the Now interact in the same moment; an understanding that unevenness does

[147] Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 214.
[148] Ernst Bloch, "Nonsynchronism and the Obligation to Its Dialectics," trans. Mark Ritter, in *New German Critique* no. 11 (Spring, 1977): 22.
[149] Bloch, 33.

not necessarily open up to stasis or fascism, but also to new potential futures—Harootunian's "missed opportunities and defeated possibilities," or the productive quality of what Svetlana Boym calls "reflective nostalgia."[150]

A conventionally economic example of temporal unevenness in the field of Tsugaru-jamisen can be found in the resilient master-disciple relation, a remnant pre-capitalistic economic practice, still maintained by many shamisen masters, but now in the context of the modern Japanese economy. The most intimate disciple relation, that of the live-in *uchi deshi*, is primarily one of mentorship, respect, and prestige. Naturally, cultivating a highly-skilled student's talents and broadening the reach of the influence of one's school can often lead to varying degrees of economic benefit, but the financial investment in the student's home, lodging, feeding, and education seems a disproportionate investment of resources—particularly in the late-capital global climate of neoliberalism and contingent labor. This quasi-medieval system is also partially responsible for the uneven aesthetic epistemologies of Tsugaru-jamisen: as the music has notably modernized and massified, voices have insisted on the virtues of *sujimichi* and "orthodox" forms.[151] Classic sociological works on mass culture and jazz music have long made it clear that capitalism, embodied so fully in the form of the music industry, has moved away from the pretext of authenticity in inherited musical forms, focusing instead on commodifying music through the use of technology, plugging, musical "hooks," verse-bridge structure, and the involvement of professional music producers. Creativity within the field has been guided, subtly and otherwise, by the unevenness map, affording opportunities for development in certain

[150] Svetlana Boym contrasts these different present–past relations through the frame of nostalgia, positing a "restorative nostalgia" which seeks to rebuild or return to the past, against "reflective nostalgia" which projects the potential of the past onto the future. Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 41.
[151] Satō Michihiro, one of the more experimental performers of a generation or two ago, expressed a desire for students to grasp "*seitō na shamisen*" [orthodox shamisen] as a foundation before attempting to innovate further. Satō Michihiro, interview by Joshua Solomon, digital recording (Akasaka Blitz: July 17, 2014).

directions, but not others.[152] These processes have resulted not only in some abstract transformation of relation between listener and musical (now-)product, but also in concrete developments vis-à-vis musical/aesthetic standards.

For better or worse, the capitalistically-oriented interventions into the creative process exert powerful influences over aesthetic choices, leading to compositional standardization and altering the foundation of the aesthetic epistemology of listening public so easily observable in the post-Yoshida Brother compositional climate.[153] Conversely, "folk epistemology" closely resembles Walter Ong's oral cultures. The compositional and improvisational techniques which comprise the *sujimichi* of the Tsugaru-jamisen repertoire (that which is most stubbornly maintained through master-disciple relationship) cannot be fully massified: they are incompatible with the musical vocabulary of hook, bridge, four-bar phrase, or the musicological narrative of harmonic tension and release, etc.

In reality, there is no purely massified or folkish Tsugaru-jamisen, and in practice, performers regularly make choices that reposition themselves across the spectrum during the space of a concert, an album, or even a single song. By paying attention to the resulting aesthetic unevenness, we potentiate Harootunian's "missed opportunities," bringing non-capitalized aesthetic principles to interact with and challenge contemporary compositional, performative, and listening practices. Therefore this is not a binary categorical shift from pre- to post-capital music, but a graduated series of modulations across a temporal field.[154]

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[152] The technological and economic institutions inhabiting the creative field tilt it, enticing performers to develop in certain ways. The convenient vocabulary of mass music adds directionality to the "randomness" of "[cultural] change" and creativity observed by one literary scholar. Franco Moretti, *Graphs Maps Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (New York: Verso, 2005), 77, 81.

[153] Adorno discusses the social processes of aesthetic standardization in: Theodore Adorno, "On Popular Music," *Essays on Music*, pp. 437–469 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 441–457.

[154] The unevenness of the field indicates a gradient slippage between idealized poles of "folk" and "mass"; I take to heart Nooshin's caution against orientalizing improvisation while reifying "western" music as a written medium. However, the argument here is that there is an epistemological shift in the myriad principles guiding the aesthetic

Chikuzan's mentor, Narita Unchiku, observed these changes in his lifetime, and left a deeply educational commentary on them. He opens his "chat" on Tsugaru *min'yō* by praising the increase in popularity the widespread gains in popularity the music enjoyed beginning in the 1930s, while criticizing the proliferation of professionalized, "very skilled, extreme singers" who caused a loss of "local flavor" [*chihō iro*]. This loss was, in his words, the result of professionalization and the mismanagement of song competitions, which rewarded technique and extremity. The loss of specificity or locality in Tsugaru music through the standardizing of lyrics and application of more mechanical rhythmic sensibilities harmed its chances to spread throughout the country. To make Tsugaru *min'yō* a "national" music, it must retain its locality, something which cannot be "easily mimicked." Finally, he stakes "Tsugaru Yosare-bushi" as the song with the greatest potential for growing the popularity of Tsugaru music as a music of Tsugaru, specifically because of its triple-metered rhythm. For Unchiku, "Tsugaru Ohara-bushi," which switches between duple- and triple-meter, is second best; "Tsugaru Jonkara-bushi" is "no good."[155]

The glaring irony of Unchiku's evaluation is that "Tsugaru Jonkara-bushi" has unquestionably become the most popular song of the Tsugaru-jamisen canon. "Jonkara" is the song, or improvisational mode of choice for live concert finales, most national competitions, and for performing in combination with pop and rock music settings. "Jonkara" has undergone several rhythmic transformations, tracing the trajectory of popularization: the "old" and "middle" forms feature distinct triplet-like swing patterns; the "new-old" version transitions out of the "old"-style rhythm; and the "new" version of the song is played in a strongly metronomic 2/4. Unchiku's lament was of the neutralization of the scent of Tsugaru, and the drift from the folk to

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choices made in performance, and that their drift can be correlated with the uneven development of the economic field. Laudan Nooshin, 245–6, 280.

[155] Narita, 1–2.

the mass ends of the aesthetic field, realized in the rhythmic adaptation to new musical standards. Neither "Tsugaru Aiya-bushi," with its distinctive 6/8-like rhythm, nor "Tsugaru Yosare-bushi," or even "Tsugaru Ohara-bushi" could achieve the level of popularity of "Jonkara" in this massified musical environment. That is why Unchiku advocated for them—the songs with the most localized and folkish foundational rhythms—first.

The categories of folk and mass sit at two poles of an epistemological spectrum, and the economic ideology of modern capitalism is responsible for this overwhelming trend toward massification. One result of this shift, as demonstrated so fatefully in Groemer's history of the demise of the *goze* singer, is that the massified listener is simply too ill equipped to access music created within a folk epistemology: they can no longer appreciate the smell of the earth. Kozakaya's automatic transcription machine, introduced at the beginning of this chapter, is an attempt to vanquish that smell, to settle the ambiguity inherent in a non-literate, folk aesthetic, and to digitize it into a sanitized, massified object. The way in which his project, and virtually all contemporary writing on Tsugaru-jamisen, has missed the mark has powerful ramifications for the way we approach the study of folk musics as objects of analysis: before transcription and musicological analysis, and before delineating the outer boundaries of genre, or engaging in any other scholarly practices which render oral performance into monolithic "literate texts," we must put a concerted effort toward grasping the music's *sujimichi*, to understand it on its own terms, and to listen carefully to the diverse voices of its performers.

CHAPTER 2

YOU CAN'T GO HOME AGAIN:

TERAYAMA SHŪJI'S RADICAL REINVENTION OF *FURUSATO*

DEATH IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Fade in: young children playing hide and seek in a graveyard in the countryside. They flicker in sepia tones, they hide among the graves. The film feels dated: in 1974, when it debuted, there was no significant technological or economic limitation preventing filming in color. The seeker uncovers her face, but instead of turning about and seeking for her playmates, she stares unwaveringly ahead into the camera. Like fearful spirits hovering behind her, the others silently step out from behind the tombstones. No longer children, they transformed in that instant into adults, their identities now codified by their dress: a soldier, a housewife, a student.

This is the scene, following the unadorned, brief display of two poems on a black background, with which *Den'en ni shisu* [Death in the countryside], Terayama Shūji's second feature-length film, begins.[1] The scene is comprised of a series of odd juxtapositions between the vitality of young life and the still cold of the graves, between the playfulness and ambiguous potential inherent in childhood, the fear of the unknown of becoming, and the rigidity of pre-determined roles in adulthood; and between the audience expectation of full-color cutting-edge technology and the nostalgic sun-washed shadowy browns they are actually confronted with. These juxtapositions, their reversals of conventional temporal sensibilities, foreshadow the theme of uncertainty, re-visitation, and critique of the authority of the linear, grand historical narrative.

[1] The film's alternative French title, *Cache Cache Pastoral*, or "hide and seek pastoral," emphasizes the metaphor of this opening scene. *Den'en ni shisu* is also the name of an earlier work of poetry; however, I refer exclusively to the film throughout this chapter. Terayama Shūji, *Den'en ni shisu*, (Japan: ATG, 1974), DVD.

This is Terayama's opening statement: in this film, from this perspective, time is different than we have been trained to assume.

Den'en ni shisu splashes water over a world penned in ink; it smudges the lines between autobiography and fiction, confusing Terayama's personal history with that of the film's central character. The juxtaposition of the autobiographical and the literary that constitutes a central technique of this film was a common theme of Terayama's larger project. This will be the focus of the following chapter, but first let us take a look at how the film ties together the repeated themes of life and death, otherworldliness, home/origins, and time distortion, all while enacting a struggle between "reality" and personal experience.

The adult protagonist of *Den'en ni shisu* is a stand-in for the Terayama, a director who is in the process of editing the facts of his own autobiography in the medium of film-within-a-film. The metaphor of water—blurring, smudging—indexes the fluidity of transition between perspectival and temporal frames in the film, the saturation of color which tinctures these frames in gradation, and the wetness of the sexuality that is explored onscreen. Terayama's use of tincture, which expresses his poetic critique of temporality in the most visually-striking terms, is a colorful gesture toward instability and the simultaneity of emergent realit(ies). The revelation of a portal to hell beneath the floor mats of the protagonist's childhood home brings the clash between differing temporalities—the jarring unevenness of modern Japan—directly into the diegetic space itself, transforming that world into one in which life and death, childhood and adulthood all swirl around in a free exchange. This is an epistemology of subversion and constant revolution, in which the past never stays put in the past. *Den'en ni shisu* ultimately portrays a world in which the hegemony of progressive, linear, homogeneous time has been

broken and toppled, by presenting the viewer with a sequence of experiences on the screen which interplay via a confusion of temporal and geographical overlap.

The opening scene of hide and seek is followed by the credits, superimposed over video of landscapes representing the Osorezan [“mount dread”] area, a real location near Terayama’s childhood home where a significant portion of the film takes place. According to its mythology, Osorezan is bisected by a *sai no kawara*, literally a “riverbed of chance.” The *sai no kawara* is a border both separating and connecting the “this world” of the living and the “other world” of the dead. It is across this invisible divide which the souls of children travel after death. The collection of mountains is of geological interest for its bubbling sulfurous lakes and naturally smoking, parched, and graveled rocky face. It is not a difficult leap to associate such a landscape with a fiery, hellish otherworld, especially considering its location, as it seems to be hidden within a broader stretch of rolling, vital, lush green mountains.

The scene has transitioned from its initial sepia tones to full color film, and yet the palette conversely feels even more desiccated. A line of elderly *itako*, female spirit mediums, trudges across the bone-white mountain face, their pitch-black shapeless garb billowing in the wind. The actors representing the *itako* wear a single eye patch each: one eye in the world of the living, one in the world of the dead. Real-world *itako* too are visually impaired, granting them a special liminal existence and the ability to call the spirits of the dead from the otherworld to speak with the living. On screen, white pinwheels, offerings to the spirits of deceased children, wobble and spin in the gale. A man playing an upright bass stands between a tranquil pale blue lake and a large blood-red sulfurous puddle.

The shot with the man is incongruous with those which surround it in terms of subject material (*itako* are native to this landscape; the musician is presumably not); the contrast between

the female and male subjects, and the mobility and plurality of the former versus the inert and isolated latter; and the color pallet (the dry white gravel which dominated previous scenes is present only in the very bottom of this image). However, a sense of liminality is expressed here as well: in the stratified composition of the shot, marked by distinct horizontal layers of the blue sky, green mountains, black shadows, blue lake, white shore, red sulfur pond, and dry white ground. The portrayal of this area, with all of the dangers and alluring possibilities implied by the portal-like nature of its fable, is of a landscape chapped by wind, covered by smoke, and so void of vitality that even its depictions of water seem as if they are faded and worn: everything is sapped of color—even the lake appears dry.

Near the midpoint of the film, the coherence of the narrative progression (and the viewer's assumptions about the nature of the diegetic world) is abruptly disrupted as the "film reel" ends and the camera draws back to reveal a projection room, this time shot in conventional black and white. The viewer discovers that she has been watching a film within a film, a reel within the real, and that the status of these nested ontologies has already been partly established through a division between full-color, black and white, and sepia cinematography. Ironically it is the ostensibly "real," the present, which is monochrome, and the mediated universe of the autobiographical fiction which is in color.[2] We are no longer in the countryside, but in the Tokyo narrative "frame" for the film as a whole. The director stand-in for Terayama is shown in the throes of the creation of his own autobiography. His present-tense story takes place in a sober urban reality, characterized by billowing film-noir smoke and a kind of monochrome dryness that ensures to us its documentary integrity in contrast to the backdrop of the fantastic movie-world set in rural Aomori. After leaving the projection room, the director and his mentor visit a

[2] This in itself is an interesting reversal of conventional cinematic technique, in which the more "realistic" color footage might be associated with "reality," versus the monochrome distortion, which might represent something other, unreal, or invented.

drinking establishment and engage in a protracted philosophical discussion concerning the nature of dreams and reality. This scene, also shot in monochrome, is so strongly dominated by shadows that the two actors can be seen only in silhouette, lit sparsely from above. The smoke from their cigarettes alone is clearly visible, recalling the earlier representations of bubbling, seething Osorezan, and creating the effect of an ethereal non-place. The "present" in which the director exists is a space of ambiguity, a non-place devoid of content. It is within the hazy indeterminacy of the present in which history—his autobiography—is actively being created and re-edited. Later in the film the present-time middle-aged director travels to Aomori in the past, the Aomori in the film, creating a temporal ouroburos: the present moves into the past, bringing the past into the present, the distinctions of linear time collapse in upon themselves, resulting in an emergent, imminent, reality more real and more colorful than the "present."

The scenes in which the color has been faded out—scenes which unilaterally seem to exist out-of-time, like the opening hide and seek sequence—contrast strongly with the director's portrayal of himself as a youth. These scenes are shot in full color and located unambiguously in the non-present. Color saturation is particularly emphasized during scenes at the fantastic *misemono* [freak show] carnival that visits his boyhood town. Each of these scenes is shot using a combination of colored filters over the camera lens, saturating the frame with one of several combinations of warm reds, yellows, and greens. The effect is dreamy: it is hot, wet, and erotic. The director literally portrays his personal history, his most dreamlike of memories, through a literally rose-tinted lens. The narrative elements of these compartmentalized *misemono* vignettes, which seem to lack any direct connection to the rest of the film, corroborates this reading: scenes at the carnival focus on the sexual promiscuity of the Strong Man, his rejection of the Fat Lady, and her dalliance with the Dwarf. When the Youth finally screws up the courage to enter the

dense, moist, atmosphere of the tent, he is also drawn into sexual contact with the Fat Lady—although the scene ultimately ends with a disappointing demonstration of his impotence. The heady wetness of the images communicated via the lush coloring and suggestive narrative distorts the reality of that world, just as the "freakish" bodies of its population do.

The final scene of the film acts out Terayama's thesis in a frightening manner. The director, who has been actively rewriting his past throughout the frame film, has decided to attempt to murder his own mother inside the film-within-the-film. To do this, he steps into the surreal space of his filmic creation, effectively returning to Aomori to his birth home, to his mother's side, to the past. He finds himself unable to commit the deed, and instead reverts to a childlike self, completely dominated by the mother in this natal realm. In an extended final shot, the two sit on the floor in a dark wooden room beneath a domineering wall clock, facing each other across two trays of food.[3] As they eat, voiceover narration defines the place and time: December 10, 1935 (Terayama's birthdate), the Shinjuku district of Tokyo (not Aomori, where we expect it to be).[4] Suddenly the wooden background wall falls flat, revealing a bustling city block populated by the actors who appeared throughout the film. In that instant, all of the various isolated worlds developed within the narrative up to that point collapse into one: the Aomori house (the same one containing the portal to the underworld) is re/located in Tokyo; the present-time director and his historical-time mother coexist in a 1935 scene taking place in what is clearly contemporary, postwar Japan; and the distinction between the director in the film and

[3] The clock, in Terayama's work, often represents a central oppressive authority: here, clearly the director has failed to overcome the domination of his mother, and must end his film sitting servile beneath this symbol of his oppression. See: Steven C. Ridgely, *Japanese Counterculture: The Antiestablishment Art of Terayama Shūji* (Minneapolis, MN, USA: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xvi.

[4] This scene produces a strikingly similar effect to that of Terayama's final poem before his death, "Natsukashi no wagaya" [my dear home], in which he conflates his birth and death into a single moment, a single connected process. See discussion below for greater detail.

Terayama himself is further disturbed by the invocation of Terayama's real-life birth date as a clear point of origin posited in (a now meaningless) contrast to the "present."

Den'en ni shisu is strongly performative of the ethical praxis for which Terayama advocated to postwar youth, the focus of the remainder of this chapter. The aim of this praxis was to critique establishmentarian ideologies and create the conditions for a constant revolution within everyday life. Terayama's creative philosophy aligns with much of the project of the postwar avant-garde, and his works of drama, performance art, and film have already been well-placed within that narrative.[5] In the following pages I continue that work by narrowing the focus onto Terayama's autobiographical works and pursuing the specific question of how he articulated his critique of history to postwar youth.

TERAYAMA SHŪJI'S DEPARTURES

What would it mean for home to be divorced from place? For origins to be denied their assumed relation to an irrecoverable and distant past? How could one conceptualize *furusato* as something neither temporally nor spatially distant, as Terayama ironically portrays it in the film, and what would be at stake in such a reformulation? Terayama Shūji—a man whose project "questioned the primacy of origins" and "frequently revised his biography"—took up this issue in his art throughout his career, and provides a compelling set of answers.[6]

[5] See: Ridgely; Miryam Sas, *Experimental Arts in Postwar Japan: Moments of Encounter, Engagement, and Imagined Return* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Carol Fisher Sorgenfrei, *Unspeakable Acts: The Avant–Garde Theatre of Terayama Shūji and Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005). Although many of the articles are more anecdotal than critical in nature, a special issue of *Butai Hyōron* was recently devoted to emplacing Terayama into the landscape of his *furusato*, conceived in radically different ways by the various authors. Mori Shigeya, "Kokyō to ha nanika: Terayama Shūji no yuigon," *Butai Hyōron*, Vol. 2 (2005): 66–148.

[6] Taro Nettleton, "Children of the Revolution: Shuji Terayama against family and country" in *Modern Painters,* September (2007): 48.

Although many of the "facts" of his biography have been called into question, it may yet be helpful to preface the following reading by looking at some of Terayama's personal narrative, and considering his writings on *furusato* (sometimes *kokyō*). Terayama was born in 1935 to mother Hatsu and father Hachirō. His father worked as a police detective, resulting in frequent relocations of the family residence, as well as long periods of absence from the home.[7] He ultimately perished from dysentery in 1945 on assignment on the isle of Celebes, the same year that Terayama and his mother survived a massive and deadly air raid on Aomori-city.[8] Hatsu worked throughout the war and participated in what would remain in Terayama's mind a questionable line of employment in the service sector of the Misawa air base during the beginning of the US occupation. Later, when Terayama was thirteen and in middle school, Hatsu would entrust him to live with relatives so that she could go off to work on an air base in distant Kyūshū.[9]

The frequent and prolonged absence of both parents during Terayama's childhood seems to have seeded the idea of abandonment and the lack of an identifiable stable point of origin in his mind. In her book, Sorgenfrei conducts a psychoanalytical reading of Terayama's biography, linking it to much of his corpus, by borrowing from Kosawa Heisaku's "Ajase complex" theory. The Ajase complex is proposed as an alternative model to the oedipal complex, more suitable to Japanese subjects than western ones, as it accounts for the "powerful presence of matricentric images in Japanese myth, legend, theatre, and literature…[which] often depict a family

[7] Hatsu records a number of these relocations during Terayama's early life: a move to Goshogawara and then to Namioka when he was two, to Aomori city then to Hachinohe and back to Aomori again when he was five, and then to Komaki in Misawa after the firebombing and utter destruction of Aomori city. Terayama Hatsu, *Haha no hotaru: Terayama Shūji ni iru fūkei* (Japan: Chūō bunko, 1990), 14, 17, 21, 24, 36.
[8] Ridgely, xix. Both Sorgenfrei and Nettleton suggest that he was killed in Manchuria sometime after 1941. Sorgenfrei, 26; Nettleton, 48.
[9] Sorgenfrei, 26–8.

dominated by the mother-child relationship, with a father who is absent or impotent…."[10] The Ajase myth is a somewhat complex tale in which a royal mother and son alternately attempt to murder each other, both become outcast from society, and are forced into a powerful bond of forgiveness and mutual dependence. Sorgenfrei stops short of Kosawa's claims that this myth may be fruitfully applied across the better part of Japanese culture, but does identify its strong resonances with Terayama's biography.[11] Considering the dominant maternal portrayal of *furusato*, however, it is easy to understand the appeal of this theory in interpreting popular *furusato* discourse, which tends to flatten and homogenize the "Japanese" subject within the ethnic-national frame. The figure of Hatsu dominated Terayama's life: she followed him to Tokyo after his literary success and cohabitated with his wife after they married, and on at least one occasion apparently attempted to murder them by arson.[12] After Terayama's death she continued to exert formidable control over his intellectual estate, and even after her own death has been interned in the very same tomb, above her son's ashes, "finally [attaining] complete domination of her son's life and death."[13]

In a word, for Terayama the family that is so essential to the conventional discourses of *furusato* —expressed so often via the mother-image in particular—was a domineering, threatening, and repressive force throughout his life. Rather than a place of fond memory,

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[10] Sorgenfrei, 59–61.

[11] Sorgenfrei does not seem to want to advocate for a kind of identity–politics essentialism by which all Japanese psyches may be read through a single metaphor; rather, she is responding to what appears to be a preponderance of mother/son–focused narratives (in contrast to triangular oedipal–based narratives) in Terayama's artistic production. Yet the allusion to other Japanese works with similar tendencies must be taken with a grain of salt. Sorgenfrei's easy adoption of the nativised discourse of "*amae*," a concept of (maternal) dependency originating in Japanese exceptionalism, is also closely connected with her use of the Ajase complex. Sorgenfrei, 59–61.

[12] *Den'en ni shisu* incidentally contains a fantasy of immolating the director's mother in her home, a curious rewriting of real–life events that may reflect the subconscious drives of the Ajase Complex.

[13] Sorgenfrei, 50. Hatsu offered up her own defense against this witch–like portrayal in the form of a memoire, published in 1990, after Terayama's death. Her portrayal of their relationship is strikingly different: it is one of a loving relationship, and of her self–sacrifice in the name of her son. The book also includes a number of candid photos of Terayama and memorabilia, including a Mother's Day card offering appreciation of his "kind mother." Terayama Hatsu, *Haha no hotaru*.

warmth, and support, this was a place of fractured families, death, and the haunting of a vengeful-spirit in the form of his mother. The themes of skewed familial relations and matricide guide much of Terayama's creative work. Indeed, as addressed above, the plot of *Den'en ni shisu* is strongly driven by the Youth's attempt to flee from his rural home to Tokyo and the director's machinations to murder his mother with a hand scythe.

Terayama's experience growing up in Aomori clearly did not provide the stable basis from which a nostalgic attachment to a conventional *furusato* image could grow. As a result of both his father's occupation and because of various difficult circumstances brought on by the war, the family transitioned through a series of different living spaces over the years, never staying in one location for a significant enough stretch of time to create a strong and meaningful sense of belonging or attachment to place. Additionally, there was no stable family structure: Terayama's father was often absent, and passed away while he was still a child; Hatsu left her son in middle school to work for the Americans. Terayama's ex-wife and producer Kujō Kyōko cites this incomplete memory of home as the cause for the distress in their marriage. Without having the received experience of a functional and stable domestic life to reproduce, Terayama had no other choice but to improvise.[14] Kujō recalls his relationship with his acting troupe Tenjō Sajiki as something like that of a surrogate family, a household into which he took in all manners of homeless youth and societal outcasts.[15] In this sense, Terayama brought the family-as-*furusato* with him, or rather re-created it in Tokyo, maintaining it in his present moment rather than keeping it bound up in the memory of the past.

[14] The lack or rejection of received form and the creativity of improvisatory action is fundamental to Terayama's manifesto of ethical praxis, as discussed in detail below.
[15] Kujō Kyōko and Mori Shigeya, "Terayama Shūji no giji kazoku" in *Butai Hyōron* volume 2, pp.66–77 (Japan: Tohoku Geijutsu Kōka Daigaku Tohoku Kenkyū Sentā, 2005), 67, 72.

Terayama is characteristically ambivalent when it comes to specifically identifying the geographic space of his *furusato*: was it Aomori prefecture, Mount Osore, or Tohoku in general, or Furumaki/Misawa where he lived during the early years of the occupation years? He writes in "Sanga ariki" [there were mountains and rivers] under the heading "Aomori to Watashi" [Aomori and me]: "Is it really that Aomori is my *kokyō*?? Does something of me yet remain in Aomori?? The answer is no, nothing. I have no house [*ie*], nor any family [*kazoku*] there….But Aomori created me. It seems like the only thing now 'still remaining' there are my personal experiences and my boyhood." He follows with a short anecdote about the fond memories he has for an aunt in Aomori whom he saw as a "proxy-mother."[16]

Here, despite having disavowed family and connection to Aomori in the pages immediately prior, he is deliberately linking a positive memory of a mother-figure with the idea of *furusato*. Terayama is thus in conversation with the popular discourse of *furusato* as a place of childhood and origins; however, he clarifies its assumptions: that *furusato* = origins only because something of himself is "still remaining" [nokosare**tearu**] there. This emphasis on remainder, identity, and experience is an important point to which I will return in a latter part of this chapter, but first I must turn to two additional sections of "Sanga ariki."

The first two sections of this collection of essays are called "*Kokyō*" and "*Wa ga kokyō*" [my *kokyō*].[17] The former opens with a musing on the nature of *kokyō* itself, followed by another (likely-apocryphal) childhood anecdote about capturing a butterfly, hiding it, and then neglecting to care for it. This anecdote is another allegory for the cyclical pursuit of *furusato*: the butterfly and the game of its capture representing ludic childhood, which is sequestered in a distanced

[16] "Aomori to watashi" was originally published in 1965, the same year as *Sengo shi* (cited and discussed at length below). Terayama Shūji, *Terayama Shūji Chosakushū*, vol. 4, eds. Yamaguchi Masao and Shiraishi Sei (Tokyo: Kuintessensu Shuppan, 2009), 95.
[17] "Kokyō" was originally published in 1970. The original publication date of "Wa ga kokyō" is unclear, but it was reprinted in 1983. The rest of "Sanga ariki" was published in 1975.

place. Terayama not only forgets to maintain his own past, but he forgets it specifically in a non-place place, in a locomotive which surreptitiously transports his origins (the butterfly) to new locations.

Reflecting on this episode, Terayama writes that:

> Every man has a kokyō. It is something women do not have.
>
> …Kokyō is something one can never return to, it is a thing that is always absent.
>
> Kokyō is neither the land [tochi] nor the people—it is something more ambiguous, something without a shape. Even if you could return to a place or home, every man knows that he cannot return to kokyō. Despite the nostalgic ring the word "kokyō" has—just the same as the word "sokoku" [ancestral lands]—it is impossible to know the thing's true form.18

While Terayama never explicates exactly what distinguishes men's and women's relationship with *furusato*, what he makes absolutely clear is that he assumes himself to have one. This *furusato* is constituted neither by a specific geographical place ("the land") or by family ("the people"), and the essence of which is ultimately inconceivable—for, if *kokyō* was a place or a person, then one could theoretically "return" to it, could theoretically delineate it within a static boundary or definition.[19] In this way, Terayama acknowledges how *sokoku, kokyō* and *furusato* exist in the past while extending some kind of influence over the present. At the same time, however, he seeks to challenge the power these concepts have in their hold over the here-and-now. He enervates these ideas by acknowledging their affective and emotional power while simultaneously negating their concrete and objective existence.

[18] Terayama, *Terayama Shūji Chosakushū*, vol. 4: 92.
[19] The distinction made between *furusato* as "people" and *furusato* as "place" mirrors a more archaic distinction between the "clan gods" [*ujigami*] and "tutelary gods" [*ubusuna*] elucidated by Hirata Atsutane. Both sets of deities evolve from ancestral spirits and are fitting analogues for the ghostly nature of *furusato*; the former expressed through connections with people/family, the latter with place/the land. Harry Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 207–210.

In the following essay, Terayama discusses what he calls "*Wa ga kokyō*" partly in terms of the geographic character of Aomori prefecture—this time tacitly acknowledging Aomori as his *furusato* while setting it up for an ironic redefinition. Aomori, located on the northern tip of Honshu, is defined by two large peninsulas protruding from its northern edge like two curved pincers: the Tsugaru peninsula to the west, and the Shimokita peninsula to the east. The western edge of the Shimokita peninsula flattens out into a broad hatched-like shape, according to Terayama poised to strike into the "central part of the cranium" of Tsugaru, into Aomori city nestled in the central bay between the two peninsulas, into "the place where I was born." He describes this state of tension, this murderous intent hung like a Damocles hatchet over his "birthplace," through the image of the brutal murder by axe of a defenseless old woman appearing in the pages of Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. One critical difference, however, is that in the case of Aomori's geography, both the perpetrator and victim of the crime would be of the same blood, of the same body, and "both of them are, simultaneously, my *kokyō*." Masochism, he argues, is inherent in the landscape—he claims that Aomori has long been ravaged by a high rate of the most horrific "crimes against kin" [*kinshin hanzai*].[20] Elsewhere, in his "lyrical-poetic autobiography," Terayama refers to "Aomori, the prefecture with the highest rate of blood-relation killings [*nikushin goroshi*]."[21] But he reflects that "I, who lost my father in the farthest reaches of the north, and who was discarded by my mother as a youth, could not keep up my hatred for each of them, and for some reason got into the habit of humming the popular tune '*Tokyo he yukō yo*' [let's go to Tokyo]."[22] It is in the moment of dispassion toward the past—Terayama's family and origins—in which he turns his attention forward, toward the future,

[20] Terayama, *Terayama Shūji Chosakushū*, vol. 4: 93–4.
[21] "Watashi jishin no shiteki jijoden," in Terayama Shūji, *Terayama Shūji hyōron shū: Shisō he no bōkyō* (Japan: Daikōsha, 1967), 64.
[22] Terayama, *Terayama Shūji Chosakushū*, vol. 4: 93–4.

toward Tokyo. It is in this manner that Terayama attempts to detach himself from a historical, geographically-distant point of origin, and relocate himself into the present.

WHO WOULDN'T THINK OF HOME?

The first of several of Terayama Shūji's major works of personal history is entitled *Tareka kokyō wo omohazaru: jijoden rashikunaku* [who wouldn't think of home? not your typical autobiography] and addresses this problem on a number of different levels. The work engages with his birth and upbringing, the itinerancy of his youth in Aomori, the experience of the postwar American occupation.[23] *Tareka…* began serialization in 1967, continued for thirty-seven installments, and has been colorfully described as "a queer autobiographical essay, a concoction of truth and fiction buried in every inch of it."[24] Despite the broad extent of Terayama scholarship in Japanese and its recent growing popularity in English-language academia, most attempts to make sense of this exceedingly diverse and eccentric figure focus on his poetry, dramatic works, and film. Stephen Ridgeley's comprehensive and important book carefully catalogues Terayama's actual biography, and focuses on Terayama's autobiographical works primarily in terms of seeking out their inaccuracies and deviations from the "truth." I intend to build on that perspective by asking how *Tareka…* and his other autobiographical works function as texts performing his ethical and artistic project, more interested in the poetic than objective "truth." Because Ridgeley, Sas, and other Terayama scholars have yet to address Terayama's artistic project to his prose works in particular, it is my intention to reframe his

[23] The prose has been published as a book with the title and subtitle switched, as well as sans subtitle. I do not cite the "collected works" version of *Tareka…* because it is abridged; however, for the sake of simplicity I do not refer use the reversed–order title that Kuritsubo has elected to use in the edition cited here. Terayama, Shūji, *Tareka Kokyō Wo Omohazaru: Jijoden Rashikunaku* (Japan: Kadokawa bunko, 1973).
[24] Akasaka Norio, "Shomotsu no umi wo watare: Henzai suru 'aka' no imēji," in *Mainichi Shinbun* (July 23, 2012), 17.

autobiographical writings in terms of literature rather than fact. This is a small but significant lacuna which the current investigation is intended to address. Terayama's most fundamental approach to the issue of autobiography—personal history or origins, and therefore in my reading, *furusato*—is to deny its conventional place as a past separate from the present, located in a distant geographic location.

The title of *Tareka…* is borrowed from that of a song written in 1940 by the famed popular song writer Saijō Yaso, and perhaps more accurately, one could say, from the vinyl record of Kirishima Noboru's performance of it.[25] In one episode early in the work, Terayama describes himself as a boy in Aomori during the final years of the war, with this tune constantly on the tip of his tongue:

「誰か故郷を想はざる」

花摘む野辺に　日は落ちて
みんなで肩を　組みながら
唄をうたった　帰りみち
幼馴染みの　あの友この友
あゝ誰か故郷を想わざる

ひとりの姉が　嫁ぐ夜に
小川の岸で　さみしさに
泣いた涙の　なつかしさ
幼馴染みの　あの山この川
あゝ誰か故郷を想わざる

都に雨の　降る夜は
涙に胸も　しめりがち
遠く呼ぶのは　誰の声
幼馴染みの　あの夢この夢
あゝ誰か故郷を想わざる

"Who wouldn't think of home?"

The sun sets upon the flower-picking field and
with our arms around each other's shoulders
we sang along the road home
This childhood friend and that one…
Ah…Who wouldn't think of home?

The night my only sister left to be wed…
fond remembrance of the tears I shed
for loneliness on the Ogawa Cliffs
Those mountains, that river, from so long ago
Ah…Who wouldn't think of home?

On rainy nights in the big city
tears so often stain my breast
Whose voice is calling from so far off?
This dream and that dream, from so long ago
Ah…Who wouldn't think of home?

[25] To differentiate between the song and the piece of prose writing, I put the former in quotations and the latter in italic font. Saijō Yaso, "Tareka kokyō wo omohazaru," sung by Kirishima Noboru, music composed by Koga Masao (Japan: Nippon Columbia, 1940).

Kirishima's tranquil and flowing vocal performance floats over a syncopated-rhythm backing provided by a *kayōkyoku* wind ensemble prominently featuring woodwinds with brass accents.[26] The song is written in a "*yo-na-nuki*" version of an A minor scale. *Yo-na-nuki* refers to a scale in which the *yo* [fourth] and *na* [seventh] pitches are eliminated, essentially refiguring a minor, western heptatonic scale into a pentatonic set somewhat similar to the *miyako-bushi in'onkai*, a common mode in urban shamisen music. Not only does the *yo-na-nuki* form inherently call back to a vision of "traditional," past Japan, but it was also wildly popular at the time. In a 1980 song popularity survey, the top ten scores went to songs in minor modes; over half were *yo-na-nuki*.[27] There is little in formal terms to make "Tareka…" stand out among other contemporary popular songs: it reflects the production apparatus of the age just as the lyrics reproduce a conventional narrative of *furusato*-in-modernity. In fact, the general pentatonic-esque harmonic form of this 1940 ballad remained common among the "group sounds" bands popular during the period when Terayama was writing about it over twenty years later.[28]

The song "Tareka…" participates in the mobilization of conventional discourses of *furusato* by narrating a story of loss: the increasing distance between the narrator's present urban life and memories of better days past. The song accomplishes this through its representation of *furusato* as geographically distant from the nostalgic urban subject (i.e. *furusato* is located in the countryside while the narrator is in the city) as well as temporally coded as past (in childhood).[29]

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[26] *Kayōkyoku* is a form of popular music with roots in the early Shōwa Period which combines conventional western composition techniques with Japanese vocal technique, particularly *kobushi*, a kind of exaggerated throaty vibrato.
[27] Shiozawa Minobu, *Uta ha omoide wo tsuretekuru: Showa no merodii, natsukashii uta* (Japan: Tenbō–sha, 2000), 98–99.
[28] Michael Bourdaghs, *Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon: A Geopolitical Prehistory of J–Pop* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 127.
[29] Indeed, the song is specifically identified with Kirishima Noboru's own *furusato*, the provincial Iwaki city in Fukushima prefecture of the Tohoku region by the erection of a stone inscription memorial. Tohoku is generally culturally coded as a "*furusato* of Japan," which has now been further threatened by the Great Tohoku Earthquake of

The song captured the hearts of wartime listeners through its nostalgic invocations of a warmer, safer, memory of *furusato*: the light, pastoral images of picking flowers in a field in the past become stained by tears of nostalgia, loneliness, and feelings of urban alienation in the present. Each verse progresses through the elaboration of a visual-image memory to an emotionally-tinged cry of "Who wouldn't think of home" (everyone thinks of home). The lyrics, written by Saijō Yaso, employ the ambiguous potential of the Japanese language by eliding concrete subject markers such that the listener may emotively identify with the song in the first-person, traveling from an idealized pastoral memory of childhood and family to a dreary, alienated, and dull urban present.

This narrative effect is amplified musically as well: the first four lines of verse are relatively melodically unadorned, whereas the last line is characterized by an intensification of volume, a melismatic elaboration (sixteenth-note runs on a single syllable) of the "ah…" and latter half of the word "*kokyō,*" as well as an exaggerated kobushi-style vibrato (represented in the score below by grace notes). Additionally, there is a rhythmic-structural change: each of the first three lines is a regular 7-5 syllabic pattern common to Japanese song and poetry and is sung over six measures of 2/4 time, a rate of twelve syllables per sixteen beats. The fourth line is a 7-8 pattern and is sung quickly over four measures, a rate of fifteen syllables per eight beats. The concluding line contains a 5-5 pattern sung over approximately eight bars, a rate of ten syllables per sixteen beats. In other words, the distribution of syllables-per-measure changes drastically throughout the verse: after establishing a moderate pace in the first three lines, it rapidly accelerates in the fourth, and ultimately recedes back to a languorous *rubato* stretching out the

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2011 and ongoing Fukushima nuclear disaster. See: *Iwaki City Official Web Site* <http://www.city.iwaki.fukushima.jp> (10 December, 2012); Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity Phantasm Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 68–73, 102–3; Jennifer Robertson, *Natives and Newcomers: Making and Remaking a Japanese City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 13–14.

"ah," "ko*kyō*," and "omo*wa-za-ru*" of the concluding line. The intensification of the tempo and dramatic suspension of the last line increases the affective punch of the song, performing the drama of the subject suddenly caught up in the whirl of city life before becoming overwhelmed by a pathetic nostalgia for the stability of the first twelve bars of the verse.

The musical elements of each individual stanza drive home the three-verse narrative structure in which feelings of loss and alienation gradually take over. In the first verse we are greeted by a sweet and carefree memory of childhood: picking flowers and singing with friends—an image generic enough to be vaguely relatable to practically any listener. This is followed by an empathetic description of the feelings of loss and separation from family entailed by growing up and moving away from one's natal home—both the narrator and the sister are now "alone." In the climactic third verse, we are brought into the narrator's present, separated now from family and hometown, the narrator's only company provided by the phantom voices of the "big city." Indeed, even the fourth-line trope performs this act of distancing, as the narrator's recollection moves from the concrete and human—friends and landscape elements—in the first two verses to ephemeral and abstract dreams. In both sonic and poetic terms, "Tareka…" seems to perfectly replicate the discourses of *furusato*-in-modernity which have come to dominate the way we understand and construct it in the present day.

"Tareka…," as a physical record, employs modern technologies of mass-production. One reading of the phonograph record easily places it in service to the capitalistic ideology of the modern nation-state and narrative of nostalgia explained above.[30] This aspect exists not only in

[30] The following reading attempts to strike a balance between two readings, two possible effects, of the technology—following Walter Benjamin's ambivalence displayed toward the mechanical reproduction of art. In his famous essay, Benjamin wavers between declarations that "technological reproducibility emancipates the work of art from its parasitic subservience to ritual," democratizing and liberating it from the cult of aura; while recognizing that the same technologies "train human beings in the apperceptions and reactions needed to deal with a vast apparatus whose role in their lives is expanding almost daily." Film, and other mass-media insinuate themselves into the listening public's perceptive faculties, "reception in distraction" covertly training them "through habit." Walter

the obvious surface form of the commercial mass production and distribution of the physical vinyl records which played a foundational role in the creation of the modern music industry, but through the mass reproducibility of the song's sonic form as well. The regular repetition of the record player, like that of the clock or metronome, constitutes a difference from a "premodern" organic or cyclical time-sensibility and a shift toward a mechanical-progressive one; the mass production and mass marketing of these technologies contribute to a permeation of the national music-scape by this new time sensibility. I have already discussed this in depth in the previous chapter. These processes of modernization and massification subsequently contribute to the altering of the time-structure of the public's everyday lives, changing the way they perceive (and calculate) time itself. Walter Benjamin famously describes this altered perception as a shift to "homogeneous, empty time"; time as an infinite line awaiting fulfillment by historical events. This overlaps with Harootunian's critique of the "time of capital," discussed in the previous chapter, a chronological "imperialism" which attempts to flatten the temporal unevenness derivative of the division of labor across a globalizing economy.[31] The regularity and invariability of the record player fits within a paradigm of parceling the day into units of productivity, here: revolutions-per-minute. The regular repetition of mechanically-reproduced sound structures time in a similar manner to the clock—specifically to the factory clock, connected to the bell-signal which marks the beginning and end of the work-shift. In this way, the mechanical spinning of the record, of the hands around the clock face, participate in training the listener into a capitalize-able time sense. Benjamin contrasts such linearity with a pre-ideological time sensibility based on rhythmic agricultural and cosmic cycles where past "history"

Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility, Second Version" in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, vol. 3, ed. Michael Jennings, 101-133 trans. Edmund Jephcott and Harry Zohn (Cambridge: Belknap, 2004), 106, 108, 120.

[31] Harry Harootunian, "Remembering the Historical Present," *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 33, no. 3 (Spring 2007), 473, 474.

is reduced to the "Messianic," a time of distant pastness understood in terms wholly apart from the present.[32]

This mechanical time is also an ideological time-sense in service to the nation-state. In his analysis of the history of the nation-idea, Benedict Anderson finds homogeneous time to be a fundamental condition for national formation: nation-states are framed within a homogeneous time into which their narratives unfold; the emplacement of the nation within an elongated schematic of past-present-future legitimizes it within its own terms of community constituted within a national history.[33] Through the course of repeated auditionings of the record, the regulating and regular beat of the wind ensemble soaks into the subject, and the rhythmical elements become subordinated to the regular tick of the metronome, the natural to the mechanical, the human to the ideological.[34]

"TAREKA" AND *TAREKA*, A TERAYAMA-ESQUE APPROPRIATION

The entire force of the reading of "Tareka…" above suggests that it, and Terayama's appropriation of it, is an utterly conventional appendage of the project of modernity: sonically and textual-lyrically, it reproduces the quintessentially modern longing for *furusato*-origins complicit in the nation-state project of homogenizing the national citizenry, while simultaneously utilizing new technologies to interpellate listening subjects into a progressive-capitalist ideological time-sense. The longing for *furusato* performed by this record colludes with the

[32] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, edited by Hannah Arendt, translated by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 261–64.
[33] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised ed. (New York: Verso, 2006), 26.
[34] John Mowitt elaborates on the interpellative power of a similar musical technique: the backbeat, a repetitious convention of rock music which "tells the body where to be," how to dance and how to march: John Mowitt, *Percussion: drumming, beating, striking* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 30–1.

establishment's program of control, and actively operates in aid of the reproduction of the (new) status quo.

The question then becomes why would Terayama choose to appropriate this song for the title of his autobiography? Why would Terayama, already well-associated with the avant-garde, iconoclasm, the underground, with subversion of patriarchy and hierarchy, and rejection of national, sexual, and body-normative categories appropriate such an obviously conservative text? The answer, unsurprisingly, is that he twists it, transforming it into a parody of itself in his characteristic "90-degree turn away from the square establishment," in a performative struggle with the terms of history and personal pastness implicated in the word *furusato*.[35] In the remainder of this chapter I page through Terayama's *Tareka kokyō wo omohazaru: jijoden rashikunaku* and other essayistic writings in an attempt to piece together his critique of history, so often articulated through the invocation of the evergreen metaphor of *furusato*.

Terayama describes listening to and singing "Tareka…" early on in a chapter called "The Garden," which begins as follows:

> My father was called into service, and when he was sent to the Mudan River in Manchuria our line of communication was completely cut off. At that time my mother and I were staying on the second floor of a lodging house located behind the Ura-machi train station in Aomori-city. I was fond of the song "*Tareka kokyō wo omohazaru*" and sang it quite often….
>
> …I only had a single worn-down record, which I would take to a barbershop two whole *chō* [over 200 meters] away and have them play it for me. There was a Victor portable record player on the second floor, and I would have to grind the crank whenever Kirishima Noboru's voice started slowing down. The handle squeaked, and then the record would return to its original speed. "We sang along the road home / This childhood friend and that one… / Ah…Who wouldn't think of home?"[36]

In typical fashion, Terayama rejects the capitalistically-interpellated reading of the record player as an archetypal symbol of modernity and its mechanical division of labor-time suggested above.

[35] See: Ridgely, *Japanese Counterculture*; Terayama, *Tareka…*, xiv.
[36] Terayama, *Tareka…*, 19–20.

His deployement of the media and its text is more layered, emphasizing similar complexities in his representation of its time-sense as Henri Lefebvre's contemporary critique.

While Lefebvre concurs with the transformation in the social perception of time as a result of the spread of mechanical clock-time, he critiques it using a different vocabulary. By reading the phenomenon via his theory of "rhythmanalysis," he describes a proportional dissonance between linear repetition (progressive time) and cyclical rhythm (pre-ideological time):

> Cyclical repetition and the linear repetitive separate out under analysis, but in *reality* interfere with one another constantly. The cyclical originates in the cosmic, in nature....The linear would come rather from social practice, therefore from human activity....The circular course of the hands on (traditional) clock-faces and watches is accompanied by a linear tick-tock. And it is their relation that enables or rather constitutes the measure of time (which is to say, of rhythms).[37]

In other words, the experiences of the linear and the cyclical are layered in a messy, blended experience.[38] This is particularly true of analog technologies, which often provide a circular visual referent as part of their mechanical-repetitive function: the winding hands of the clock face, the spinning record, the unspooling of a roll of film. Terayama's choice to focus on the record, and his frequent use of clocks on stage and film, muddy an over-simplistic, unidirectional switch from pre-modern to national-capitalistic time.[39] Terayama's synchronic time-sense highlights unevenness in the temporal landscape in order to critique the hegemony of the nation-state.[40]

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[37] Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life*, translated by Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (New York: Continuun, 2004), 8.

[38] This is not at all unlike the simultaneously cyclical/seasonal and teleological metamorphic historiography of Oswald Spengler, directly cited by Terayama and discussed below.

[39] According to Ridgeley's reading, clocks often represent the fascism of form, the chains of social institutions. Ridgeley, xvi. It is thus compelling that according to his mother's account, the only identifiable object remaining of the family home in the aftermath of the Aomori air raid was the charred remains of a clock. This item was used to identify "our home" [*wa ga ya*], the symbol of the family institution and common target of Terayama's critique. Terayama Hatsu, 32.

[40] See Chapter 1 for more detailed discussion of Harootunian's concept of unevenness.

Thus, for Terayama, the record player is in fact not a tool of unlimited, perfect reproducibility, of regimented repetition. Instead he emphasizes the noise, the excess, inherent in the physical record: it is "worn-down" from use, and as the machine runs out of steam the audio playback becomes distorted. This record is *not* an immutable "record" of the past, but a living artifact which is altered by every instance it is made to perform. As the child Terayama touches his hand to the crank, re-vitalizing the machine's mechanical heart along with an improvisatory squeak-squeaking accompaniment, he brings the dead "record" of the past back to life and into the present moment. The phonograph becomes an appendage of Terayama's body; no longer is it sonic re-production, but an active, embodied performance. The needle drags along, abrading the record's surface and sounding at variable pitches and speeds, denying the record player of its symbolic status as a function of empty repetition, and suggesting something more rhythmical, more improvisatory, more present. Terayama's use of the vinyl record, his emphasis on its physicality as a portal to contact with the reality of the present resonates closely with Kittler's psychoanalytical media theory. The theory posits the phonograph as the media closest to the Lacanian Real, the most unmediated media. Kittler's analysis points to how textual, sonic, and visual media each correspond to Lacan's Symbolic, Real, and Mirror stages respectively. The fact that the analog phonographic technology that Terayama employs operates purely through a chain of physical contact between the reverberating throat, air, phonograph needle, record, and then back again to the eardrum during audition, means that there is no layer of mental coding and decoding separating the initial pressing and subsequent listening.[41] This constant and necessary contact between the past and the present, this thing-becoming, is fundamental to Terayama's critique of history and ultimately to his re-imagination of the *furusato* idea as a whole. This

[41] Friedrich Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop–Young and Micheal Wutz (California: Stanford University Fresh, 1999), 3–4.

cross-temporal contact is an earlier incarnation of that flux discussed at the beginning of this chapter in reference to the film *Den'en ni shisu*.

AN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF TERAYAMA'S CRITIQUE OF HISTORY

The revolutionary re-conception of time illustrated in these *furusato*-oriented examples lays the foundation for a broader political critique of history-as-modern-time and the nation-state it props up. Terayama frames his critique of history (and his approach to the category of autobiography or personal history) in the second chapter of *Tareka…*, "Emesis" [*Ōto*], through the invocation of the philosophy of Oswald Spengler (1880-1936). Spengler is best known for his impressive two-volume opus *The Decline of the West: Form and Actuality*, published in German between 1918 and 1923. It was translated into English in 1926 and 1928, and again into Japanese, piecemeal, between 1926 and 1927.[42] The epic work proposes a morphological/physiognomic approach to history which considers culture to rise organically out of its moment rather than existing as a consequence of a long chain of cause and effect. The idea is that "cultures" develop in stages (he uses the metaphor of "seasons"), such that parallels can be traced between "Western," "Classical," "Chinese," "Indian," and other "cultures" at different points in history. Extensive comparative analysis of different civilizations leads him to the conclusion that all great cultures grow, mature, and perish like living organisms, and that Western Europe had already passed its cultural apogee.[43] While Spengler's thesis attracts and retains attention for its characteristic pessimistic prophecy and polemic nature, it is his pseudo-

[42] Subsequent citations will draw only from the English translation: Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West: Form and Actuality*, trans. Charles Francis Aktinson (New York: Knopf, 1926); Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West: Form and Actuality* [seiyō no botsuraku], trans. Muramatsu Masatoshi (Japan: Hihyō–sha, 1926–7).

[43] See, e.g., Northrop Frye, "'The Decline of the West' by Oswald Spengler Author," in *Daedalus* 103, no. 1 (1974): 1–3.

scientific methodology of "physiognomy" which exercised the most significant impact upon Terayama's philosophy.

Physiognomy is a tool Spengler uses to distinguish his historical approach from conventional historical positivism, and is subsequently the reason why his work was controversial for some and outright rejected by many. He makes this distinction first by elaborating a series of binary terms: "The means whereby to identify dead forms is Mathematical Law. The means whereby to understand living forms is Analogy. By these means we are enabled to distinguish polarity and periodicity in the world." In these few sentences he sets up the primary elements of his larger project: "dead forms" versus "living forms"; "Mathematical Law" versus "Analogy." These are be supplemented by "nature" versus "history" and "things-become" versus "things-becoming."[44] While Spengler's rhetorical diversity at times ends up obfuscating his argument, there are definite parallels between these terms, and it is clear that he intends an equivalency between dead forms = mathematics = nature = things-become (=space), and between living forms = analogy = history = things-becoming (=time).[45] The "nature" here is not of the organic or primordial, but that of natural science, scientific law. Nature, like mathematics, is immutable; that which is not susceptible to change: it is things-become (past-tense). Conversely, "history" is cultural or poetical; a human supplement to nature, it represents dynamism and evolution: things-becoming. Because it is always interpreted through subjective human framing, history exists in the present-tense. It is just as Terayama cites from Japanese translation of Spengler, that "nothing of the past can exceed the status of metaphor" [*sariyuku issai ha hiyu ni suginai*]; the work of the poet and the historian are one and the same. The problem of history, more than anything else, is choosing the appropriate metaphor (or analogy); his analysis led him

[44] Spengler, 5–6.
[45] Yoshida Mitsugu, "Terayama Shūji to Shupengurā," in *Terayama Shūji Kenkyū*, no. 3. (Japan: The International Society of Shuji Terayama, 2009), 202–3.

to conclude that "Western culture" was the accurate frame, rather than that of "Germany" or "Europe."[46] The problem Terayama faced when approaching his autobiography was also one of frame: precisely, "how close [he] should approach to writing a history [rather] than to how close [he] should approach to nature."[47] Judging by the sometimes surreal contents of his work, Terayama clearly erred toward the former, in the direction of the interpretive rather than the descriptive. In this light, the true weight of Spengler's intervention was certainly not his pre-envisioning of the fall of the Third Reich, but the re-positioning of history outside the realm of science and objectivity, and into a mode in which the subjectivity of the historian is central to his process in the present moment.

Connections can be made between Spengler's philosophy of history, philosophies concerning the nature of time, and Terayama's appropriation of both. For instance, Henri Bergon's theory of "duration" argues that consciousness of the passage of time requires the intervention of memory (the past) into the present: "If consciousness is aware of anything more than positions, the reason is that it keeps the successive positions in mind and synthesizes them." In other words, diachronic movement can only be processed by compiling sequences of memories of past instances together in the present moment of cognition.[48] For Spengler, history-as-becoming utilizes the same faculties as time-consciousness: a rendering of the past within present consciousness. By employing this morphological approach to history, he implicitly rejects a progressive capitalistic time-sense which would locate progression outside of a spectating subject, just as Bergson does: "…succession exists solely for a conscious spectator."[49] This exposes the artificial nature of the "empty" or "homogeneous" time of which Benjamin is

[46] Frye, 1-2.
[47] Terayama, *Tareka…*, 10.
[48] Henri Bergson, *Time and Free Will: An Essay on the Immediate Data of Consciousness*, trans by F. L. Pogson (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), 111.
[49] Bergson, 108.

so critical. Homogeneous time is a predicate of teleological progressivism, which assumes an empty and infinite timeline waiting to be filled up with events. History, he argues in contrast, must lay outside of homogeneous time and in the here-and-now.[50] However, when we were to remove history into the space of the here-and-now and consider it in terms of a thing-becoming, the nation-concept is reduced to an incoherent hallucination, a mere accident of circumstance lacking serious justification for continued existence. Stephen Ridgely posits this opposition in terms of diachronic and synchronic time orientations, and argues that Terayama's oeuvre developed throughout his career in the direction of the latter.[51]

Terayama's *Sengo shi* [Postwar poetry], originally published in 1965, grapples with this problem using the language of "geography" (=things-become) versus "history" (=things-becoming) in a section called "*Watashi ha chiri ga suki data*" [I used to like geography].[52] I cite it at length here because Terayama uses it to simultaneously address the issues of place and history with which *furusato* is so entangled:

> I Used to Like Geography
>
> The Anti-History Ideal
>
> I have always hated history classes ever since I was very little.
>
> In them, the teacher merely either recited the events of "days gone by" or had us strain our ears to catch wisps of "days that may, perhaps, come to be"; they were never concerned with things progressing in the present moment. Of course, my history teacher did not attempt to narrate the past by stripping it away from the present.
>
> That meant in class he was always talking about "things that were once in the present tense," talking about things that were yet living and casting their shadows over me. By extrapolating the present from the depth of those shadows, Teacher attempted to bring a sense of actuality to the history class. Past and present are inseparably attached, like the

[50] Benjamin, 261.
[51] Ridgely, xv.
[52] Terayama Shūji, *Sengoshi: Yurishiizu no fuzai* (Japan: Kōdansha, 2013).

> head and tail of a ten-yen coin, their totality formed only by the presence of both—I was absolutely sure of this.
>
> "Come, let me show you," I recall Teacher saying, "I am holding in my hand one goose feather. I drop this from my hand to the desk. It fell. An event of just an instant. But—the thing called 'the goose-quill pen upon my hand' has already ceased to exist. Do you understand? That the past is not an existence, but an event."
>
> His expression was fairly persuasive. I fondly remember how he (who was once a member of the then-illegal communist party) would explain to us in class that "History is the womb from which the present is given birth," and talk with us after class, all of us huddled around a heater.
>
> "Teacher, I don't think I like history," I said. "I prefer geography. I want to think that the world is completely a geographical existence. Rather than thinking in terms of nation-states, it is leagues more innovative to think in terms of the land itself [tochi], and furthermore it feels more human to me."
>
> "But," Teacher responded, "there's no such thing as a land without history. It's not like you are free to go anywhere just because you want to.
>
> "Sometimes you can't even go to a town that's only a few minutes away by foot. Does geography explain the reasons for that to you?"[53]

The thought experiment with the quill pen is significant: it attempts to demonstrate that the past is not an existence, but an event. The only thing that exists [*sonzai suru*] is the thing of the present. Ridgely reads a turn to a synchronic conception of time in Terayama's essay; not a rejection of history per se, but a positioning within multiple diachronic times that allows for critical reimagining. He argues that this was a method Terayama employed to delegitimize nation-states, for "when considered synchronically…the 'imagined community' is no longer imagined, and therefore ceases to exist."[54] *Furusato* was metonymically positioned in nationalistic postwar discourse as a representation of the nation, and so Terayama's synchronic critique of *furusato* transposes over to the nation as well. If *furusato* was conventionally a narrative of a community based on historical association, the claim of emergent, synchronic time

[53] Terayama, *Sengo shi*, 71–2.
[54] Ridgely, xv–xvi.

brings that history into the present while simultaneously dissolving the historical bonds which provided its identity.

The specific wording of the quill pen experiment is also important. Terayama criticizes what he feels as the irrelevancy of diachronic historical narratives which propound upon "things that were once in the present tense." He had no interest in "Kusunoki Masahige and Prince Shōtoku, Georgiy Valentinovich Plehanov and Lenin" because "they, all 'historical figures,' were people who were already dead and whom [he] could never encounter." Instead, he speaks of geography, which he thought of as a portal to authenticity, something unmediated by the vagaries of historical narrative, "a pronoun representing 'direct life' [*chokusetu no sei*]."[55] So, as mentioned above, when Terayama writes of Aomori in "Sanga ariki" as *furusato*, it is in terms of what of him is "still remain**ing**" [nokosare**tearu**] there. This same "-tearu" inflection of the verb refers to a continuing state or existence, but resulting from something beyond the speaker's intention or knowledge; thus, *furusato* must exist synchronically with the subject—*furusato* is not the past (where it would be reduced to an "event"), but the "shadow" of the past still cast over the present, constitutive of it, and still very much alive.

This turn toward synchronic time, aided by Spengler's theory of history as things-becoming, is reproduced again and again in Terayama's critical and fictional writing. For example, he re-articulates this perspective in *Sengoshi* in a book-length diatribe against the postwar Japanese literary establishment. While advocating for art which does/is things-becoming [*naru*], he lambasts his contemporaries for writing from a state of "death," things-become [*aru*, lit. "inanimate being"].[56] He establishes these charges by surveying a sample of postwar poetry,

[55] Terayama, *Sengoshi*, 71–2.
[56] Terayama, *Sengoshi*, 23. This attack is leveled at the *Arechi* [wasteland] poets, who are known for having repeatedly invoked the phrase "I am dead." Naoki Sakai interprets this statement to be a performance of the act of enunciation: "…in order for an enunciation to bring about signification, the subject of enunciation must be erased,

identifying a thematic trend in which poets use their art to reproduce the conditions of the immediate postwar, using their art to create stasis rather than becoming. Often this entails literally narrating from the perspective of a dead subject. Death is a non-subject position from which poets can no longer create: they are "passive" [*kyakutaiteki*, lit. object-] instead of "active" [*shutaiteki*, lit. subject-]. The passive state of death is an inanimate past-tense, a freeze-frame in diachronic history comparable to *furusato*-as-past. Conversely, Terayama's narration of self-death in the last poem he wrote before his own passing provides a clear counterpoint to the object of his postwar critique:

「懐かしのわが」	"My dear home"
昭和十年十二月十日に	On December 10, 1936
ぼくは不完全な死体として生まれ	I was born an incomplete corpse
何十年かかゝって	and over the course of several decades
完全な死体となるのである	I will become a complete corpse
［…］	[…][57]

This poem describes death not as a state of being, but as a state of becoming. It positions the poet's death in the past-present-future simultaneously. The timeline is truncated: the elements of past-present-future are distinguished only as relative to the state of his becoming; death is no longer a return, because it is always present. The *furusato* point of origin, a location of idealized departure and return, similarly exists throughout the entire range of this temporal schematic,

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lost and dead, and transform itself into a universalized and therefore anonymous 'I.'" For Terayama, parole should be creative, not an act of self–annihilation. Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On 'Japan' and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 180.

[57] The term *wagaya* [home] in the poem's title is ambiguous, and can also refer to one's immediate family. Terayama Shūji, "Natsukashi no wagaya" in: Terayama, *Terayama Shūji Chosakushū*, vol. 1.

always a part of the present. This flux-like logic of time closely matches Spengler's theory of history as things-becoming.

A SOCIAL MANIFESTO FOR POSTWAR YOUTH

Terayama's critique of history pairs naturally with his philosophy of becoming. Similarly to Spengler, these ideas weave through the pages of his work in a myriad of hues—"becoming" [*naru koto*], "leaving home" [*iede*], "philosophy of hello" [*ohayō shisō*], "speaking to" [*hanashi kakeru*], "rebirth" [*umare kawar]*)—in a call to a ethical praxis of constant revolution. He practiced his philosophy in life as well as on the page and was an advocate for an art and way of life which broke through the tacit barriers of an uncritical orientation toward everyday life and redefined relationships between self and others. This entailed activities as disparate as encouraging youth to run away from home, training his body as a boxer, and practicing improvisatory writing to form a life/art hybrid of constant creativity.[58] True art cannot be divorced from life.[59] Indeed, he rhetorically asks, "…could there really be a poetry that is not agitation?"[60] Terayama's conviction that poetry and art should "speak to" [*hanashi kakeru*] (engage) its readers and that "leaving home" [*iede*] is fundamental to "self validation" all ties back to his critique of history and *furusato* which I have been tracing through the pages above.

Terayama's second major autobiographical work, *Keshigomu* [eraser] (1977), provides some concrete examples of leaving home and the dangers of attachment to diachronically distant

[58] Terayama took many runaway youths into his home to counsel and support. For an account of several of those relationships, see: Terayama Shūji, *Seishōnen no tame no jisatsugaku nyūmon: Terayama Shūji esseishū* (Japan: Doyōbijutsusha shuppan hanbai, 1992), 85–130.
[59] Terayama and his contemporary avant–garde artists often sought to puncture the numbness of everyday life, to penetrate "reality" through "engagement" [*deai*, *angajuman*] art. Myriam Sas provides a comprehensive account in her study, e.g.: Sas, 109–121. Commonalities can be found specifically between Sarte's writing on "engaged" literature and Terayama's work as well. See: Jean Paul Sarte, *What is Literature?*, trans. Bernard Frechtman (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949).
[60] Terayama, *Tareka…*, 179.

origins. The titular "eraser" itself implies the revision of an original mark: the life story represented within its pages takes the place of an erased origin; a rewriting of a *furusato*. Indeed, the work "eraser" itself has been erased and rewritten a number of times, variously becoming a fairytale, a radio skit, an autobiographical prose work, and an experimental short film.[61] The ever-present consciousness of the possibility of revision challenges the assumption that a work must have a stable identity. Because *furusato* is always already constructed in the realm of memory, mediated through the reading subject's psyche, Terayama's emphasis on "erasure" merely exploits the pre-existing false premise of objective truth in the very same manner: each time he writes a history, it is necessarily a new interpretation mediated through his ever-evolving present self. If autobiography is a performance of that self, then from Terayama's point of view it also means the creation of the self in the here-and-now and an erasure of a previous history. To that end, one commenter even goes so far as to suggest that "…for Terayama, writing = erasing."[62]

Erasure is also a practice of actively leaving behind of or rejecting received forms: it is a mode of "*iede*" [leaving home]. This concept forms one of the two primary components of his ethical praxis. Recalling (or perhaps fabricating) a conversation on his use of formal *haikai* poetry with Zengakuren student activists, Terayama writes:

> At a time when all values are crumbling like rubble around us…I understand that [my] using these traditional [poetic] styles as a method of self validation is an extremely dangerous balancing act….The poetic forms chosen by poets are for them 'chains of meter' [dorei no senritsu]; once you accept that, you must be vigilant in a constant process of defamiliarization of that self.[63]

[61] *Tareka…*'s title, and to a limited extent, its contents have also been revised over time. Discrepancies in the title are mentioned in a footnote above. Textual editing has occurred specifically in recent Kadokawa publications of his work, in which politically–incorrect terminologies have been censored to suit contemporary sensibilities.
[62] Akira Takeda, "Terayama keshigomu no shisō" in *Butai Hyōron* volume 2 (2005), 117.
[63] Terayama, *Sakka no jiden*, 187.

If one acquiesces to the limitations imposed by received forms of "tradition," "style," and "poetic form" instead of rejecting them, he must overcome them through the constant reinvention of the self. Otherwise, in the changing value systems of the (post)modern world, attachment to forms=origins will almost certainly result in one falling prey to an empty, uncritical nostalgia, a longing to return to a *furusato* located diachronically in the past, a desire for passivity and death of the same variety narrated by the targets of Terayama's postwar poetry critique. However, for Terayama it is because the *haiku* and *tanka* poetic forms are performative actions, because they are created in the act of composition and are not mere static forms on the page, and because they can be challenged and reinvented through creative adaptation, that they retain the potential for libratory becoming.[64] Put otherwise, by accepting the metric and image-system fetters of formal poetry, Terayama created a ground against which to push, a recognizable world which to overthrow.

The critique of received forms, and conversely the positive valuation of direct action and direct life, can be found in his philosophy of modern jazz as well. Improvisatory art like jazz is not an object or product, but an action which exists only within the moment of its creation. His description of contemporary Japanese "jazz-heads" [*jazuko*] caricatures them as impotent creatures unable to truly "get" real jazz. The central barrier between them and understanding of the art form is their reliance on vinyl records: unlike Terayama's subversive enjoyment of Kirishima's "Tareka…" recording, these jazz aficionados seem to earnestly believe in the authenticity of the record as performance. However, a recording of a performance is simply that: a shadow, a shiny black snapshot, a static and received form, and not the creative ad-libbed

[64] Terayama Shūji, *Terayama Shūji hyōron shū: Shisō he no bōkyō*, (Japan: Daikōsha, 1967), 118–9. Danielle Goldman provides one perspective on this type of critique, arguing that "tight spaces," here represented by poetic form, create stages for performative acts of freedom. It is in a similar context of restriction which Terayama finds the opportunity for libratory action. Danielle Goldman, *I Want to be Ready: Improvised Dance as a Practice of Freedom* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 6.

performance itself.[65] The improvisation and creativity which imbues modern jazz with such potential for Terayama cannot be captured in a mechanically-reproducible form; it can only live in the moment.

In the case of improvisatory music, the vinyl record is what Terayama would refer to in English as a "stand-for" [also, *dairijin*], a mediation of in-the-moment reality. Boxing was another example of immediate communication, or "reality." Conversely, when athletes become "stand-for" proxies for nation-states, they sully the purity of action.[66] Printed text similarly functions to distance a poet's true intention from his art, translating the im-mediacy of his voice to a two-dimensional silent artifact on paper.[67] The singer and the actor, too, stand between the artist's intention and its expression.[68] Capitalism, an ideology founded on the principal of the fungibility of alienated worker-labor, is perhaps the most totally dominating system of such "stand-for" across society. These proxy agents each form layers of mediation which insulate a subject from the "direct life" or "reality" which Terayama sought to restore to everyday life.[69]

A more literal *furusato* appears in his discussion of "household" [*ie*] as received form. In one instance, he refers to the household as a pre-national "time." However, even before its institutionalization, the household clung to individuals, forcing a group identity upon them. This

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[65] Terayama, *Shisō…*, 243–6; also Terayama, *Sengoshi*, 22–3.
[66] Terayama, *Sakka no jiden*, 186.
[67] He cites the adoption of the printing press as the historical moment when writers transitioned from oral to literary composition, stopped using "words" [*kotoba*] and began composing using "letters" [*moji*]. Terayama, *Shisō…*, 63.
[68] Ironically, he suggests the use of singers to bring poetry into the moment as well, implying a hierarchy of media recalling Kittler's, where an oral or sonic form is more direct than written language. Terayama, *Sengoshi,* 17–20. Terayama also acknowledges the practicality and comparative permanence of mediated representation in the form of printed text: he recorded interviews on magnetic tape, but ultimately was forced to transcribe them "doing [his] best not to damage the nuance of the grain of the voice [*nikusei*]." This illustrates the problem of transcription, which is a translation from an impression of the "real" to the interpretive level of the "symbolic." Yet, this is a necessary step in order to preserve the spoken discourses of these young runaways, as "the recorded voice starts to disappear little by little every time the rainy season comes around." Terayama, *Jisatsugaku*, 85.
[69] Agents of direct life can be observed in the fictional work of fiction author Nelson Algren, discussed below. He goes as far as to brand the boxers, athletes, and street toughs of one of his novels "the Real Sports" from "the Real World": men who seem to live exclusively in the physical realm of immediacy. Nelson Algren, *Never Come Morning* (New York; Seven Stories Press, 1996 [1941]), 215.

is why Terayama feels compelled to "attack" it.[70] In modern society, he argues, the former multi-functionality of the home has been taken over by the welfare state: education, leisure, and protection are all provided by public society. Sexual and spiritual needs are also now fulfilled on the level of the individual. However, despite all that has been taken from it, the home still fills the vital role of "the love of kinship." This transforms into a "phantom home" [*maboroshi no ie*] which youths carry on their backs weighing them down and depriving them of the liberty of free movement. He likens them to snails dragged down by their shells as they transverse vast geographic distances.[71] If that carapace of given *furusato*—a word which conventionally encompasses both home and family—is not forcibly rejected, then one will be unable to achieve a true state of becoming. Elsewhere, Terayama derides snails as being "terribly old fashioned" for their inability to shed their portable homes, for their passivity. Likewise, modern youths must learn to leave home, not in an act of destructive rebellion, but one of creation (things-becoming). While Terayama posits that the ideal household should be a thing-becoming [*naru mono*], not a thing-existing [*aru mono*], by definition youths are thrown into a world in which the circumstances of their homes are always already determined.[72] Like a poet faced with a pre-determined meter, it is up to the youth to become a runaway, to reinvent his home and origins, lest he be sucked into the passive role of receiver and replicator of tradition. Terayama elaborates: "In other words, a 'praxis' [*jikkō*] to shake up your entire life must be on this one point destruction-ist….This is not at all a recommendation of linear advancement; it is simply a recommendation of movement. However, when movement is based on a referential axis, a new world view always opens up."[73] In order to make possible this state of new consciousness and

[70] Joan Mellen, *Voices from The Japanese Cinema* (New York: Liveright, 1975), 282.
[71] Terayama, *Sakka no jiden*, 196–7.
[72] Terayama, *Shisō…*, 239.
[73] Terayama, *Shisō…*, 242.

becoming, youths must leave (destroy) their birth homes, (kill) their mothers, release themselves from their *furusato*, and embark upon the creation of their own. It is important to emphasize that he again specifically sidesteps a positive valuation of "linear advancement" or progress in favor of a lateral movement producing a "new world view." This avoids complicity in the progressive/capitalist ideological time in league with the modern nation-state and hegemonic status quo. Terayama's is not a philosophy of "productivity," but one of "creativity."

The second major element to Terayama's critique is "speaking to," by which the potential dormant in the act of moving away is actualized. The act of simply running away from home is not enough: one must engage life in a constant process of creation or otherwise lapse into dormant passivity. This is articulated most clearly in an essay called "*Rekishi nanka shinjinai*" [History? I don't trust it!] in which he lambasts expatriates, which he calls "geographically-minded youths" [*chiri-ha shōnen*], who seek comfort in the form of pre-figured contexts based on cultural or nationally-based stereotypes.[74] He calls this a cowardly "escape," a simple non-creative and non-destructive act, a mere passive selection between different extant establishments. Instead, one should actively engage in the creative destruction of one's present surroundings, actively disrupting the status quo. This structural subversion, he emphasizes, is always reducible to rebellion against the nation-state.[75] In other words, culture and history—tools of the nation-state—should not be conceived of as inviolable and objective characteristics of place embedded in the soil of a particular geographic region like "Japan," but as a malleable,

[74] This would appear to be a self critique, re his "I liked geography" essay cited above; however, the interpretation of the meaning of "geography" [*chiri*] in these two examples is strikingly different. In Terayama's personal anecdote, he conceives of geography as a form of immediate, but empty, place. His teacher admonishes him that one cannot simply ignore the layers of historical experience embedded in geographic place. At the same time, however, his revolutionary loyalties imply that knowledge about the hegemony does not equal acquiescence to it. Conversely, the geography–loving youths in Terayama's critique here are enthralled by the hegemony, and mistake it for an immutable facet of place. They are interpellated by the conflation of history and geography, and thus see nations and cultures as immutable structures to move between, rather than processes in which they must participate.
[75] Terayama Shūji, *Rekishi nanka shinjinai* (Japan: Asuka shinsha, 1991), 224–32.

erasable and rewritable composite of discourse and patterns of behavior running through everyday life. Thus, rather than "leaving home" for a more amenable establishment elsewhere, the rejection of received forms *must* be accompanied by creative action, what he calls "speaking to" and what Sas generalizes throughout the postwar *angura* movement as a kind of "engagement."

One of Terayama's more famous battle-cries was "throw away your books and get out into the streets!" [*sho wo suteyo, machi he deyo*]. In the latter half of his career he would practice this creed and literally break not only the fourth wall of the theatre stage but the entire theatre frame itself as he took his plays out into the busy streets of Tokyo.[76] This rejection of received form was a rejection of passivity and a piercing of the ideological frames which structure the uncritical approach to the everyday: he would not receive the theatre venue as it was given to him, but actively create new forms, new ways of becoming; he would not reproduce conventional rules of the stage, but would (often physically) reach out and touch, shock, and even drug those brave enough to attend his performances.[77] According to this ethic one must not merely passively receive the sanctioned art and lauded literary forms of the past—forms which tacitly participate in the building of national tradition—but actively create it for oneself. It is an ethic of action. Terayama writes that as a boy "the feel of the weight of [my father's pistol] was profoundly greater than that of any book."[78] The experience of that weight, that physical reality

[76] Or, as in the final scene of the feature–length film described in the introduction to this chapter, *Den'en ni shisu*, by collapsing the rear wall of a domestic scene in the protagonist's *furusato*, revealing a bustling Shinjuku street behind him.

[77] This forced "encounter," re the "engagement" introduced via Sas above, was a method of forcing public awareness of everyday life. Debord argues that such an "alteration" or defamiliarization of the everyday life is a necessary requisite to instigate a mass revolution in consciousness to overcome the "widespread political apathy and neoilliteracy" which serve to prolong the "thoroughly rotten" status quo—although he does question the ultimate potential of avant–garde artists like Terayama in achieving that end. Guy Debord, "Perspectives for Conscious Alterations in Everyday Life [1961]" in *The Everyday Life Reader*, ed. Ben Highmore (Routledge, New York: 2002): 237–245.

[78] Terayama, *Tareka…*, 9.

of presence, and the potential for powerful action, is his goal. He claims that in a synchronic improvisation of everyday life, "action is ontological"; it is something with weight, a means of "direct communication."[79]

Terayama's self-described "decadent lifestyle" [*burai no seikatsu*] was one attempt to achieve this directness, this state of becoming.[80] After being released from a three-year hospital internment for a chronic condition, he immediately insinuated himself into the underbelly of society, working in pubs, dealing cards, and even making a living by marking decks and conning unwitting gamblers. He was simultaneously a devotee to betting on horses and a serious student of gambling.[81] This was a life organized by chance (perhaps the same "chance" of the *sai no kawara* at Osorezan that intrigued throughout his career), by uncertainty and the scrappiness and creativity which such a life must entail. The veracity of some of the episodes as narrated in *Keshigomu* is questionable, although that issue is not necessarily relevant. After all, Terayama's philosophy of history always includes a re-creation of self: what is important is what we can learn from the form in which he chooses to do so.

Terayama's self-narrated biography resonates in some interesting ways with those of the characters in the North American writer Nelson Algren's novels, particularly *Never Come Morning* (1942) and *The Man with the Golden Arm* (1949). Terayama was a great fan of Algren, and read him with great enthusiasm, and even modeled a film after one of Algren's novels.[82] Algren was well-received enough in Japan to achieve domestic publications: his latter, more famous novel was translated in 1956 and published by Hayakawa shobō, and then the former by

[79] Terayama, *Sengoshi*, 22.
[80] Terayama, *Sakka no jiden*, 191.
[81] Terayama, *Sakka no jiden*, 164, 166–7, 202.
[82] Takatori Ei, "Terayama Shūji 6 sono shisō 2: Shupengurā to Oruguren," *Shigaku* vol. 43 no. 2 (1988), 81; Terayama, *Sakka no jiden*, 205–7; Ridgely, *xxi*; Takasaki Toshio, "Terayama Shūji to Neruson Oruguren," *Seiryū shuppan*, accessed: 1 February, 2017 < http://www.seiryupub.co.jp/cinema/2013/03/post–64.html>.

Patoria in 1958. *A Walk on the Wild Side*, was translated as *Kōya wo ayume* [Walk through the wilderness] in 1975, and printed by yet another publishing house. Algren's "wilderness" is referenced in the title of one of Terayama's poetry collections, *Tēburu no ue no kōya* [Desktop wilderness], and Algren's characters are carried along their narratives, in the words of one contemporary commentator, "from start to finish, encountering naught but unpredictable happenstance."[83]

Nelson was a Chicago native who wrote about the poor, immigrant communities he grew up in. His novels are populated with gangsters, boxers, hustlers, matchstick men, and outright thieves; his characters are all scheming, trying to make a buck off of everyone else who's already trying to scam them, trying to scratch enough together for a hit of booze or drugs, or just scrapping with each other in the streets. It seems like each of his characters have three names—not given, but earned—and they all speak in jargon, slang, and broken English. *The Man with the Golden Arm* tosses the reader in mid-story, and there isn't a chapter break or a gasp of air for all of its three hundred fifty some-odd pages. *Never Come Morning* starts out in the middle of a boxing match, and switches up genres, character perspectives, and reader sympathies between its various chapters.

The protagonist for the better part of the latter book is Bruno Lefty Bicek, styled "Lefty," "Foursquare Bicek," "Biceps," "Lefty B.," or "Powerhouse Bicek"; names carefully sorted out with his mates from others like "Homocide Bicek," "Superman Bicek," "Bombshell Bicek," "the Polish Panther," etc.[84] These are professional names for the boxer, but they are also attempts to recreate the reality and identity of the man, to take himself for himself from the random forces of

[83] Pierre Dommergues, *Konnichi no Amerika sakka tachi*, trans. Terakado Yasuhiko (Tokyo: Hakusui–sha, 1966), 90.
[84] Algren, *Never Come Morning*, 87–89. He likewise populates his book–length prose poem *Chicago: City on the Make* with a colorful cast of characters ranging from the missing "O'Conner" to the "white–haired Poet" (Carl Sandburg), the "Do–Gooders" to "John the Baptist" and "Duffy the Goat" (both criminals), and many, many more. Nelson Algren, *Chicago: City on the Make* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

the outside world. His is a noire world in which everyone, including the reader, is always with their head underwater and desperately looking for a way out that never exists, where morning never comes and the naïve claim that "Everything [is] going to be all right after all" can ring only as a dark joke.[85] Its characters are driven not by future-oriented plans or ambitions, but by "ceaseless lusts" for drugs, food, gambling, and "personal triumphs in public places."[86] Algren's is a demented world in which mistakes can be only accounted for by further mistakes, a logic twisted to the point that Bruno concludes, after abetting the gang-rape of his former girlfriend and committing murder on the same night, that "For once he had done something right in his life."[87] It is a frantic narration of a frantic everyday life that cannot simply be everyday life.

It is in this sense of breathless running, of scamming and scheming, invention and creativity, just to get by in-the-moment that Terayama finds what he considers to be im-mediate experience, and inspiration enough to model himself, at least on paper, into such a likeness. Terayama appropriated from Algren's writing this strategy of generating immediacy into his ethical praxis of direct life and immanent becoming.

FOR THE RECORD: EVERYBODY THINKS OF HOME

Terayama uses his autobiographical works as literary restatements and performances of this ethical praxis. *Tareka…* contains a number of episodes supporting this reading, including a chapter called "Yōsui" [Amniotic fluid], which follows Terayama's intial invocation of Spengler's philosophy of history and becoming. The chapter opens:

> I am not confident in saying for sure that I remember the time when I was born. But, sometimes, for some reason when I am walking along a road for the first time I get a feeling like "I have been down this path once before." A long side street where the

[85] Algren, *Never Come Morning*, 259.
[86] Algren, *Never Come Morning*, 31.
[87] Algren, *Never Come Morning*, 104.

> shadows cast by the sun hit a fence…walking along a street with a blooming garden sorrel or a downy cherry…
>
> "I've definitely been down this road once before." This thought leads to the feeling that it may have been in a past life. If it was a road I had passed down before my birth, and if I were to follow it as far as it goes, would it lead up to the day I was born? This fear, inexpressible fear and hope, come bubbling up. This is the desiring of a place where my "self which existed long ago" and my self existing in the present encounter, and are similar to an aimless heart.[88]

This introduction is followed by a relatively faithful recounting of the complicated circumstances of Terayama's mother's birth and upbringing (she herself was an abandoned child). The desire expressed here for a cross-temporal encounter between his present self and the "self which existed long ago," an encounter symbolizing the rewriting of history, is reenacted perfectly onscreen in the film version of *Den'en ni shisu* discussed at the opening of this chapter. Additionally, the suggestion that Terayama has been reincarnated, that he holds within him experiences from previous lives, is explored further in depth in his radio drama "Osorezan." In the course of the drama, not only is there a free exchange between the realms of the living and the dead, but the protagonist is told that people are "reborn" [*umarekawaru*] to new identities within their very same bodies, without ever even dying.[89] Read as an allegory for the synchronic compression of linear time, "rebirth" in "Osorezan" and *Tareka…* becomes a ceaseless process by which the diachronically-past versions of oneself become layered within the identity of the self in the present moment—the "shadow" of the past cast over the present. The title "Yōsui" explicitly stages the following episode as a story about a process of (re)birth, and thereby indexes the perennial themes of origins, history, and *furusato*. The implication is the impossibility of return due to the inability to fix one single point of origin. We must then ask the question: who is the subject of that "return"? Given a non-ideological synchronic theorization of time, the "self

[88] Terayama, *Tareka…*, 14.
[89] Terayama Shūji, "Osorezan" in *Terayama Shūji Chosakushū*, vol. 2, 49–74.

which existed long ago" is a logical impossibility; that self is a shadow of history cast over—and therefore intrinsic to—Terayama's self in the present. The self is an immanent subject, a constant liminal drift encompassing birth and rebirth in the present moment, forming and reforming under innumerable layers of shadows of past events. The "who" of the question has to be the self imminent to the present.

Terayama more explicitly raises the problem of "returning" in *Sengo shi*, writing that "When I say that I hate history, what I basically mean is that I 'dislike returning home.' There's nowhere we can return to....the past is always our first 'lost home' [ancestral lands, sokoku]...we can 'go,' but we cannot 'return.'"[90] This impossibility of return is figured into the synchronicity of time; one can only move through a constantly emergent landscape, never back. Therefore, the road Terayama encounters from a "past life" is necessarily only "past" in as much as Terayama (and the world itself) is reborn every day. If the present is a constant process of creation—a becoming rather than an existence—there can be no real temporal distance between his lived moment and his origins, birth, *furusato*.

One of the most important vignettes in *Tareka…* is simply titled "Tokyo," and provides yet one more example of the importance of the combination between "leaving home" and "speaking to." It follows the shortest chapter of the entire work, "Death" [*shi*], in which he narrates the moment when he is informed of his father's death abroad, and his mother's resulting spontaneous attempt to end his life by stabbing at him with a pair of shears.[91] In the following episode, Terayama becomes obsessed with the word "Tokyo," and writes it on everything he comes into contact with over and over and over again like an "incantation" [*majinai*], a magical process by which the object of his desire might be summoned into existence. Tokyo becomes this

[90] Translation from Ridgely, xvi; original in Terayama, *Sengo shi*, 77–8.
[91] Terayama, *Tareka…*, 59–60.

new object of desire. When he attempts to articulate this feeling with the following words, he essentially restates his critique of *furusato* yet again:

> "Could it be that what I have thought of as my furusato up until now was really a lie, and that my furusato was something else? Just, maybe the truth is that I was born in Tokyo?" Or else that, even if it was certain that Aomori was my furusato, it was lost at the same time my father died. Now that this has happened, unless I search out my spiritual home [tamashii no kokyō], will I remain a "homeless child of Aomori prefecture" even as I grow into adulthood?[92]

In this case, of biographical "fact," Terayama is deprived of his household by the death of his father and the violent expulsion by of his mother (he runs for his life out of the house and into the ephemeral world of falling snow). "Leaving home" is not a subjective or creative act at this point: although he has literally "left home," Terayama has not yet achieved fully creative becoming. Indeed, he understands that if he does not actively pursue and discover his personal "spiritual home" he will be doomed to a perpetual infantile existence. Thus, the action of "leaving home" comprises only half of the manifesto: to grow beyond this infantile state, he must develop a new way of being which is direct and im-mediate. This cannot be accomplished by relying on received forms or proxy agents (stand-for), but rather through reaching out and "speaking to" his surroundings. His larger artistic project, embodied in this autobiography, radio dramas, critical writings, and film, thus also constitutes a kind of "incantation," a practice of summoning the object of desire—an evolving, unstable, *furusato* free from the nation and state—into the present so that it can be realized as a thing-becoming over and over again.

The final installment of *Tareka…*, entitled "*Kibō*" [Hope], concludes with the simple line: "I am one meter seventy three centimeters tall, weigh sixty five kilograms, am blood type AB, and when I was twenty-two my specialty song was 'Tareka kokyō wo omohazaru.'"[93] The frank, self-introductory mode of this concluding sentence adds a final twist to the autobiography: while

[92] Terayama, *Tareka…*, 61.
[93] Terayama, *Tareka…*, 160.

the bulk of the preceding text has constituted a long series of accounts concerning a "past" written in a poetic-historical mode, he concludes by reorienting the reader toward the present, into synchronic time. The section title "Hope" also works to change the direction of the narrative from past-reflective to future-prospective.

It is from this perspective, that of the Terayama Shūji living in Tokyo in 1967, that *Tareka…* was written. That Terayama contained within him the shadows of the past, of his past selves, which he refracted through his present consciousness out onto the pages of his writing. Thus, while Terayama wrote critically of a history-as-science, and wrote against the dominant discourses of *furusato* which locate it in a distant diachronic past at a geographic remove, he did not reject the affective power of nostalgia nor the real-world effects of *furusato*—particularly the desire and fear associated with it. Terayama's family background primed him to feel the pressure of the haunting ancestor, the *furusato* carapace weighing him down. Rather than succumb to this established discourse, Terayama rejected *furusato* qua place and family by performing "leaving home," and engaged in a lifelong practice of rewriting, erasing, and creating them anew. He practiced this ethic via various forms of living in-the-moment—his "decadent lifestyle"—restructuring his everyday life through constant irruption and revolution, creation and becoming.

"Nothing of the past can exceed the status of metaphor."[94] It is from the stepping stone of this idea which he embarked upon the path of writing his autobiography, a re-turn that can never be. When he plays his worn and warped copy of "Tareka kokyō wo omohazaru," he experiences the non-repetition repeat, another re-turn that isn't. The record, an artifact of the past, is altered by its performance in the present. Terayama's life, merely a collection of past memory, can only be replayed in the present as a poetic metaphor. There is no re-turn: he can never go home again, because he is already always there.

[94] Terayama, *Tareka*…, 10.

CHAPTER 3

TSUGARU VERNACULAR LITERATURE AND THE PRACTICE OF PLACE CONSCIOUSNESS

Mount Iwaki is truly magnificent! I love and feel great pride in the land of this mountain. But feeling is not enough: it is the duty of artists who received the gift of life in Tsugaru to bring that magnificence to life as unadulterated beauty.

- Watanabe Teiichi[1]

SKETCHING LITERARY COMMUNITIES IN JAPAN

Place exists in architecture, landscaping, and geographic formations, but it is also constructed by popular and literary discourses, government propaganda, academic writing, artistic expression, and in other innumerable, less tangible ways. The place of Tsugaru is largely defined to the greater part of Japan as the birthplace of wartime-author Dazai Osamu, as the apple-producing capital of the country, and to a lesser extent, as the origin of visually-complex patterned Tsugaru-*nuri* lacquerware and as the namesake of Tsugaru-jamisen. Tsugaru, and Aomori prefecture more broadly, is also known to feature some of the most esoteric "dialects" of the entire country, including what is known collectively as "Tsugaru-*ben*." In actuality, the Tsugaru region is diverse, including fine gradients of linguistic vernaculars, a variety of environments and natural resources, and different agricultural interests. Yet regardless of how truthfully any popular imaginary compares when held side by side with the reality of the region, it inflects and informs the conception of Tsugaru as place at the level of both national and localized discourse. As Watanabe Teiichi suggests in the epigraph above, it is the primary role of

[1] Quoted in: Kon Kan'ichi, *Omoidasu hitobito* (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1983), 155.

a localized literatus to construct place through its literary veneration. This positive discourse of Tsugaru-as-place has been created within and through the historical local literary establishment, or "*chihō bundan*." I take up this theme in the following pages with the goal of illuminating the formation of the literary community's consciousness of and address to "Tsugaru."

Bundan is a key word in the history of modern literature in Japan, and although it is used widely across communities of "pure literature" and "popular literature," as well both local and national literary communities, it is certainly most often applied in reference to the Tokyo literary establishment: "the" *bundan*. This *bundan* developed as a concept during the Taisho period, and it has been argued that this strong sense of community, in which writers had intimate knowledge of the lives of many of their peers, contributed to the rise of the *shishōsetsu* [I-novel], which made use of that intimate knowledge of the authors' lives and personal dealings. Members of this community were generally educated in the same institutions, lived in the same area, and occupied a specific economic and social position.[2] This chapter addresses the *bundan* of Tsugaru, which was likewise formed through shared networks, experiences, and spaces.

Dazai Osamu is a household name in Japan: he is known for penning such famous works as *Tsugaru* (1944), *Shayō* [The setting sun] (1947), and *Ningen shikkaku* [No longer human] (1948), and is by far the most dominant representation of Tsugaru literature outside of Tsugaru itself.[3] And yet, Tsugaru boasts a robust literary history with a large number of successful and creative writers who worked across literary and popular spheres, and who moreover often saw themselves as participating both in a national literary community as well as in a specific locality-

[2] Edward Fowler, *The Rhetoric of Confession: Shishosetus in Early Twentieth–Century Japanese Fiction* (California: University of California Press, 1988), 128–9.
[3] Terayama Shūji is likely the second–best known Tsugaru writer, although his connections to both the region and its literary community are somewhat dubious. His writing often finds more conceptual traction in Mt. Osorezan in Mutsu than in neighboring Tsugaru, and his art often alludes to his home in terms of "Aomori" in more general terms. Thus, not only has he not earned as high a place in the Japanese literary pantheon as Dazai, he also has a much more tenuous link to the local Tsugaru literary community itself.

based literary community centered around Tsugaru. Terms like "Tsugaru *bundan*" [Tsugaru literary establishment], "Tsugaru *shidan*" [Tsugaru poetry establishment], "*chihō bundan*" [regional literary establishment], and "*kyōdo bungaku*" [local literature] have been applied over the course of the region's literary history, and give some contour to that particular understanding of the placeness of Tsugaru generated within those communities.

Place is so much more than a geographic location or physical landscape: place-consciousness is a construction moving in two ways, a dialectical process between inhabitant and locality. Discourses of regionalism participate in a type of "chorography," theorized by Kent Ryden as a thick description of place informed by lived experience and communal history. Ryden describes chorography as knowledge of history implanted into the natural environment, layers of history outlining invisible landscapes.[4] Chorography is contrasted with cartography, which is a thin sketch that focuses on abstraction and simplification, flattening and a-historicizing. In terms of cartography, the recent Heisei redistricting and town-merger movement [*Heisei no dai gappei*] was a redrawing of arbitrary municipal borders by the Japanese state; from a chorographic standpoint, it embedded new layers of historical organizations of place into the "invisible landscape."[5]The processes by which the chorographic practices of this place-based community have constituted Tsugaru place-consciousness concern me here: who creates Tsugaru through literature, and what are the processes by which that placeness is concretized?[6]

[4] Kent Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape: Folklore, Writing, and the Sense of Place* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1993), 40–3, 46–57.
[5] Aomori Prefecture, "Hirosaki shi to Chū Tsugaru gun," *Aomori Prefectural Government*, accessed: 20 October, 2016 <http://www.pref.aomori.lg.jp/soshiki/soumu/shichoson/files/hensen–hironaka.pdf>.
[6] And, beyond the Tokyo–based central literary establishment, for whom is this literature produced? I return to this question in a direct way in the end of this chapter, but to foreshadow that conclusion: much of the writing of the local literary community is created for that community, and for the local people with the specific place knowledge (in the form of vernacular speech, geographic and seasonal markers, local–cultural allusions, etc) necessary to parse its meaning.

Chorography combines, through layering, the immediate experience of the present and the remnants of the past; both personal and communal experience. This consciousness of place works best, then, when shifting through different layers of knowledge. Place is what becomes illuminated in this transition between layers; what Hoyt Long has practiced in the shift between scales of analysis.[7] The following chapter is largely a chorographic exercise focused on the place-consciousness cultivated by a literary community, in which the penumbra of that consciousness is grasped through the widening and constricting of the scale of analysis. The various frames of scale introduced include the global, local, and personal; the visible and invisible, spoken and written; the institution and the organic; media, practice, and discourse.

Let's begin with the most obvious academic frame: the archives. Literary histories, anthologies, and studies of "great works" abound in and about Japan, but these texts most often serve to validate the centralizing forces of the nation-state project.[8] This is even true of anthologies in translation.[9] The tendency for the most successful literati to gather in a central location, in the capital city, and to find work at major universities located there undoubtedly contributes to the distorted representation of "Japanese literature" as being a property of the

[7] For example, Long's article moves between reading global communities of translation and the work of a single author–translator in Japan. Hoyt Long, "Fog and Steel: Mapping Communities of Literary Translation in an Information Age," *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Summer, 2015): 284–5.

[8] Edward Mack argues that anthologies like the Kaizōsha *Complete Works of Contemporary Japanese Literature*, and literary institutions like the Akutagawa Prize were mechanisms for constructing a national literature, which in turn reinforces the imagination of the nation. I would further suggest that these processes also contributed to the transformation of Tokyo into a stand-in for "Japan" and as a locus for a unified national literary community, as the city acted as the locus of the most influential modern literary figures, as well as home of the majority of publishing houses. Mack indicates that this process of centralization was furthered to a yet greater extent following the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, as the government mobilized to protect and rebuild the city. Edward Mack, *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature: Publishing, Prizes, and the Ascription of Literary Value* (London: Duke, 2010), 8, 52.

[9] One representative anthology of modern Japanese literature checks all of the "important" names, and contains an impressive number of translations of fiction, poetry, and essays. However, despite its breadth, it contains only a single work by a "Tsugaru" author: Dazai Osamu's "December 8th." Incidentally, the story mentions a "Mr. Kon," very likely referencing Dazai's friend from Tōō Gijuku Academy in Hirosaki, Kon Kan'ichi—a novelist who plays an important role in the Tsugaru Esprit Movement discussed later in this chapter. (The anthology actually does also contain a piece by Tokai Sanshi, a Tohoku–based politician who attended Tōōgijuku as well, but he falls outside the limited scope of the present study.) J Thomas Rimer and Van C. Gessel, *The Columbia Anthology of Modern Japanese Literature*, Vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 660–67.

centralized urban elite.[10] The early newspaper and publishing industries found a strong foothold in Tokyo, growing rapidly, only to be decimated during the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake. However, the publishing industry recovered rapidly and mostly un-displaced in the aftermath, thanks to government aid.[11] In fact, the market share of Tokyo-based newspapers continued to grow, uninterrupted, throughout this period.[12] The disparity in distribution of publishers across the country continues to this day, as eighty percent of the approximately 3,700 domestic publishers are still located in Tokyo.[13] There is a similarly high concentration of colleges and universities in the capital region: approximately 220 institutions, compared to just 52 reported in the entire Tohoku region, which covers half of the geographical area of Honshu.[14] While these statistics perhaps come as little surprise, they certainly offer a tempting set of resources and opportunities for writers and artists migrating to the capital in hopes of publishing, finding employment, or utilizing the public resources of institutions of higher education to those ends. There are certainly examples of migrant writers from Tsugaru finding work in some of these Tokyo publishing houses, and a large cohort of Tsugaru writers attempting to fix themselves a place in the capital in general.[15]

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[10] Tokyo's monopoly over publishing began in the Meiji Period, but began to gradually recede as cheaper technologies for small–scale printing became more available. However, the most influential literary networks and institutions were soon entrenched in the capital, and it subsequently remained the destination for young writers seeking to make a name for themselves as legitimate literary artists, even as publishing opportunities may have opened up elsewhere. This pattern can be observed in the biographies of nearly every member of the Tsugaru *bundan*. One local literary historian bluntly suggests that "many [Tsugaru writers] were alienated by the literary conditions in the provinces, and traveled to the capital to fulfill their burning desire to join the central *bundan*, only to return home, unable to succeed." Hoyt Long, *On Uneven Ground: Miyazawa Kenji and the Making of Place in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 40–1; Fujita Tatsuo, *Aomori ken bungaku shi*, Vol. 1 (Japan: Kitagata shinsha, 1977), 1.

[11] Mack, 52–3.

[12] Mack, 240, Table 9.

[13] Japan Book Publishers Association, "An Introduction to Publishing in Japan: 2014–2015" (Japan: Japan Book Publishers Association, 2014) <http://www.jbpa.or.jp/en/pdf/pdf01.pdf>, Chapter 2.

[14] "Nihon no daigaku," *Knowledge Station*, accessed 15 June, 2016 <www.gakkou.net>.

[15] Takagi Kyōzō's brief employment with a publisher of historical materials, and Narumi Yōkichi's success with *Rōma–ji sha* are two such examples. Neither Takagi nor Narumi managed to remain in Tokyo for long; others, including Satō Kōroku, Akita Ujaku, Kasai Zenzō, Fukushi Kōjirō, Ishizaka Yōjirō, Kon Kan'ichi, Dazai Osamu, etc, gained great local prestige by penetrating and being recognized by the central *bundan*.

While many writers in the modern period would leave Aomori prefecture with dreams of making it big in the central *bundan*, they would often continue to participate in Tsugaru networks as well. These networks include spaces of literary interaction and recognition like localized anthologies, literary histories, regional newspapers [*chihō shi*] and other local publishers, and other literary institutions like museums and literary monuments [*bungaku hi*], all of which exert similar forces in, and spreading out from, Tsugaru itself. Thus, by altering our perspective in order to shift between scales of analysis, we can begin to illuminate patterns and aspects of the literary history otherwise invisible. For example, when zooming in on the Tsugaru *bundan*, we can observe a local gravitation toward educational and publishing institutions within the Tsugaru microcosm, revealing Hirosaki city to be much more a primary locus of the local artistic community than the capital city of Aomori, or Hachinohe city, which is located in the Nanbu region of Aomori prefecture.[16]

While one encounters few studies of regional Japanese literary communities in English, there is a wide variety of small-scale Japanese-language publications and local institutions which help to delineate a social imaginary of a Tsugaru—but one which is not necessarily recognized beyond the reach of their limited scope of distribution. These range from Aomori or Tsugaru-themed magazines to literary coterie journals to Tsugaru literature and local literature [*kyōdo bungaku*] anthologies. One effect of such publications is the rewriting of the meaning of authors' names and place in history, placing them first and foremost in a narrative of Tsugaru as place:

[16] Tōōgijuku academy, established in Hirosaki in 1872, figures strongly in this picture as well, as it produced a number of Tsugaru writers and artists over the years, including Kuga Katsunan, Satō Kōroku, and Kon Kan'ichi. Terayama Shūji's father was a graduate who went on to become a special–police detective, and Fukushi Kōjirō also taught there for a brief period. The institutional history formed one more bond between these artists, who would continue supporting, corresponding with, and inspiring each other long after graduation. Additionally, of the Museum of Aomori Modern Literature's thirteen representative writers for the entire prefecture, only two hail from Nanbu, and three from Tsugaru outside of Hirosaki. Kon, *Omoidasu hitobito*, 7–42, 79–81; "Aomori–ken wo daihyō suru 13nin no sakka," The Museum of Modern Aomori Literature, accessed: 12 July, 2016 <http://www.plib.pref.aomori.lg.jp/top/museum/sakka/sakka13/main13.html>.

Dazai Osamu not as a *burai* [decadent], Terayama Shūji not as an *angura* [underground/avant-garde], Fukushi Kōjirō not as *modan shugi* [modernist], and Kasai Zenzō not as *shizen shugi* [naturalist] writers, but each as Tsugaru writers who come from Tsugaru, participate in its literary communities, connect with its natural environment, and bring their specific ideological perspectives and artistic methodologies to bear on Tsugaru-as-place. In other words, rather than identifying "important" authors to the national literature, and rather than tracing the life and work of a single figure who moves between discrete and opposed realms of "center" and "periphery," I instead want to use Tsugaru as a filter through which to observe networks of actors who both appropriate and are appropriated by its name.

THE INSTITUTIONAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TSUGARU *BUNDAN*: CLIMATE

The institutionalizing texts of the Tsugaru *bundan* share many characteristics, and often imagine the literary community in very similar ways. In the following section, I address Seidō Rokurō's *Furusato no shi to shijin* [Poems and poets of the *furusato*], Fujita Tatsuo's *Aomori ken bungaku shi* [A literary history of Aomori Prefecture], and Ono Masafumi's *Kita no bunmyaku* [The context of the northern literary landscape], three important texts in establishing this history.[17] These three texts reflect three different genres of writing, and yet their authors' approaches to their subject matter and personal biographies reveal some striking similarities.

To begin with the writers' biographies, Fujita Tatsuo was born and educated in Hirosaki, and lived and conducted his historical research there as well. Ono was born in Iwate Prefecture to a Tsugaru-native father, and he moved to Aomori city as a child. He was educated at Tokyo Imperial University, but returned to Aomori Prefecture to become an educator and aspiring writer. Seidō is a Tsugaru native, but graduated from Hosei University and lists a Tokyo

[17] Seidō Rokurō, *Furusato no shi to shijin* (Japan: Kitagata shinsha, 1984).

residential address in the back of his book in 1984. He may have left his home region for good, but he also asserts: "leave *furusato* if you may: the soul will find its way back."[18] Thus, while the three men seem to exhibit some diversity in their backgrounds, each is able to demonstrate some kind of bona fides as a voice of Tsugaru. As will become apparent throughout the rest of this chapter, this authority to write Tsugaru is often bound up in one's perceived authenticity as a denizen of Tsugaru.

Seidō is also a published poet, much more prolific than Ono was, and in addition to contributing to the history of Tsugaru literati in that capacity, he is also author of a biographical record of the life and work of Fukushi Kōjirō.[19] His explanation for penning the biography is expressed in extremely personal terms: "…Fukushi Kōjirō was a pioneer in the history of poetry, has been recognized as a unique poet, and attained status appropriate [to those achievements]; however, for some reason his prominence has faded over time, even locally [*kyōdo ni mo*]. I am extremely disappointed and concerned by this development."[20] The author thus writes Tsugaru not merely through the cool actions of cataloging and annotation, but he also participates in the literary community through emotional investment and identification with its people and history. Saving Fukushi from oblivion preserves part of Seidō's identity, and it also serves to elevate Fukushi's place within the history of the Tsugaru *bundan*.[21] His literary activities all simultaneously participate in the creation of self, Tsugaru-as-place, and literary community.[22]

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[18] Seidō, *Furusato no shi*, 10.
[19] Fukushi was a central pillar of the modern Tsugaru *bundan*, taken up at length in the middle part of this chapter.
[20] Seidō Rokurō, *Fukushi Kōjirō: shigyō to jinsei* (Japan: Kita no machi–sha, 1989),178.
[21] Borrowing from the vocabulary of T.S. Eliot, we could describe this as participation in the artistic "tradition" of Tsugaru. By writing within a tradition, an author alters the perception of all of the past of that tradition, just as the long–dead authors who came before reach up out of the grave and affect the reading of the new work as well. Where Eliot refers to this conversation between past and present as "tradition," I place it under the more network–oriented image of "literary community." T.S. Eliot, "Tradition and the Individual Talent," in *Perspecta*, Vol. 19 (1982): 36–8.
[22] Seido, and the writers discussed below, may be expressing a "structure of feeling," "thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind," invoked here as a coping mechanism to deal with the dissonance between the projected stability of a social form or relationship (in this case, Tsugaru as a socio–historical concept)

Ono and Fujita are much more dispassionate in their prefaces, but as local residents, they have more flexibility to afford to be.

The title of Seidō's anthology, *Furusato no shi to shijin,* is instructive as well. Seidō's book is volume 22 of the *Aomori ken no bunka shiriizu* [Aomori prefecture culture series], but the title proper sees no need to mention either "Aomori" nor "Tsugaru" (and indeed, there is ambiguity with regards to what region *furusato* is intended to cover). The word *furusato* always has a directionality associated with it: it always points to somewhere else. Fujita's *Literary History of Aomori Prefecture* not only specifically indicates "Aomori Prefecture," but it wouldn't work as well as *furusato* because he is already there. Thus, the *furusato* must be Seidō's, and it moves toward Aomori and into the past.

The imperative to recover or maintain the author's *furusato*-qua-identity by delineating a place-based literary community becomes quite clear in Seidō's opening remarks. He writes:

> We often hear the words *furusato* paired with loss [*sōshitsu*], but everyone holds a deeply rooted [*nedzuyoi*] affectionate attachment for the *furusato* where they were born and raised, and continues to keep a private interest in it alive within them. It was from that feeling that I recently started looking into my *furusato*'s literature, history, and people. While I found this information to be abundant, I was pained to find how little so many of these cases were generally known about, and felt a strong imperative to inform the world about them.[23]

The intensely personal language of "*furusato*," "feeling" [*kimochi*], "pained" [*tsūkan*], and "felt a strong imperative to inform" [*shirashimete okaneba to iu omoi wo tsuyoku idaku*] are not the dispassionate words of a literary historian (like Ono and Fujita), but those of a member of a community with deep-felt sympathy for its future development.

The Tsugaru *bundan* is further defined by indicating the specificity of locality and its role in the production of literature:

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and the always–receding, always–vanishing quality of subjective, lived experience. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 128–9, 132.

[23] Seidō, *Furusato no shi...,* 7.

> …although we talk about "Aomori prefecture," the two regions of Tsugaru and Nanbu each have their own unique climates [*fūdo*]. It would be difficult to understand and appreciate the literary works created there without that knowledge. It is the same as not understanding a people's ways of thinking or their sensibilities because you do not know the language of the land where they live [*tochi no kotoba*]. There are wind and clouds, mountains and rivers everywhere. But the natural environment and local customs [*fūbutsu*] of the north country [*kitaguni*] contain a spirit and way of life that is felt viscerally, that can only be known by living there and experiencing it yourself.[24]

Climate and local difference appear in Ono's writing as well, in reference to "the severe northern climate" of Aomori, which he describes as a "great commonality" [*daidō*] between its people. This commonality overrides "the differing history and geography between the so-called Tsugaru region, Shimokita region, Ken'nan region, and other regions; and within them between the various towns and villages, are environments which give shape to the 'little differences' [*shōi*]." Yet he is also aware that that the influence of the great commonality must be very subtle, and that relationships between literati and their individual characters are not completely determined by a diachronic yearning for the past-form of Aomori, but more likely influenced by the spirit of the times and by the pressing needs of the contemporary cohort. It is difficult to pin Ono down to a definitive interpretation, but his main thrust is sound: we should not overemphasize the role of the environment, but we must recognize the common backdrop which it provides the communities living there.[25] Statements by members of the Tsugaru *bundan* reflect a recognition of this phenomenon as well, such as demonstrated by the following rumination:

> As I think about [artists and writers from Tsugaru], the connection to the Tsugaru climate naturally comes to mind. In recent years Tsugaru-jamisen and Tsugaru *min'yō* [folk song] have finally become widely known. Along with these, the Neputa summer festival and *idako* [sic] shamanesses…were given birth to by this climate. That said, it is the Tsugaru which produced the people I just mentioned, more than anything else, which I feel a right to be proud of.[26]

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[24] Seidō, *Furusato no shi…*, 8–9. I return to the topic of climate below, including a short discussion of Watsuji Tetsurō's book *Fūdo*.
[25] Ono Masafumi, *Kita no bunmyaku: Aomori–ken jinbutsu bungakushi*, Vol. 1 (Japan: Kita no machi–sha, 1973), *jobun*.
[26] Takagi Kyōzō, "Agabe isha to hōgenshi," *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3 (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1990), 107.

Ono brings the issue of climate to the fore by labeling the introduction to his third volume "Climate and Literature," and citing Hippolyte Taine's view of society as being derived from "race, milieu," and historical "moment."[27] He also cites Flaubert's critique of Taine, who he says ignores the role of "individual talents" of artists which cannot be explained by "environment" or "biological background."[28] Ono uses the specific case of Aomori to criticize destructive national agricultural policy, which leads to the subsequent "loss" [*sōshitsu*] of *furusato*, and the destruction of "state of mind" [*shinden*], which is the "ground upon which spiritual tradition stands" [*seishin teki dentō no yoridokoro*]. Ono's primary profession was that of an educator, and he references the "talent education movement" in stride. Talent education is an educational theory which emphasizes human education through environmental exposure, and is the foundation of the more famous Suzuki method.[29] In short, while he acknowledges the possibility of artistic genius in the individual, Ono focuses strongly on an interpretation of the "milieu" of Aomori literature which is largely derivative of the conditions of the historical environment. Or, as Seidō puts it, "Before a single poem is composed, it is incubated by those seasonal changes, a variety of different environments, aspects of the poet's upbringing, and the productive processes which support his everyday life."[30]

These men, writing in the 1970s and 80s, inherited a great deal from pre-war discourse on the nature of "Japan." The most obvious example is Watsuji Tetsurō's famous treatise *Fūdo* [Climates].[31] In this and later writings, Watsuji argued that national character is derived from the physical climate, and that given time, climate could overpower racial difference and acclimatize

[27] Ono Masafumi, *Kita no bunmyaku: Aomori–ken jinbutsu bungakushi*, Vol. 3 (Japan: Kita no machi–sha, 1981), 1. These terms are alternatively translated as "race," "surroundings," and "epoch." H. A. Taine, *History of English Literature*, trans. H. Van Laun. (New York: Holt & Williams, 1871), 10.
[28] Ono, *Kita no bunmyaku*, Vol. 2: 1.
[29] Ono, *Kita no bunmyaku*, Vol. 3: 4.
[30] Seidō, *Furusato no shi…*, 9
[31] Watsuji Tetsurō, *A Climate: A Philosophical Study*, trans. Geoffrey Bownas (Japan: Ministry of Education, 1961).

all migrants to whatever land they occupied.[32] He did not address the irony that his theory, when applied at a sub-national level, would actually imply several internal divisions within the archipelago based on different regional climates.[33] Watsuji was writing in the 1920s and 30s, at roughly the same time as Fukushi Kōjirō began his reinterpretation of French regionalism. Fukushi struggled with exactly the problem of environment at scale, and argued for very similar themes of the specificity of place and role of climate in determining individual character and supporting tradition—but without relying exclusively on a nationalistic frame. He relied in part on the work of the positivist Auguste Comte, who was a major inspiration for Taine's concept of milieu, race, and moment. Comte sought to reconnect politics, thought, and the environment through a working-class revolution of consciousness shielded from the "influence of baseless metaphysical theories" which impaired elite philosophers' relation to reality.[34] His work thus emphasized observable patterns and a logic of direct influences, cause and effect. These different approaches each share the assumption that a physical environment directly affects the nature of society, and by extension, the quality of artistic creation. Comte and Taine, and Watsuji and Fukushi all helped to set the ground for the postwar writers of place.

Nationalism was rising during the high-growth economic period when Seidō and Ono were writing, it became popular to propound upon the uniqueness of both the Japanese "race" and unique characteristics of its peoples. Ono specifically cites the contemporary resurgence in interest in *kenminsei* as the inspiration for his publication. *Kenminsei* today refers to a belief that

[32] Oguma Eiji, *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self–images*, trans.David Askew (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002), 272–6, 282.
[33] Inazo Nitobe, one of the earliest influential voices representing Japan to an international audience in English, proposed a much simpler interpretation: Japan is united as an island nation. The archipelago nation is defined by six characteristics: being an island country, on volcanic rock, narrow, long, proximally close to the Asian mainland, and located in the Pacific Ocean. The island characteristic translated into "insularity" and "intense nationality," and is clearly the most fundamental aspect of the country uniting its inhabitants. Inazo Nitobe, *The Japanese Nation: Its Land, Its People, and Its Life* (New York: P.T. Putnam's Sons, 1912), 21, 26.
[34] Auguste Comte, *A General View of Positivism*, trans. J.H. Bridges (London: Trubner and Co, 1865 [1848]), 1–4.

the inhabitants of each prefecture of Japan have certain particularities, cultural attributes, or personality traits unique to their region. The term first appeared during the late 1920s as a pedagogical term (also as *kyōdo minsei* [local citizen qualities]) relating to various qualities of the national citizen, such as "abundant spirit of patriotism and loyalty based on a spirit of fealty to the emperor and love of the country," "being honest and unadorned [*soboku*], not making up one's outer appearance; being candid [*tanpaku*], optimistic, and realistic," and that "Young women should be gentle outside and iron within, be the equivalent of a samurai's woman, and give their all to give birth to boys." On the other hand, Japanese *kenminsei* also included shortcomings such as "a deficiency in organizational planning ability," "a deficiency in creativity in problem solving [*kufū sōzōsei*]," and a "tendency for regional feelings of favoritism."[35] By the early 1930s, *kenminsei* was starting to be used to describe individual prefectures instead of stereotypical ethnic-national attributes. The number of books with *kenminsei* in the title or table of contents rose from 20 in the 1930s to 41 in the 1970s, and 61 in the 1980s, placing Ono and Seidōs' works at the height of the term's popularity.[36]

Ono specifically writes that he set out to "grasp the foundational spirit which is shared by the literati borne of Aomori prefecture, and while obviously probing their particularities, to further to clean up the intermittent and messy relationships between their various existences and their literary activities, and their specific contexts"—to both affirm the common spirit or character of Aomori writers, and to construct a map of the *bundan* in order to make it more concrete and graspable. The task ultimately proved too monumental, and he reduced the scope of

[35] Kagoshima–ken kyōiku kai, *Kyōdo fujin no kagayaki* (Japan: Kagoshima–ken kyōiku kai, 1927), 3–4.
[36] Book–length studies utilizing *kenminsei* to describe Saga, Kagawa, Saitama, Fukushima, Wakayama, Akita, and Miyagi prefectures appear during the 1930s. *Region Aomori monthly* features the term in six issues from 1979–1991. *Webcat Plus*, accessed 16 June, 2016 <http://webcatplus.nii.ac.jp/>.

his project to an encyclopaedic survey early on in the writing process.[37] Still, his work clearly reflects the contemporary discourse of *kenminsei*.

Seidō engages in a similar practice of describing the folk of Aomori via their belonging to the category of Tohoku people in general: they are not "simple souls" [*ohito yoshi*] or "easygoing people" [*nonbiri ya*], but are instead characterized by "delicacy," "anger," and "a critical nature." They have a "mental life" [*seishin seikatsu*] which cannot be communicated in standardized Japanese, but can only be spoken in "dialect" [*hōgen*]. Furthermore, these unique personality traits have been thus for "thousands of years," and will probably never change "for all of eternity."[38]

Other postwar discourses of *kenminsei* did not always directly reference climate or environment, but the connection is often implicit. Daijō Kazuo, an amateur historian of Tsugaru-jamisen, describes Tsugaru *kenminsei* using the vernacular words *joppari* [aloof or obstinate], *efurikoki* [to put on airs, to make a show of things], and *na nadaba* [a "don't give a damn, whoever you are" spirit of independence].[39] There are even contemporary discourses of cultural *fūdobyō*, endemic diseases, which attribute unique bodily and psychological ailments to people of specific regions.[40] This is all to say that there was a resurgence of interest in local identity and local specificity during the 1970s and 80s, and that proponents split the difference between measured philosophical approaches and place-based essentialism.

[37] Indeed, my attempts to spatially organize the entire community have also been mostly thwarted due to its exceeding complexity. Ono, *Kita no bunmyaku*, Vol. 1: *jobun*.
[38] Seidō, *Furusato no shi…*, 10.
[39] Daijō Kazuo, Anthony Rausch, and Suda Naoyuki, *The Birth of Tsugaru Shamisen Music: Origin and Development of a Japanese Folk Performing Art*, trans. Anthony Rausch (Japan: Aomori University Press, 1998), 50.
[40] Matsuki Akitomo uses *fūdobyō* as one method of defining "Tsugaru" among others including family names, festivals, history of medicine, and vernacular language. Matsuki Akira and Matsuki Akitomo, *Tsugaru no bunkashi* (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1983), 247–56.

PUBLICATION AND REGIONAL INSTITUTION

In addition to detailing attributes of the Tsugaru literary community through allusion to climate and place, these writers participate in the creation of place consciousness through their involvement in and representation within publishing and literary networks. My survey of 43 Tsugaru and Tsugaru-affiliated authors clearly shows that the vast majority of their publications come from Tokyo via the main players in the field, with the most coming from Chikuma, Kodansha, Shinchōsha, and Kadokawa in turn. Yet authors published widely across 457 other venues, including a significant number via Hirosaki-based Tsugaru shobō and Kitagata shin-sha.[41]

Publishers like these two locate both the text and, in the case of *Furusato no shi to shijin*, the referent of *furusato*. It is critical to the company's identity that Kitagata shin-sha [Northern press], both Seidō and Fujita's publisher, is located in Hirosaki. According to the company's website, their mission statement is to publish "books based on the theme of 'cultural transmissions from the north,'" suggesting that while the target audience may be foreign, the point of origin of the discourse is distinctly native.[42] The publisher is thus located both physically and discursively in Tsugaru, and is explicitly invested in the project of defining or promulgating information about that place. Ono's first major Tsugaru literature series was published in the town magazine *Kita no Machi* [The northern district] in Aomori city, and addressed the similar theme of *Bungaku no aru fūkei* [A landscape full of literature]. Next, *Kita no bunmyaku* was

[41] My survey drew on a cross section of names I encountered most often, and most prominently, throughout my research process. Referencing data from Webcat Plus, I created a spreadsheet comparing all of their publication information. *Webcat Plus*, accessed June 16, 2016 <http://webcatplus.nii.ac.jp/>. What this one-dimensional analysis does not capture, however, is the centrality and variety of coterie journals (e.g. *Zahyō*, *Kutafumu*, *Reimei*, etc) and local newspapers. Historically, the *Hirosaki shinbun* and *Aomori shinbun*, and now the *Tōō nippō* and *Mutsu shinbun* are mainstays of the literary community. Additionally, the *Tōō nippō* company regularly publishes popular volumes dedicated to Tsugaru or "*tōō*" [deep northern] issues.

[42] Kitagata is a subsidiary of Onoprint/Ono *insatsujo*, an omnibus publisher also based in Hirosaki. "Kitagata shin–sha ni tsuite," Onoprint, accessed 14 June, 2016 <http://www.onoprint.jp/>.

serialized in *Kita no machi*.[43] The casual format and limited distribution of the publication brought his discussion of "Tsugaru" literature directly and exclusively to a "Tsugaru" audience. He would go on to publish the collection in four volumes over the course of several years, using the same company, Kita no machi-sha. Across the span of his career, over half of his publications would be brought out by either Kita no machi-sha or Tsugaru shobō. Thus, Ono, Fujita, and Seidō each wrote Tsugaru in Tsugaru, and addressed those writings primarily to Tsugaru (partly by design, and partly due to the limited distribution capabilities of their publishers).

Furthermore, Fujita wrote about the literary networks which gave shape to the Tsugaru *bundan*, proposing a very open-ended interpretation of the category "Aomori Prefecture Literature."[44] He defines his parameters in the very first sentence of the first volume as thus: "It may be debatable whether the label 'A Literary History of Aomori Prefecture' is appropriate to this project or not, but my intention was to try to weave together a narrative of historical facts of the literature created during a particular time within the climatic space [*fūdo teki kūkan*] of Aomori Prefecture *without regards to whether its authors are regional* [*chihō sakka*] *or central* [*chūō sakka*]."[45] Indeed, he includes substantial subsections in chapters discussing writers who either visited Aomori or were influenced by its writers, like Masaoka Shiki, Shimazaki Tōson, Ōmachi Keigetsu, and Wakayama Bokusui.[46] Fujita additionally make classifications between

[43] The Hirosaki local literature museum's biannual newsletter borrows this publication's title for its own, the "*Kita no bunmyaku nyūsu*," demonstrating the prominence of *Kita no bunmyaku* text in the contemporary Tsugaru *bundan* landscape.
[44] I refer to the Tsugaru *bundan*, because this is an imaginary which the direct literary participants themselves constructed. Local literary debates took place in the Hirosaki–based *Tōōnippō* and *Hirosaki Shinbun* newspapers, and many writers were schooled in Hirosaki's Toōō Gijuku Academy. As a local center for education and publication, Hirosaki took on a similar role as Tokyo did for the national *bundan*. While secondary sources tend to address Aomori prefecture as a whole, it also quickly becomes apparent that with few exceptions, the majority of the Aomori literary community comes from the western half of the prefecture.
[45] Emphasis added. Fujita, Vol. 1: 1.
[46] Fujita, Vol. 1: 11–13, 170–196; Fujita, Vol. 2: 57–61.

those Aomori writers who were "blessed with certain professional connections" and able to make it in Tokyo (Satō Kōroku, Akita Ujaku, Kasai Zenzō, and Fukushi Kōjirō), and those who had literary talents equal to Tokyo-based writers, but were unable to thrive in the center (Ōtsuka Kōzan, Narumi Yōkichi, Katō Tōri, and Wada Sanran).[47] The authors named here could be said to constitute the core participants in Fujita's Tsugaru *bundan*.

In the second volume, Fujita goes on to assert that it was via contact with the central *bundan* that "modern literature" like colloquial free verse, novels, literary critique [*hyōron*], and *gikyoku* drama came to the "Aomori prefecture *bundan*."[48] While this may be true, Fujita stresses the opposition between center and periphery, and in doing so ascribes an outsized role in the creation of the Aomori *bundan* to the central *bundan*, almost seeming to suggest that literary innovation was a property of the center, a hand-me-down gift to the provinces.

Ono is more ambivalent. He initially praises (woodblock print artist) Munakata Shikō, Dazai Osamu, Terayama Shūji, Miura Tetsurō, and Osabe Hideo for finding success in the "crucible" [*rutsubo*] of Tokyo, and suggests that it was the transformative migration to a new environment which stimulated their creative prowess. Yet he acknowledges that some may not require such a traumatic shift to a chaotic new environment, suggesting that perhaps a smaller, less crowded city—like Hirosaki—could serve as a similar kind of tempering device.[49] Although he does not utilize such language, Ono seems to be pointing to the usefulness of changing scales of perspective: centers and peripheries can be imagined within different levels of locality, and the functions of centers and peripheries so imagined can also be replicated at scale. At the same time that he acknowledges this, he follows Fujita's pragmatic appraisal of the symbolic capital of the center: to legitimize oneself in the countryside, one must go to the center; to gain recognition

[47] Fujita, Vol. 1: 2, 147–8.
[48] Fujita, Vol. 2: 1–2.
[49] Ono, *Kita no bunmyaku*, Vol. 2: 2.

in the center, one must go abroad (the "West" standing in as a global "center").[50] Yet in the following sentence Ono again reverses himself, asking "to become an artist, is it really necessary to go to the capital?" Coming upon a counter example is perhaps rare, but illuminating such examples is part of his reason for conducting this project in the first place.[51]

These authors each wrestle with which writers to include in their projects, how to rank their importance (measurable to a degree in terms of word and page counts), and how far to expand the category of "Tsugaru" or "Aomori" literature. The cross-section of these works and those of other literary-historical collections, anthologies, local literature museums, stone literary memorials [*bungaku hi*, *sekihi*], government websites, etc, reveals an institutionalization of the Tsugaru *bundan*. In a word, those who get recorded and revived take on central positions in the contemporary imaginary of the Tsugaru *bundan*; those who are not fade into the background. T.S. Eliot's thought-piece on minor poetry gestures in a similar direction—that "major" poets are enshrined in collected works, whereas "minor" poets are relegated to the anthology and coterie journal.[52]

One interesting example of this process is the volume *Hōgen shishū: Tsugaru no shi* [A dialect poetry collection: poems of Tsugaru]. During the initial few printings, beginning in 1964, the collection contained Ichinohe Kenzō's "*Neputa*," Takagi Kyōzō's "*Marumero*" [Marmelo], Ueki Yōsuke's "*Ebota kakigishi*" [Hedge of Japanese privet], and Koeda Kurō's edited

[50] Indeed, Takagi Kyōzō's poetry collection *Marumero*, one of the most important to the local literary scene, only gained popular recognition (and the first of many reprints) after selected translations into English by James Kirkup and Michio Nakano appeared in 1968 and 1969. Fellow Tsugaru writer Yamada Shō argues that the translation (into largely unmarked English) proves that there is poetic merit to *Marumero* beyond the gimmick of its dialect. Yamada Shō, *Marumero–ron* (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1979), 7.
[51] Ono, *Kita no bunmyaku*, Vol. 2: 3–4.
[52] This is an oversimplification, as Eliot is more interested in parsing different perspectives on the major and minor rather than capturing the minor, which he believes to be mutable and subject to personal interpretation, in a hard–and–fast definition. T.S. Eliot, "What is Minor Poetry?"*The Sewanee Review*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (1946), 2–4, 12–13.

collection "*Kagawara shū*" [Collection of grasses].[53] However, beginning in 1986, Koeda's collection has disappeared from new reprints.[54] The six contributing authors to Koeda's work include Matsuki Toshio, Kimura Sukeo, Hihori Sōta, Kamata Kihachi, and Kaimai Hayako. This erasure contributes to and mirrors their erasure from representation in broader discourses of the Tsugaru *bundan*: these are the "minor poets" of the Tsugaru "dialect poetry" movement.

The complexity and sheer volume of participants in this community history make a definitive, or even representative, reckoning virtually impossible.[55] To help orient the following elaboration on the complexity and subjectivity of this process of institutionalization, we may begin by investigating what is perhaps the epitome of the popular curation of knowledge: Wikipedia. The Japanese Wikipedia page for "*Aomori-ken shusshin jinbutsu ichiran*" [Table of significant persons born in Aomori prefecture] lists 34 categories of "*bunkajin*" [cultural producers] in addition to, politicians, industrialists, athletes, etc; and 38 names under the sub-heading of "*sakka*" [writer], all of whom were born in Aomori prefecture and notable enough to merit mention.[56] This classification system divides persons by genre or literary field, resulting in some writers seemingly arbitrarily left out of certain categories, and others with duplicate names appearing under multiple headings—perhaps artifacts of the process of communal authorship. The complex categorization additionally results in a queer isolation of "journalists" like Kuga

[53] Ichinohe Kenzō et al, *Hōgen shishū: Tsugaru no shi* (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1964).
[54] Ichinohe Kenzō et al, *Hōgen shishū: Tsugaru no shi* (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1986).
[55] There are many examples of spatialized representations of these relationships on display in the Museum of Modern Aomori Literature, the Hirosaki City Local Literature Museum, the former Hirosaki City Library, as well as in the back of Ono's *Kita no bunmyaku*. Their singular inability to reduce or holistically represent these relationships is telling. The museums and their websites, referenced below, also provide biographical timelines, permanent displays, rotating special collections, resource catalogues, and a variety of pamphlets and other literature. These combined with the work of individual authors, scholars, and anthologizers makes for an endlessly complicated proliferation and reinterpretation of the Tsugaru, or Aomori, *bundan*.
[56] Wikipedia provides guidelines establishing "notability," theoretically ensuring a base–line of objectivity in determining who is included and excluded from the list. Notability requirements include a provision of mention in reliable secondary sources. The anthologies and histories surveyed in my research function as many of those secondary sources, and none of them list such an explicit rationale for the authors they chose to detail. Wikipedia, "Wikipedia: Notability," accessed: 19 July, 2016 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Notability>.

Katsunan and Toyabe Shuntei, dramatist Kikuya Sakae, and "thinker" [*shisōka*] Awaya Yūzō from the Aomori *sakka*, with which they are so often attached in other sources. Despite the capricious nature of classification of writers under different categories on the page, they are all included because of the objective fact of the place of their birth. Other figures with significant connections to the region are relegated to the bottom of the page under the heading "*Aomori-ken yukari no jinbutsu*" [Significant persons connected to Aomori prefecture].[57]

Any such veneer of objectivity and scientific rationality is largely dispensed with in the construction of the Tsugaru *bundan* elsewhere: writers are included or excluded for logistical reasons (e.g. available research materials, page limits, sub-regional focus), and those hailing from outside of the region may be given prominence, and even treated equally to native writers. Perhaps the most egregious example of how such paring can act to marginalize the regional *bundan* in Tsugaru is Matsuki Akira's *Tsugaru to kindai bungaku* [Tsugaru and modern literature], which devotes only a single slim chapter to an author actually born and active in the region (Narumi Yōkichi), and then even spends several of its pages explicating his influence on a central *bundan* author (Shimazaki Tōson).[58] The remainder of the monograph is concerned with those important writers from Tokyo who visited and wrote about the region. Matsuki reduces Tsugaru to whatever influences it exercised on the central *bundan*; conversely, writers like Sōma Shōichi focus much more on the mutual aspects of relations between center and periphery. For instance, in a poetry collection commentary, instead of emphasizing how Tōson may have learned a bit of Yōkichi's vernacular tongue through their meeting, he focuses on how Tōson provided Yōkichi with artistic direction, allegedly encouraging him to explore the possibilities of

[57] Wikipedia, "Aomori–ken shusshin no jinbutsu ichiran," accessed: 12 July, 2016 <https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E9%9D%92%E6%A3%AE%E7%9C%8C%E5%87%BA%E8%BA%AB%E3%81%AE%E4%BA%BA%E7%89%A9%E4%B8%80%E8%A6%A7>.
[58] Matsuki Akira, *Tsugaru to kindai bungaku* (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1973).

Romantic poetry by using literature as a vehicle for expressing his emotional state.[59] Arguably, all of Fukushi Kōjirō's students could be said to have inherited the work of the center in the same fashion, as Fukushi was an active poet in Tokyo for twenty years before returning to Hirosaki in middle life.

Perhaps the sheer diversity of the Tsugaru literary scene's composition, while notable in and of itself, necessitates strategic trimming. The most comprehensive listing of regional authors appears on the Museum of Modern Aomori Literature website, and contains data on at least 352 authors.[60] The list is described as "a comprehensive summary of Aomori prefecture-connected writers," and contains names of individuals who were neither born nor lived for extended periods of time in the prefecture, but merely visited and wrote about its place.[61] The Hirosaki City Local Literature Museum [*Hirosaki shiritsu kyōdo bungaku-kan*] is adorned with a large painting called *Kita no sanrei* [Northern peaks], depicting 45 authors' names color-coded according to "local birth," "local relationship," and "other."[62] For both the Museum of Modern Literature and Local Literature Museum, affiliation or association seems to play as strong a role as the place of one's birth. Ono Masafumi's *Kita no bunmyaku* contains portraits of an astounding 193 writers, with six receiving special double-length columns. The authors represented in his work all hail from

[59] Sōma Shōichi, "Narumi Yōkichi no kōgo–ka hassō," appended to *Shishū Tsuchi ni kahere*, by Narumi Yōkichi. (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1979), 2–3.

[60] This includes Tsugaru, as well as the Nanbu and Shimokita regions in eastern Aomori. While few secondary sources focus strictly on dividing Aomori into different regions, Tsugaru is overwhelmingly represented in every major source. The few non–Tsugaru authors who appear intermittently in the *bundan* narratives include Ōtsuka Kōzan , Kitamura Komatsu, and Kitabatake Yaho; Kōzan with the greatest representation as he was the most involved with the literary debates and *Tōōnippō* newspaper literary columns. The Museum of Modern Aomori Literature, "Aomori–ken yukari zen sakka ichiran," accessed: 12 July, 2016 <http://www.plib.pref.aomori.lg.jp/top/museum/sakka/sakkA50/zensakka.html>.

[61] Despite the extensiveness of the list, certain names are glaringly absent, including Shimazaki Tōson (who visited Narumi Yōkichi and Akita Ujaku), Yanagita Kunio (who conducted ethnographic work there), and Yosano Akiko (who had a prolonged relationship with Fukushi Kōjirō and visited on at least one occasion). Non–natives who are listed include Satō Hachirō (son of Tsugaru–native and significant poet Satō Kōroku) and Ōmachi Keigetsu (whose poetry is credited with making the area near Lake Towada nationally renowned).

[62] The chart is painted so that each author's name appears at the summit of a mountain, roughly dispersed in chronological order from past to present. In this way, these writers are literally written into an imaginary and ordered landscape.

Tsugaru.[63] Fujita's *Aomori-ken bungaku shi* lists the birth years of a total of 178 writers in timelines in the back of each of the three volumes, and includes full chapters or extended discussion on approximately 24 authors. As mentioned above, here too, the purview extends beyond the scope of only Aomori-born writers.[64]

Elsewhere on the Museum of Modern Literature website, the institution selects "thirteen representative writers of Aomori Prefecture" [*Aomori-ken wo daihyō suru 13 nin no sakka*] from the list, eleven of which were born in Tsugaru, with the remaining two hailing from Hachinohe city in Nanbu.[65] On yet another page, six different authors, including Ono Masafumi, appear as the focus of a page entitled "traces of local literature" [*kyōdo sakka no kiseki*] (all but Ono are Tsugaru natives).[66] The Hirosaki City Local Literature Museum's scope is much narrower, including only writers ostensibly affiliated with Hirosaki City. It hosts a permanent installation dedicated to just ten individual writers, three of whom are not singled out for recognition on the other homepage.[67]

The lack of a definitive cohort of writers representing the Tsugaru *bundan* attests to the arbitrary nature of the sections made to represent the most important voices from the region. A total of 34 authors are the object of exceptional focus across the institutionalizing works addressed above, yet a cross-section of them reveal only seven—Satō Kōroku, Kasai Zenzō, Fukushi Kōjirō, Ichinohe Kenzō, Ishizaka Yōjirō, Takagi Kyōzō, and Dazai Osamu—to be held

[63] Ono, *Kita no bunmyaku*, vol. 1–3; Ono Masafumi, *Zoku kita no bunmyaku: Aomori–ken jinbutsu bungakushi* (Japan: Kita no machi–sha, 1991).
[64] The three volumes are chronologically ordered, covering Meiji, Taisho, and Showa literature respectively. As a result, there is significant overlap in names appearing across the three works. The vast majority of the names appearing in the timelines are identified with Tsugaru birth places, and Hirosaki city clearly stands as the home to the greatest number of literati discussed. Fujita, Vol. 1–3.
[65] The Museum of Modern Aomori Literature, "Aomori–ken wo daihyō suru 13 nin no sakka."
[66] The Museum of Modern Aomori Literature, "Kyōdo sakka no kiseki," accessed: 12 July, 2016 <http://www.plib.pref.aomori.lg.jp/top/museum/tyuumoku_back–n.html>.
[67] Hirosaki City, "Hirosaki shiritsu kyōdo bungakukan," accessed: 12 July, 2016 <http://www.city.hirosaki.aomori.jp/bungakukan/>.

in common amongst the majority. Five of the seven (all but Ichinohe and Takagi) found their long-term place in the Tokyo *bundan*, meaning that their literary value has been validated by more typical mechanisms of national canonization—or, as Ono mused, acknowledgement by the center may actually be a prerequisite to acknowledgement in the periphery.

Among the writers, Fukushi Kōjirō undoubtedly occupies a central position within the community: he was a student of Satō Kōroku, and literary mentor to both Ichinohe Kenzō and Takagi Kyōzō. Additionally, he had a professional relationship with Akita Ujaku and mentored Hirata Koroku and Kon Kan'ichi, also important Tsugaru literati. Fukushi is known in particular for advocating for his philosophy of "regionalism" [*chihō shugi undō*], instigating the genre of "dialect poetry" [*hōgen shi*], and ultimately turning the focus of the local literary establishment onto the themes of Tsugaru, place, and "regionalism." This inspired other Tsugaru-vernacular writers like Kon Kan'ichi and Ueki Yōsuke, and also laid the foundation for contemporary poets Ina Kappei and Kudō Masahiro, neither of whom have received anywhere near the degree of attention as the authors previously listed. It is thus by zooming in on Fukushi that I begin the following inquiry into Tsugaru-as-place.

FUKUSHI KŌJIRŌ

Fukushi Kōjirō's (1889-1946) career can be broadly divided into three distinct phases: those focused on vernacular free-verse poetry, regionalism, and ancient Japan studies.[68] While it is the second phase which is of prime interest to the present analysis, Fukushi's arguments concerning essential rhythmical elements of the Japanese language, and his later interest in

[68] Fukushi's primary biographer, Seidō Rokurō, posits these three categories. The Museum of Modern Aomori Literature divides his poetic period in half, reflecting a turn away from free verse and a turn toward classical composition. Seidō Rokurō, *Fukushi Kōjirō*; The Museum of Modern Aomori Literature, "Fukushi Kōjirō," accessed: 7 April, 2016 <http://www.plib.pref.aomori.lg.jp/top/museum/index.html>.

Japanese "origins" culminating in a book-length *Report on Japanese Origins* [*Gen Nihon kō*] should not be overlooked, as they both point to his abiding interest in the themes of the primal, original, the real. To better grasp his fascination with origins, however, it may be helpful to consider his own.

Fukushi was born in 1889 in Hirosaki city, the original capital of what is now Aomori prefecture and future de-facto "center" of the Tsugaru *bundan*. As a child, he traveled and performed widely alongside his father, who was alternately a regional kabuki actor and carpenter until he passed away in 1901. Fukushi's older brother, who subsequently supported the family, was conscripted to serve in the Russo-Japan War in 1904, and soon after that Fukushi's mother left for her natal home in Yamagata. Fukushi dropped out of middle school following an altercation with a teacher, and quickly relocated to Tokyo. There, he enrolled in school only to be taunted by fellow classmates for his uncultured, provincial origins. He was also introduced to Akita Ujaku at this time, and started writing *tanka*. In 1908, Fukushi met Satō Kōroku through Ujaku, who in turn introduced him the following year to the founding members of *Jiyū shi-sha* [The free verse group]. The fact that both Ujaku and Kōroku were Tsugaru natives telegraphs an important recurring theme: that of Tsugaru literary-community networks persisting far beyond the geographical space of Aomori Prefecture.

The following year *Jiyū shi-sha* released their first publication, *Shizen to inshō* [Nature and impressions]. This was a collection of some of the earliest, self-consciously vernacular free-verse poetry [*kōgo jiyū shi*] in Japan. It was remarkable as a modern form of literary writing which replaced the rarified classical diction with a much more intuitive style closer to spoken Japanese, and which also eschewed the relatively strict metrical limitations of the first significant

attempt at "modern" Japanese poetry, the *shintaishi* [new form poetry].[69] The poetry Fukushi encountered in this journal had a profound impact on him, and he began writing modern vernacular free verse poetry as a direct result.[70] Later the same year, he published five free-verse works in the eighth installment of the journal, making his first serious introduction to the Tokyo poetry establishment [*shidan*].[71]

In the preface to his first major publication, Fukushi expresses experiencing an intense guilt about surviving his father and lover; additionally, he also suffered due to prejudice at school, and fell into serious financial straits connected with a failed publishing venture around this time.[72] This set of circumstances led Fukushi to succumb to such a deep depression that he considered taking his life on multiple occasions.

Ironically, Fukushi's difficulties were in part the result of his contact with Mitomi Kyūyō's free verse works from *Shizen to inshō*, which inspired him to confront his emotions in a very raw manner. In his words, the poems "threw me into the bottomless depths of depression [*yūutsu*]." This emotionality made the act of writing new poetry intensely, and consciously, reflexive.[73] This did not merely unlock a new sensitivity, but it forced Fukushi to reify his spirit

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[69] I should clarify the terminological shifts taking place in late–Meiji through Taisho Japan. Classical Japanese poetry, or *waka* [lit. Japanese songs], include *tanka* and *haiku*, which are metered formal poetry. *Waka* are referred to as *uta* ["songs"] (often written using different notation than the *uta* associated with *min'yō* discussed previously). These terms were originally invoked in contrast to foreign poetry, or *shi*, which until the turn of the century almost exclusively referred to Chinese poetry, what is now known as *kanshi*. In contemporary parlance, *shi* refers broadly to vernacular free verse [*kōgo jiyūshi*], either written in Japanese, or otherwise "modern" or "western"–style prosody. In the following pages, I employ unabridged descriptors whenever practical to avoid ambiguity.

[70] He specifically cites Fukuda Yūsaku's "Twilight" [*Tsuwairaito*] for awakening his slumbering spirit [*tamashii*], and Mitomi Kyūyō's assorted works further emotional training. Fukushi Kōjirō, *Gendai Nihon bungaku taikei,* Vol. 41 (Japan: Chikuma shobō, 1972), 83.

[71] He originally wrote under the penname Fukushi Kōu. For a partial collection of the journal, see: Fukuda Yūsaku, *Shizen to inshō*, (Japan: Jiyū shi–sha, 1909) <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/876320> PDF.

[72] While enumerating his woes, he mentions an "*Ane*," a word which typically refers to one's older sister or a young woman. Fukushi had no biological sisters, nor would he marry for several years. Thus *Ane* is either a literary fiction, or the nickname of an anonymous lover. Some sources mention *shitsuren* [broken heart] as contributing to his depression, but I have not been able to locate any that go into detail. See: Fukushi, *Gendai Nihon bungaku taikei*, 84; Hirosaki City, "Hirosaki shiritsu kyōdo bungakukan."

[73] The Romantic poetry movement of the early twentieth century, spearheaded by Shimazaki Tōson's wildly influential *Wakana–shū* [Collection of young leaves], planted some of the seeds of emotion–oriented and self–

or psyche [*reikon*, *tamashii*], in the form of poetic expression, as an impenetrable mystery, an "indecipherable riddle in [his] heart." This new self-consciousness was paralyzing, and it took two years of soul searching before he was able to recover from his depression and begin writing again.[74]

He describes the turning point as an encounter with death: a night in which he is visited, in dreams, by his "dead father, ex-lover [*Ane*], and one more deceased person all at once."[75] This confrontation caused him to reassess his gift of life, and he met this new dawn and the beginning of his recovery with his first truly lauded work: "The Moonstruck Blacksmith" [*Kajiya no Pokan-san*] (1912):

「鍛冶屋のポカンさん」	"The Moonstruck Blacksmith"
梨の花が真つ白に咲いたのに、 今日もまた降る雪まじりの雨。 濁り水は早口に鍛冶屋の桶(とひ)へをどり込み、 まつ裸な柳は手放しで青い青葉をぬらしてゐる。	Though the sand pear blossoms are blooming white Snow yet mixes with the rain today Murky water babbles, dancing into the smithy's trough A stark naked willow tree unabashedly wetting its green leaves
ここの息子はポカンさん、 とんてんかんと泣く相鎚に、 苺の初生(はつなり)が食べたいと、 金礎台(かなしきだい)ををたたくとさ、 手をあつあつとほてらして叩くとさ。	The son of this house is called the Moonstruck Blacksmith. The hammers cry back and forth: *ting-ting-clink* And as he strikes the anvil, he says "I crave strawberries of the first harvest!" His hands baking as he beats the metal.
ああ、夢ならばさめておくれ、 ポカンさん、	Oh, if this is a dream, let me wake up! Moony! This crazy world is full of

reflective composition techniques which Kyūyō and Fukushi would adapt to their free verse methods. In fact, Tōson provided Narumi Yōkichi, Tsugaru native and lifelong friend of Akita Ujaku, that very artistic direction: he encouraged him to accept darkness, depression, and personal struggles into his poetry, and to use them to develop his thematic tropes of anger [*fun'nyo*] and emptiness [*kyomu*]. Yōkichi would adapt this emotional composition technique into a hybrid form transitioning between the blank verse–like *shintai–shi* and later oral free verse. Sōma Shōichi, "Narumi Yōkichi no kōgo–ka hassō," in Narumi Yōkichi, *Shishū Tsuchi ni kahere*. (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1979), 2–3.

[74] Fukushi, *Gendai Nihon bungaku taikei,* 83.

[75] Fukushi, *Gendai Nihon bungaku taikei*, 83.

この世のなかに多いものは、
秘蔵息子のやもめ暮らし。
時計の針のさきのやうに、
気の狂(ふ)れやすい生娘(きむすめ)暮らし。

この年月(としつき)の暑寒(さむさあつさ)の往来(わうらい)に、
わたしの胸は凋(しぼ)んだ花の皺ばかり、
わたしの胸はとりとまりない時候はづれな食気ばかり。

Spoiled, bachelor sons
And like the pointed hands of a clock
Young maids are so prone to hysteria
With the cycles of cold and heat[76] over the months and years
My heart has become a shriveled flower, full of wrinkles
My heart is naught but a fickle, unseasonable appetite[77]

The language of "The Moonstruck Blacksmith" is generally accessible, and does not turn so completely on an intricate knowledge of seasonal words, poetic citation, and metrical regularity which guides so much of classical *haikai* composition. As such, it seems to be sitting on the limnus between two imagined traditions: classical Japanese *uta* and western poetry.[78] This poem turns on discord: clashing juxtapositions and indeterminate mixtures, rather than definitive crystallizations. The wintry mix—out of place in the season of pear blossoms—and muddy water both signal the lack of clarity echoed in the protagonist's moniker. This fuzziness reflects the smith's irresolution: he cannot marry, and therefore cannot fulfill his role as a productive male member of society. There is an ironic contrast between the flowery sentimentalism of the man's heart and the sheer masculine brutality of his profession, between his external and internal forms. Moony has been left impotent by an over-caring mother, and thus while his body has grown into

[76] Fukushi employs a clever device to suggest the cyclical repetition of seasonal change: he writes the characters for *kansho*, literally meaning "cold and hot" or "winter and summer," but glosses them in reverse order with the reading *atsusa samusa*, "hot and hold." Visually, the information is presented all at once, but the reader is forced to double back to resolve the discrepancy between the juxtaposed meanings, causing the reading experience to replicate the semantic content of seasonal repetition. This may also be an attempt at aestheticizing "inner rhythm," discussed briefly below. The order of the *kanji* is reversed (corrected?) in the *Gendai Nihon bungaku taikei* and in his collected works, but can be found in the original publication: Fukushi Kōjirō, *Tenbō* (Japan: Shinchō–sha, 1934), 5.
[77] The nickname "Pokan–san" has the double meaning of distracted or daydreaming, and the sound of a hammer striking metal. The translation as "Moonstruck" is a modest attempt at translating the pun. Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū*, vol. 1: 35–6.
[78] I invoke "tradition" here, following Eliot's definition, cited above. Fukushi certainly uses seasonable vocabulary familiar to Japanese poets, yet he does so while gleaning different compositional techniques from European influences.

a hard adult, his mind remains delicate and childlike.[79] The clock, with its threatening, "pointed hands," is his enemy: he wants to turn back time, to pluck the virgin strawberries of the past, to revitalize the wilted flower of his youth.

The intense longing to turn back time, to capture a sense of lost self and make it right, is deeply coded in terms of sexual desire. The entire poem is penetrated by a sensual wetness: the precipitation, the gushing water, the soaking leaves of the willow, the juice of the berries. The alluring willow is "stark naked" in this bachelor's eyes, and women in general seem to find maintaining both sanity and virginity a difficult task to manage.

This animalistic desire to consume—the "fickle, unseasonable appetite"—is exactly how Fukushi describes his own mental state after that fateful night that he faced death. "The Moonstruck Blacksmith" was written, along with another work called "FANTASIA," at this turning point in Fukushi's mental life, as he began to reverse the course of his depression.[80] Over time, as his mental wounds healed, Fukushi became intrigued by humanism [*jindō shugi*], and experienced a kind of spiritual reawakening.

Fukushi's optimistic humanism can be observed throughout his first major poetry collection, *Taiyō no ko* [Children of the sun], from 1914. The sun-themed poems contained therein are exuberant and indefatigably forward-looking, and express a sincere gratitude for the gift of life. He refers to these poems as his "birth cries" [*tanjō no koe, ubugoe*], and his near-religious conversion was an affirmation of the "miracle of life" [*sei no fushigi dearu*].[81] *Taiyō no*

[79] Traditionally, smiths in Japan pounded as teams: one man would crouch, holding the ingot steady on the anvil with tongs and striking it with a small hammer, while his partner(s) would stand, wielding large, two–handed sledges in turn. The "baking" of Moony's hands could suggest that he is the one crouching down, shifting the metal between the furnace and the anvil. His fellow smith/s (whose presence is assured by the term *aidzuchi*, striking in turn) would be standing over him, exerting much more strength and energy, striking with a much louder bang. Assuming that this inference is correct, Moony's manhood would be further minimized through the diminutive size of his proverbial "hammer."
[80] Fukushi, *Gendai Nihon bungaku taikei,* 84.
[81] Fukushi, *Gendai Nihon bungaku taikei,* 84.

ko also contained what would be perhaps his most renowned poem, *Jibun ha taiyō no ko dearu* [I am a child of the sun] (1913):

自分は太陽の子である　——八月十一日

自分は太陽の子である
未だ燃(も)えるだけ燃えたことのない太陽の子である

今口火(いまくちび)をつけられてゐる
そろそろ燻(くす)ぶりかけてゐる

ああこの煙りが焔(ほのほ)になる
自分はまつぴるまのあかるい幻想(げんさう)にせめられて止まないのだ

明るい白光(びやくくわう)の原つぱである
ひかり充ちた都會のまんなかである
嶺(みね)にはづかしさうに純白な雪が輝く山脈である

自分はこの幻想(げんさう)にせめられて
今燻(くすぶ)りつつあるのだ
黒いむせぼつたい重い烟(けむ)りを吐きつつあるのだ

ああひかりある世界よ
ひかりある空中よ

ああひかりある人間よ
總身眼のごとき人よ
總身象牙彫(ざうげぼり)のごとき人よ
怜悧(りこう)で健康で力あふるる人よ

自分は暗い水ぼつたいじめじめした所か

"I am a Child of the Sun"

I am a child of the Sun,
a child of the Sun who has not yet begun to burn.

Now a little spark has caught
and soon I will start to smolder.

Ah, and the smoke turns into a flame!
I am caught up in this brilliant daydream and cannot escape.

The dream is a field of bright white light,
it is the center of a city brimming with light,
it is a mountain range where pure white snow sheepishly glows at the peaks.

I am pursued by this daydream:
now I smolder stronger and stronger,
belching more and more thick, black, choking smoke.

O, dear world of light!
O, skies of light!

O, dear men of light!
O, you who open your whole bodies up to the world!
O, you whose whole bodies are as if carved in ivory!
O, you who are so clever and healthy and strong!

I raised my first infant cry from a place damp, watery, and dark, but
I am a child of the Sun,
a child of the Sun forever yearning to burn. [82]

[82] Fukushi Kōjirō, "*I am a Child of the Sun* by Fukushi Kōjirō," trans. Joshua Solomon in *Transference*, Vol.. 3. No. 1, Article 12 (2016) <http://scholarworks.wmich.edu/transference/Vol.3/iss1/12>.

ら産聲(うぶごゑ)をあげたけれども
自分は太陽の子である
燃えることを憧れてやまない太陽の子で
ある

The themes and images explored here are expanded upon explicitly in "Sun Worship" [*Taiyō sūhai*] and "Children of the Sun" [*Hi no ko*], as well in more subtle ways in works spanning this and his second collection, *Prospects* [*Tenbō*], including "The Southern Shore" [*Minami no kaigan*], "the ghost" [*Yūrei*], "Origins" [*Genshi*], "Winter Sunset" [*Fuyu no higure*], "Song of Longing for Light" [*Hikari wo shitau uta*], "Oh, on the Far Side of the Plain" [*Aa heigen no Kanata ni*], "O, Flame on the Mountain" [*Sanjō no hi yo*], "Spirit Illuminating Light" [*Rei wo terasu hikari*], "Star with a Fever" [*Netsu wo yanderu hoshi*], "Inside a Storm" [Arashi no naka de], etc.[83] Fukushi's suns and flames are distant, but always provide strength and vitality; they grow constant and powerful, and their absence is a cause of despondence and desolation. Light and life became interchangeable metaphors for Fukushi, and he instilled their values of love [*ai*] and vitality [*seimei*] in his students.[84] The sun worship in these works is not nationalistic, but merely a de-localized radiant love of life.[85]

By contrast, the phrase "children of the sun" has been invoked elsewhere in reference to the Japanese as a "sun tribe" [*taiyō minzoku*], from the "land of the rising sun," waging a "holy war" [*seisen*] across East Asia, etc.[86] The neutrality of Fukushi's "I am a Child of the Sun" also stands in stark contrast to Kagawa Toyohiko's similarly titled wartime "*Taiyō no ko da, watashi ha*" [A child of the sun, I am], in which he intones the words "Japan," "Japanese," "*sakura*," and

[83] Fukushi Kōjirō, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1, ed. Osanai Tokio (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1967), 62–4, 44–6, 17, 27, 38, 42, 67, 77, 75–6, 80, 84, 86.
[84] Kon Kan'ichi, *Shijin Fukushi Kōjirō* (Japan: Yayoi shobō, 1957), 81.
[85] In the introduction to *Prospects* (in defense of his poorly–selling *Taiyō no ko*) he also rejects the notion of popular or commercial poetry, arguing for art for the sake of art, removed from the constraints and demands of society. Fukushi, *Tenbō*, 2.
[86] Fujisawa Chikao, *Kokka to Seinen* (Japan: Chōbun–kaku, 1943), 203–6.

"[Mt.] Fuji," and forwards imperialistic claims that "the dark soil of this world is too / small for me / the realm of the Orient is too cramped for me… / the Milky Way is my cradle / the Big Dipper, my plaything."[87] Although Fukushi's politics would veer sharply right during the escalating nationalism of the 1920s and 30s, at this point in his career, his project appears to have been dominated only by a humanistic concept of spirit as a motivating energy and source of creative inspiration.

Regardless of the political context of his work, Fukushi's aesthetic theory is clearly guided by the notion that poetry is a direct representation of the poet's mental state, and he regularly invoked spiritual metaphors to express that belief. The "spirit" and invisibility of mental life are important themes which I will return to, but first we should consider his other major poetic-aesthetic contribution.

ONRITSURON: THE STUDY OF RHYTHM

Fukushi was also intensely interested in the rhythm of language, and wrote extensively on rhythmic principles he believed to be intrinsic to Japanese. He discovered the power of cadence in his own writing, which had a "comfortable, optimistic rhythm" which "surged out, instinctively, [even] from [his] world-weary and depressed state."[88] This rhythm seemed natural, ingrained in the Japanese phonetic system, and so Fukushi began investigating its linguistic foundations. His study began with a trail of shorter essays published between 1919 and 1922, and culminated in the lengthy 1930 publication of *Nihon onsūritsu-ron* [on Japanese syllabic meter].[89] By arguing for the necessity of rhythmic structure, he also criticized what he saw as an

[87] Kagawa Toyohiko, *Tenkū to kokudo wo nuiawasete: shishū* (Japan: Nichi Doku shoin, 1943), 3–6.
[88] Fukushi, *Gendai Nihon bungaku taikei,* 84.
[89] Including "*Rizumu–ron no shinteigi*," "*Teikeishi to jiyūshi to no sai*," "*Onritsu–ron*," and "*Jiyūshi onritsu–ron*," in: Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 362–381, 441–460; Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 2:

ignorant reactionary movement among free-verse poets who believed that they could escape all strictures of form and rhythm—specifically, he critiques their denial of the "material" [*busshitsu*] properties of language.[90] The discussion of materiality also seems to recognize spoken language as primary, meaning that even the rhythms of silent reading are derived from those of speech.[91]

European poetic theory emphasizes the scansion of intonation (stressed and unstressed syllables) rather than "rhythm," which meant that foreign poetic treatises would be of little use for Fukushi's study of Japanese poetry.[92] This was critical for late Meiji poets, who were attempting to create a new poetic tradition capable of sustained engagement with ideas, just like the modern poetry of their western counterparts.[93]

Fukushi followed in the footsteps of the late-Meiji poetic theorists Iwano Hōmei and Yamada Bimyō, two important voices in the development of *shintaishi* and early Japanese free verse. They each parsed rhythmical and structural elements of Japanese language in an effort to bring the vocabulary of western poetry into Japanese translation.[94] They did this in part by questioning the primacy of the 7-5 and 5-7 mora combinations, which are the constituent parts of *ku*, which he translates to English "lines" and "verses." Fukushi's first stepping stone was the study of *shintaishi*, and he, too, sought to overcome the artificiality of the 5-7 / 7-5 metrical unit which they generally preserved.[95] Indeed, many of his contemporaries had also grown disinterested in the rhythmic monotony of the *shintaishi* mode.[96] Fukushi sought to discover

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141–221.
[90] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 363, 367.
[91] Fukushi later writes to this effect with regards to colloquial speech that "The voice is the physical form in which words exist. It follows that if we disregard the voice, words will cease to exist." Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 154.
[92] Sakaguchi Masaaki, *Michinoku no shigaku* (Japan: Michitani Co.Ltd, 2007), 214.
[93] Scott Mehl, "The Beginnings of Japanese Free–Verse Poetry and the Dynamics of Cultural Change," *Japan Review*, No. 28 (2015): 109–12.
[94] Sakaguchi, *Michinoku no shigaku,* 210–11.
[95] Sakaguchi, *Michinoku no shigaku*, 210.
[96] Mehl, 115.

rules for how sound and rhythm relate in the language, how combinations of sound altered the speed of enunciation, and to use them to apply aesthetic evaluations to vernacular free verse. He devised a system of sound units called "feet" [*ashi*, *onkyaku*], and posited, for example, that repetition of double-footed units would increase the tempo of recitation, while triple-footed units acted as weighty caesuras. Proper composition technique was supposed to find an effective balance between these rhythmic elements.[97]

Historian Sakaguchi Masaaki argues that Hōmei's *Shintaishi sahō* [The composition of *shintaishi*] was a direct spiritual predecessor to Fukushi's theory of syllabic meter. Fukushi cites Hōmei in his very first attempt to explicate the rhythm of Japanese poetry, in a discussion of *jiamari* [irregularly metered lines] in *tanka*, arguing that the fundamental metrical units of the Japanese language itself are groups of two, three, or four mora, which are then combined into frameworks [*kaku*], which just most often happen to fall into groups of five and seven feet.[98]

However, Fukushi also seems to criticize Hōmei's poetry for misinterpreting his own theory. Hōmei's 1915 collection *Koi no sharekōbe* [Love's death's head], and the sonnets of Tachihara Michizō which followed in form, utilized blank spaces and ellipses in order to artificially replicate the rhythm of breath in recitation.[99] Borrowing from a French poet's musings, Fukushi argues that "…where the semiotic unit [*imi*] ends, the vocalization always ends as well"—a principle which he claimed holds for phrases and sentences in Japanese. There is no need to visually space out the rhythms between words on the page, because those rhythms are inherent to the language itself.[100] The length of lines [*kaku*] in both free verse and *tanka* are

[97] Sakaguchi, *Michinoku no shigaku*, 212–3.
[98] He uses a poem by Matsuo Basho as an example, arguing that "aki no kure otoko ha nakanu mono nareba koso" should be read not as 5/7/5(+2) or as 5/7/7, but as a 2–3–2–2–3–2–3–2 syllabic pattern. The effect of this irregularity is somehow a "desolate atmosphere of stillness." Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 367.
[99] Sakaguchi, *Michinoku no shigaku,* 211.
[100] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 363–4.

determined by the length of a natural breath; in this sense, Hōmei's visual method of representing breath is at best unnecessary, and at worst misguided and unnatural.[101]

In order to explicate his novel understanding of the rhythmic principle, Fukushi distinguished between what he called in English "inner rhythm" [also: *naiyōritsu*] and "outer rhythm" [also: *gaikeiritsu*]. While the details of his argumentation are often byzantine to the point of opacity, he was clearly in conversation with the contemporary *shidan*, and deeply invested in arguing for the relevance of inner rhythm to non-formal poetry, which lacked overt outer rhythm.[102] He contrasts these two aspects of poetic language in the following passage:

> Therefore, it seems to me that it may be helpful to explain the contrast between the inner rhythm…and the outer rhythm, by approaching language purely from the perspective of its form [*kisei*]. Let us move away from the conventional assumption that inner rhythm is subjective, that it is a subtle choice based on the individual human mind. Instead, let us consider it from the point of view that it is a formal aspect of language: that it is a question of the detailed nuances [*nyūansu*] of language, and how when linked they form a grammar, which is a complex network of *seiyaku* (rule, règle)….Inner rhythm is the truth of the contents, the truth of the meaning [*naiyō hon'i imi hon'i*]. Conversely, outer rhythm is concrete form void of meaning. It has a purely formal [*kiseiteki*] musical effect derived from the special characteristics of the words, or national tongue [*kotoba naishi kokugo*]. While the former is derived from [grammatical/linguistic] rules, the latter purely comes from *seikō* (disposition), and it is equipped with that disposition. From the outset, it carries out the formation of a complex syllabic meter, such as the two-mora linking disposition I explain above. In short, one is rule-based and assumes a particular spirit [*seishin*], and the other is a disposition which provides it with a form; the former is the truth of the contents, while [the latter] is the truth of the exterior [*gaikei hon'i*]….[103]

He contrasts the external and internal, form and contents, in order to reveal the necessity of rhythm in language, and for this reason he rejects the assumption that form and rhythm can be done away with at all. As long as a poet follows the rules of the language and fills the poetry

[101] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 372–3.
[102] For example, Hagiwara Sakutarō, a contemporary of Fukushi's, likewise believed that the outer rhythm imposed by *waka* limited poetic expression, which would be better served by attention paid to "inner rhythm." In one example, he rewrites a *haiku* in the form of free verse, using his own idiosyncratic concept of inner rhythm to create the effect of line–ending caesuras. Ueda Makoto, *Modern Japanese Poets and the Nature of Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 171.
[103] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 366.

with semiotic content—as long as she is not writing gibberish—there must be a natural cadence to the language.

FUKUSHI KŌJIRŌ AND TRADITIONALISM

This rather extended detour through Fukushi's early poetic career sets the stage for his second period of work. The commentary on vernacular free verse as a direct expression of mental life (as witnessed by his post-depression "The Moonstruck Blacksmith" and subsequent post-awakening sun series) reveals one way in which he was attempting to represent and aestheticize an invisible, irrational aspect of reality. His concerns with rhythm, too, point to an enigmatic and difficult to represent facet of reality buried within Japanese language which, although hidden, is based on what he saw as a scientific, if mutable, set of principles. His writing on both aspects suggests an impossibility of exceeding these invisible, but foundational, structuring elements.[104] Sensitivity to hidden reality, or true nature, was central to him, and he even once used the gift of French mathematician Henri Poincare's *La Valeur de la Science* [The value of science] to impress its importance on a disciple, Kon Kan'ichi. Kon recalls later using a quotation from this book to argue that "Men will only trust what they can see with their own eyes, but there are things which we cannot see which go so far beyond that which we can."[105] Beginning in the 1920s, Fukushi would begin investigating and aestheticizing a different invisible property which he called "spirit" [*seishin*, *tamashii*, *esprit*], the true humus from which

[104] This recalls Yanagita Kunio's affective or "spiritual history" of the Japanese nation, and Inoue Enryō's concept of "true mystery," both of which place value on mystical or irrational properties which elude scientific analysis, yet continue to exert powerful influence on the world. Gerald Figal, *Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 174–5.
[105] Kon, *Omoidasu hitobito*, 41.

human temperament and language springs. And he would do so through a re-discovery of *furusato* and tradition.[106]

Fukushi's traditionalism [*dentō shugi*], which he devised in tandem with regionalism (discussed below), was a pointed critique of the state of the interwar literary class. Traditionalism specifically localized culture within a national paradigm and in direct opposition to the placeless cosmopolitanism and correlated socialism, the *zeitgeist* which had seduced so many of his fellow literati.[107] His insistence on the emplacement of individuals within a very literal and specific landscape, and on the insistence upon cultural difference, formed a fundamental aspect of his critique of the mythology of the universality of logic, communication, and humanism.[108] Accordingly, cultural and national differences result from generations of historical development—a history which outlines the trajectory of a people's ever-maturing communal ethos. This spirit is an inheritance of cultural forms from past generations, and acts as the foundation of a "unified" [*tōgō*] sense of tradition and order in the present. Thus there is a moral imperative: it is incumbent upon each new generation of youth to act as stewards to the spirit of place, lest it degrade and threaten the social order.

Fukushi's scorching traditionalist critique of the Esperanto movement demonstrates both this dissatisfaction with the politics of the literary establishment in the 1920s, and some of the major points of contention to which he returns in his more mature writings on regionalism. Responding to a series of articles by Narita Yoshikuni defending Esperanto in the *Hirosaki shinbun* in 1925,[109] Fukushi launched a prolonged tirade against proponents of the "international

[106] Although I have not discovered any direct citation by Fukushi of his work, there are obvious parallels between his "spirit" and Yanagita Kunio's spirit of *jōmin* [abiding folk], discussed in the introduction.
[107] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 2: 67.
[108] Premonitions of this stance might be inferred from his use of the term "*kokugo*," national (Japanese) language, in his rhythm essays: his discussion of the properties of one national language implies different sets of properties for languages in different contexts. See, e.g. Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 365–7.
[109] Narita Yoshikuni, "Kokusaigo no igi to esuperanto: Fukushi Kōjirō–shi no esugo–kan wo yomite" *Hirosaki*

language" [*kokusaigo*].[110] He highlighted both political and practical problems with the language, including Esperanto's bias toward Indo-European grammar and vocabulary, and also how the necessity in practice to supplement the simplistic linguistic structure with idiomatic usage defeats the entire purpose of its easy acquisition. This reasoning suggests that proponents of Esperanto were more concerned with the universalizing project of cosmopolitanism and socialist ideology than with substantive issues of facilitating communication (which Esperanto ultimately fails to address). In desperation, Fukushi asks why, if the Japanese language does not stand up to Esperanto or German or English in its potential as a global language, why do we Japanese not attempt to improve it? Why do Esperantists abandon their national language so easily, instead of refining it to suit the modern world? He supplies the answer: it is because they are caught up with ideological concerns, an infatuation with Europe and an attempt to westernize Japan, instead of being invested in their own national tradition.[111]

One of Fukushi's deepest critiques has to do with the history of Esperanto, or rather the lack thereof: without a classical tradition, he argues, the linguistic archive lacks the complexity necessary to relay nuanced meaning and aesthetic beauty. The linguistic simplicity boasted by Esperantists is just the quality which undercuts its potential as a literary language: because there is no classical literature to refer back to (i.e. because the language is not the fruit of a long process of maturation), the nuance of the language can only be read through the application of ad-hock idiomatic interpretation. The heart of this critique is that abandoning Japanese tradition for modern globalism would be an immoral act which would cause harm to the former.

Shinbun (Japan), April 14, 1925 – April 20, 1925.

[110] Fukushi Kōjirō, "Esuperanto no gaidoku wo setumeisu," *Hirosaki Shinbun* (Japan), May 30, 1925 – June 17, 1925.

[111] Fukushi, "Esuperanto no gaidoku wo setumeisu," June 12, 1925.

The concern with the loss of specificity and vernacular knowledge threatened by cosmopolitanism and rebuked so concretely in the polemic against Esperanto is a near-carbon copy of the work of Maurice Barres, one of his greatest intellectual influences. Barres' political slogan was "*la terre et les morte*" [the soil and the dead]. It reflected a belief that individuals' "dormant energies" (reminiscent of "spirit") are ensconced within the soil of the homeland, the resting place of his countrymen's ancestors, in the past. He claimed that these energies could be recovered through a praxis of traditionalism, a respect for the "great chain of fellow Lorrainers and Frenchmen which transcended the limits of any single, transitory existence."[112] The spirit of France is in this way like a social-ethnic imaginary, an ensemble amalgamated across the masses and over time in the historically-aware practices of tradition in daily life. It is a socially and historically-based subjectivity which exceeds the limitations of the individual, subsuming the personal subject into the grand historical narrative of France. This consciousness of tradition within the realm of the everyday made it "more immediate, particular, concrete, and *real"* than the universalized abstractions touted by socialists, Marxists, and humanists.[113]

Throughout his writings, Barres glorifies young officers whose singular goal is not victory in geopolitical terms, but in spirit. It is an obsession with beauty and, according to an epistemology in which spirit and beauty are linked with tradition and the past, its restoration is most completely attained in death. The soldiers Barres loves love their country in spirit: they pledge to ride into battle in full dress uniform, to "give thought only to our dear France," to die splendidly.[114] Barres' writing, which is littered with citation of voices collected "from the four

[112] Robert Soucy, "Barres and Fascism," in *Society for French Historical Studies*, Vol.. 5, No. 1 (Spring, 1967), 75.
[113] Soucy, 75.
[114] Maurice Barres, *The Undying Spirit of France*, trans. Margaret W. B. Corwin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), 10–13.

corners of France"[115] dilutes the individuated subjectivity of Barres' authorial pen: the nation of France is the author of his work, an ultimate spiritual unity surpassing difference on the level of the individual.[116] He avers: "We are both the continuation and the continuity of our fathers and mothers. It is not enough to say that the dead think and speak in us; the whole line of descendants constitutes one single being…."[117]

Barres' writing in this sense might be said to participate in what Alan Tansman has called an "aesthetics of fascism," which glorifies the annihilation of the self before the awesomeness of the political-historic regalia of the nation-state.[118] It comes as no surprise that Barres has often been directly associated with fascism itself, and credited with a large role in the 1920s European "great reversal" from cosmopolitanism to nationalism.[119] The fascistic translation by which the self is dissolved into the state is perhaps most dramatically expressed in a letter Barres cites, written by a twenty-three year old French infantry sergeant on June 26, 1915:

> Yesterday was a terrible day: a hurricane of iron and enough water to drown us. Suddenly psch! psch! Every man fell on his stomach; it was a 105 coming. I did as the others: I threw myself flat on the ground, my mouth against that of a corpse. I never experienced such a sensation. I have carried the dead, dressed the wounded whose blood was spurting, I have even sat upon dead bodies, but this, from the very unexpectedness of the contact, gave me an awful impression and, ashamed as I am to acknowledge it— I was afraid! For two seconds I had a horrible feeling! The general of the division, in congratulating us this morning upon our "indomitable courage," added: "One might say in history: To hold fast like the 66th!"[120]

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[115] Maurice Barres, *The Faith of France: Studies in Spiritual Differences & Unity*, trans. Elisabeth Marbury (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 208.
[116] Additionally, when Barres does interject commentary, he does so often not as an "I," but from the collective stance of "us" or "we" (in the English translation): we the traditionalists, the provincialists, the Lorrainers, the French people.
[117] Cited in: Winifred Stephens, *French Novelists of To–day: With Portrait and Bibliographies* (New York: John Lane Company, 1908), 198–9.
[118] Alan Tansman, *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 1–3.
[119] Soucy, 68, 70.
[120] Cited in: Barres, *The Faith of France*, 181–2.

This passage appears in *The Faith of France*, a book whose structure works to both divide the French population into ideologically-distinct categories (the Catholics, the Protestants, the Jews, the Socialists, the Traditionalists) while simultaneously claiming that the war brought them together into a heterogeneous unity bound together under a single spirit: the spirit of France.[121] The radically personal contact with the dead that Jaques de Laumont, the letter's author, experiences during that terrible June day is what recovers for him the true spirit of France.

Why did this one episode strike Jaques to the marrow so, when he had previously "carried the dead, dressed the wounded whose blood was spurting […] even sat upon dead bodies" without second thought? The key is not merely that of simple juxtaposition or physical contact between the living and the deceased, but specifically the touching of the mouths; a connection between two thresholds of bodily space, between apertures of the skin. As Julia Kristeva indicates, bodily orifices are ambiguous borders which threaten the stability of the linguistically-interpellated ego.[122] The self, bound up in the linguistic ego-marker of "I" and a perception of the fleshy contours of the body, is threatened by the implications of the mouth and the anus, which through their biological functions transform the Other into the self and then expel another Other again. Kristeva specifies that the experience of abjection is felt most strongly in the presence of the cadaver, a reminder of the complete and ultimate rejection of the mortal coil: the separation of self and body.[123] More abstractly, rather than acting merely as portals between the inside and outside, bodily orifices open the body up in such a way that shakes the definitions of inside and outside, of how the self is contained within itself.

[121] Barres, *The Faith of France*, 1–2.
[122] Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 4.
[123] Kristeva, 3.

Certainly, the "horrible feeling" Jacques experienced as his face was pushed up against that of the fallen comrade was a kind of abjection, but its implications reverberated beyond the space of a simple breach of the walls of the psyche, the momentary leaking out of the Real from the confines of language. It was at this point of contact between their mouths, the opening of a direct channel between the bodies of the living sergeant and the Other, that triggered a potent oceanic feeling, an opening up of the living body to encompass and consume that of the dead, and through the indexical property, that of *la terre*. This is in effect a form of psychic deterritorialization, in which the boundedness of the ego is momentarily realized as the illusion that it is. Faced with the vastness of the legacy of France, Jacque was overwhelmed by *signifiance*, the power of the sublime which sunders the superego and strikes deeper, to the core of the psychoanalytic Real.[124] For "those two seconds," under the threat of death and physical annihilation, Jacques' sense of individuality and self also exploded, expanded into the corpse and metonymically throughout the history of France itself.

Jacques' "horrible feeling" is followed immediately by a non sequitur statement by his general on his "indomitable courage" and his unit's place in the history of the French nation. The movement from the unbounded deterritorialization of the individual to his emplacement within a grand historical narrative of the French people implies an immediate reterritorialization of the self within a collective, fascistic body in which the individual is swallowed up into the complex

[124] Kristeva, 15. This reading follows in the tracks of Kant's philosophy of the sublime, which he posited as a psychological phenomenon characterized by "boundlessness" perceived within the "imagination." The sublime is often felt in religious experiences and can produce "virtue": it is a moral category. Burke's critique of the Kantian sublime emphasizes the physiological-mental, the affective causes of the feeling. The episode that Barres cites clearly demonstrates the sublimity of the French Tradition via an encounter with abject horror. Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Judgement*, trans. J. H. Bernard (London: Macmillan and Co, 1914), 97-102; Emmanuel Kant, *Essays and Treatises on Moral, Political, and various Philosophical Subjects*, vol. 2,
trans. Arthur Fairbanks (London, 1798-99), 16; Edmund Burk, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful with an Introductory Discourse Concerning Taste and Several Other Additions* (Philadelphia: J. Watts, 1806), 193-5.

of the state.[125] The general's historicizing of French valor on the battlefield in this way contributes to his men's historical consciousness of their participation in the "great chain of fellow…Frenchmen" who have sacrificed themselves under the banner of French spirit.

He later offers a parallel agricultural analogy as well: the blood spilled in combat mixes with the soil to produce "wine" and "wheat" imbued with the spirit of its people—by virtue of mimetic magic, by eating the fruits of the French soil, we eat our history, we ourselves become the national body.[126]

Fukushi displayed similar tendencies beginning in the 1930s, even going as far as joining the *Nippon fashizumu renmei* [Japan fascism alliance] in 1932. He later attempted to diminish the significance of his flirtation with fascist politics, claiming that his involvement began and ended with the group's establishment.[127] Yet already in the Taisho era he was very concerned about the "vital energy" [lit. spiritual power] gone to waste from a meaningless rupture of the *zeitgeist* and lack of unification." Accordingly, Japanese society required the mediation of tradition, morality, and mores to form the basis of a "social idea" [*shakai teki kannen*].[128] In a letter "challenging" proletarian literature, he hearkens back to the "social order" [*shakai teki chitsujo*] of the Tokugawa state, claiming that members of each level of the *shi-nō-kō-shō* caste system were guided by a single moralistic spirit which made the whole system function.[129]

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[125] Gilles Deleuze uses the term "deterritorialization" to describe a process by which the "body without organs" is revealed, a state of becoming which exceeds the structuring limitation of the "social machine." While he is most interested in the human–becoming–machine under conditions of capitalism, the metaphor speaks to Jaque's condition. The moment of liberation, momentary the experience of the body without organs, is nullified by the national–historical narrative which connects the soil, the dead, and the honor of France directly to his sense of self. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Anti–Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 33.
[126] Barres, *The Undying Spirit of France*, 35.
[127] Kawanishi Hidemichi, "Chihō shugi to fashizumu: Fukushi Kōjirō no bāi," in *Hokudai Shigaku*, Vol.. 22 (August, 1982): 48.
[128] Kawanishi, 49.
[129] Elsewhere, he praises the Tokugawa domainal system as well, because it restricted free travel through the country and helped to preserve the regional identities threatened by post–Meiji mobility and intra–regional migration. Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 2:14, 68.

Socialism leads to class warfare, which unites the laboring class, but only traditionalism can bring the nation together as a whole.[130] He concludes that Japan needs nationalism, not cosmopolitanism; it needs "feeling" [*kanjō*] (elsewhere: "ethnic-national feeling" [*minzoku teki kanjō*]),[131] not concepts.[132]

FUKUSHI KŌJIRŌ AND REGIONALISM

Fukushi's nation-level traditionalism translated into a local-level philosophy of regionalism [*chihō shugi*], where "spirit" would be supplemented by "place" [*kankyō*][133] and the "irrationality" [*higōrisei*] of the vernacular. This would be his greatest legacy, and none of his students would display such a brazen nationalism or pride in their "Japaneseness" as Fukushi did. His two main pieces of writing on regionalism are "The Basis for Local Literature Advocacy" [*Kyōdo bungaku shuchō no kiso*] (1924) and *Chihō shugi-hen* [The complete works of regionalism] (completed 1928).

The former work continues the traditionalist critique of universalism, but scales the argument down to the sub-national level. He argues that literature is more complex than universal values, and that humans are defined in more aspects than merely social class.[134] Fukushi himself reads literature through the sum of his experiences, and therefore is better suited to read and write a literature of Tsugaru-perspective than the popular works of the central *bundan*.[135] Cosmopolitan literature of the center is a product of rational abstraction away from

[130] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 2: 79.
[131] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 2:109.
[132] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 2: 25.
[133] *Kankyō* is more conventionally translated as "environment" or "circumstances." However, I choose to translate Fukushi's use of it as "place," because it remains consistent with the parameters of "place" delineated throughout this paper.
[134] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 2: 65.
[135] Kanō Sakujirō, one of Fukushi's contemporary advocates of local literature, similarly argued for the value of connection between writer and place. He criticized those who left home to join the Tokyo *bundan*, as they ultimately

the specificity of place: true regional literature contains "a non-rationalize-able unique quality of the locality" [*chihō tokushitsu to iu fugōrisei*]. This differs from central appropriation of regional characteristics, which negatively affects both the spirit of Tokyo and the regions as well.[136] He wrote in the most direct terms: "In the realm of literature, regionalism signals a declaration to thoroughly repel the power and reign of the center with provincial taste (*shumi*), emotion (*kanjō*), and spirit (*seishin*)—a declaration to stand utterly and defiantly against [the center] from a position of provincial independence."[137]

Fukushi began to incubate a concept of regionalist literature, beginning to write in August of 1923. The following month he survived the Great Kanto Earthquake, was forced to evacuate the city with his family, returning to his hometown of Hirosaki by the end of the year. This was the first time in nearly twenty years that he had returned home, and he finds the landscape transformed to such a degree that from the train window, he in fact mistakes a suburb for the entirety of the city itself.[138] This act of return had a profound impact on his relationship with, and conception of, Tsugaru-as-place, and the philosophy of regionalism to which he subsequently devoted himself became his most dedicated expression of traditionalist values.

His literary regionalist manifesto was soon compiled in the form of *Chihō shugi-hen*. The contents are described as a collection of "prose poems" [*sanbun-shi*], although there seems little besides the reverse indentation of paragraphs to distinguish them from descriptive and sometimes beautifully evocative essays.

The first, pre-earthquake poem, "My Early Years" [*Saisho no jidai*], depicts Fukushi's earliest memories of home. It opens painting a lush scene of his family's relocation from

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become dislocated from their original environment—and unable to produce a literature of unfamiliar Tokyo—and forced to produce a "solipsistic" literature that was overly nostalgic or sentimental. Long, *On Uneven Ground*, 47.
[136] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 2: 66–7.
[137] Translated and cited in: Long, *On Uneven Ground*, 49.
[138] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 140.

Hirosaki in 1890 following his father's latest bankruptcy. In the piece, the writer acknowledges that he was "a suckling infant of less than a year," giving cause for a healthy amount of doubt concerning the reliability of the narrator in portraying an actual memory. Yet the import of Fukushi's concept of the foundational experience of place was so great that he could, as an adult, unironically depict this "memory" in exhaustive detail. He describes how the family's "horse-drawn lurching luggage cart cut across the plains, took the public road through a dangerous mountain pass…the mountain obstruction suddenly ended, and the sea spread out to the right, winking lightly in the spring light, pure blue, appearing above the luggage cart all at once."[139] This image of the sea—specifically its color—affected him so profoundly that it formed the core of his sense of identity. This was an image to which he would return at different points over the course of his life, and indeed alluded to in several of his first-period poetic works. He continues:

> After a person is born, he experiences a great many things. While throughout that process, even if he forgets absolutely everything else, there is that one thing that he will remember for all time, and furthermore carry it to his grave like a treasure, a part of his being. One imagines a profound connection between this thing and that person. Indeed, the moment a person is about to expire, events from throughout his lifetime which he had forgotten unfurl [in his mind] like a painted scroll in that one moment in surprising clarity….[140]

This hidden memory, like the hidden rhythm and invisible mental state addressed above, becomes a central object of this iteration of regionalism.

This opening section is followed by an essay called "The Land of My Parents" [*Oya no tochi*], written in 1924, which is a diary-like portrayal of Fukushi's then-recent return to his birthplace. After arriving at Hirosaki station and meeting some locals, he begins to feel that he has lost something, that he would be "engaging in nothing but a hollow imitation" should he try to mimic the natural words and facial expressions of the people there. Yet, hearing the crowd's

[139] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 132.
[140] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 133.

vernacular, he "cannot help but imagine [the words] as having burst out of this very ground alive and singing." He continues: "There is a spirit about a place that cannot be seen, but it can be said to manifest itself in everything the people of that place do. According to the French regionalist Maurice Barres, when one leaves a place, that individual loses the vitality of his everyday existence."[141] Fukushi retained his primal memory, but lost the connection with the spirit of place. This realization became a significant impetus for beginning the Regionalism Movement [*chihō shugi undō*], an ethic of restorative place-consciousness.

Fukushi's concern with the inheritance and stewardship of spirit suggests a dialectical relationship between the land and its people.[142] This again recalls Barres' conflation of place (the soil) with historical community (the dead). In order to restore the connection between person and place, Fukushi called for writers to re-implant themselves in their localized social traditions and reinvigorate their vernacular language. Cosmopolitan appeals to *la langue commune*, were counterproductive because they threatened the specificity of place and the unified morality of tradition. He also struggled with the terminology of "dialect" [*hōgen*], which functioned to subvert his linguistic practice under a direct relation to the cosmopolitan language of the center.[143]

Fukushi's use of poetry to the end of maintaining and improving the moral condition recalls his tutelage in Comte, who claimed that poetry provided both a means and an end to the ultimate goal of "moral progress," that "all esthetic study even if purely imitative, may become a

[141] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 143–4.
[142] This is almost the polar opposite of Terayama Shūji's ethical praxis, which called for the creative destruction of *furusato* as a constantly–emerging real, as opposed to the moral investment in the maintenance of an ontological constant.
[143] Fukushi uses a wide variety of terms to distinguish between types of language, including *chihō go* [regional language], *chūō go* [language of the center], *kokugo* [national language], *hyōjungo* [standardized language], *kokumin kyōyū no gengo* [language shared among the nation], *kyōdō go* [la langue commune – his translation], *Tokyo zokugo* [Tokyo vernacular].

useful moral exercise, by calling sympathies and antipathies into healthy play."[144] According to the French philosopher, the moral quality of literature called for a revolution in consciousness by which the everyman would seize upon knowledge and aesthetics which reflected reality, as opposed to the ethereal metaphysics of the upper class. Comte calls this revolution a work of "spiritual reorganization."[145] The spiritual vocabulary, anti-intellectualism, and emphasis on morality are all echoed over and over throughout Fukushi's writing.

Hyppolyte Taine also propounds the theme of literature as having moral significance, but rather emphasizes its role as providing "portraits" of society, unique keys by which the astute scholar may access invisible histories and make predictions about future developments. In broad: "[through literature] we may follow the change in tastes, and the persistency in instincts; there we see the national character acted upon by circumstances, and moulded in directions determined partly by its own nature and partly by tradition…."[146] He uses literary inquest as a metaphor for knowing the hidden nature of a civilization, just as one may observe a man's mannerisms, living space, and speech to determine the content of his "soul."[147] This soul—the invisible history or "elementary moral state" which he seeks to elucidate—is realized through the coincidence of "the *race*, the *surroundings*, and the *epoch*." In this context, race refers to "innate and hereditary dispositions" which interact with a man's physical and specific circumstances. These traits are so fundamental that they persist even through translocation and intermarriage, such that they are "almost immovable…primordial marks."[148] This biological base is then thrust into a climatic and social environment (defined strongly in terms of a society's dominant religion), which then

[144] However, they would have interpreted the necessary form of art in question differently: Fukushi encouraged unadorned, direct language, for the purpose of maintaining a moral foundation; Comte claimed that all art should exceed reality in order to encourage improvement upon reality. Comte, 300–302.
[145] Comte, 4.
[146] Taine, x.
[147] Taine, 4.
[148] Taine, 10.

coincides with a historical moment both caused by and rendering effects upon the internal (race) and external (environment).[149] Similar language of "soul" [*tamashii*], an irrational moral quality, and of environment or place [*kankyō*] occupies a central position in Fukushi's regionalism.

The seventh chapter of *Chihō shugi-hen* takes the form of an experimental piece of poetry, intended to model this new form of literature, written in Fukushi's Tsugaru vernacular:

> *"The Tipsy Country Housewife"* (1926)
>
> *How old is **your** husbandah? Mine's twenny six this year…oh don't laugh at **me**ah…isn't your mothers older sisters man twenny years younger then heraye? Mines not **that** much youngeraye. Oh, and its **so** goodaye! When the snow meltsaye, and its about time to start hanging herring from the roof to dry in the sun and theres a lot of work to do in the rice paddies'n and my husband and I **churn**[150] the wet earth'n until noon, and then we sit up on the embankmentsaye, we eat rice and have sake in a kettle'n and we have a high old time drinking together! And whether its time for the Tsugaru magnolias'n or the giant butterbur flowers'n theres **no** view better than from thereah. It's not like going to a flower viewing party in Hirosaki park where the wafting **whiff'n** of ladies' makeup is so potent. Humph! An' why the hell should I be so abashed about a twennysix year old husbandah? I'd been a widow for ten years you knowaye. When I adopted that baby boy straight from the midwifes arms and cared for it and watched his feeble body taken by illness and then lost him…I could see myself becoming like that bleary-eyed granny from down the road…me with the venerable body of an eighty-year-old, and no grandchildren to care for me their wives already dead! Me getting handouts of rice'n and cash'n from the village hall and living in a shack'n dirtier than a horse stableaye, living the life of a niggardly trampah![151] Humph! An' why dontcha skin your own skunk before chiding others! Ten years a widow and every other old maid is hollerin' at me are you somebody's mistress? You've stolen my husband! And what good does it to **me** to piss 'em off like that year in and year outah? He may be young but he said he loved me so we became a couple and got married. I did my duty to my late husband for ten whole years…I don't think I'm going to get bad mouthed any more nowayeah. Skin it, skin yer own skunk, har har har! Oh, and it's **so***

[149] Taine, 11–2.
[150] "*Shirokaki*" is the act of tilling the soil and mixing in water using one's feet and a wooden plank
[151] He glosses the kanji for beggar [*kojiki*] with the word "*hoido*," a deeply offensive term [*sabetsu yōgo*] for itinerant beggars in northeastern Japan. *Bosama* often fell into this category as well.

*goodaye! In spring we'll dry the mackerel let the horses'n out…**churn** the rice paddies'n in the fresh breeze, har har har! At noon we'll gaze at the Tsugaru magnolia'n drink sake and then stumblestomp down into the muck, har har har!* "*Oh, granny's back is crooked, **hōhai hō**…granny's back, oh granny's back is **hōhai**…**hō**…*"

…in the public baths of a hot-spring town somewhere in the mountains of Tsugaru, a glimpse of the broad, round shoulders of some entity could be glimpsed amid the steamy vapors as it started to sing out the folksong "Granny's Back."

百姓女の醉つぱらひ

汝の夫ア何歳だバ。吾のナ今歳二十六だネ。何、笑ふんダバ。汝の阿母の姉ダテ二十歳も下の男有たけアせ。吾だけアそれ程違はねエネ。ンヤ好デヤなア、雪ア解ゲデセエ、鯡ゴト日當りの屋根サ干すエネ成れば田ア忙がしグ成テ、夫と晝間まで田掻廻して、それガラ田畔サあがテせ、飯も喰ば、酒も藥鑵サ入れダノゴト二人で仲よグ飲むアネ。田打櫻の花でも、蕗臺の花でも、彼處の田畔ガラ見れバ好エ花見だデバせ。弘前の公園地の觀櫻會だけヤエにお白粉臭アポツポドするエンタ物で無ネ。フン！　二十六の夫有タテ何ア目ぐせバ。吾だケエに十年も後家立デデせ、他の家ガら童貰て藁の上ララ育デデ見デも、羸弱くてアンツクタラ病氣ネ罹れデ死なれデ見れば、派立の目腐れ阿母だケヤエに八十歳の身空コイデ、カダル孫にも嫁にも皆死なれデ、村役場ガラ米だの錢だの貰て、厩よりも又汚エ小舍サ這入テセ、乞食して暮らす風ア眼サ見デ來るデバ。フン！他人に辛口きグ隙ネ自分の飯の上の蠅ホロガネガ。十年も後家立デデ、彼方の阿母だの此方の阿母だのガラ姦男したの、夫ゴト盜たド抗議まれデ、年ガラ年中肝焦ガへデだエ何なるバ。若フたつて吾ゴト好ギだテ言ハデ連れダ夫婦だネ。十年も死んだ夫サ義理立デデ、この上なに辛口きガれるゴドアあるベナせ。蠅ホロゲ、汝の飯の上の蠅ホロゲ、はゝゝゝゝゝ。ンヤ、好デアなあ、春に

成テ、鯡ゴト干して、馬出して、春風ア吹グ中で田掻廻して、
はゝゝゝゝゝ。晝間ネなれば田打櫻の花見デ酒呑んで、それガ
ラ又グワツグワツと田サ這入て、はゝゝゝゝゝ『婆の腰ア、ホ
ウイヤ、ホウ……、婆の腰ア、婆の腰アホウエヤ、ホウ……』
と津輕の山地地方の温泉地、とある村立共同浴場の湯氣の中から
廣くまるい肩の一角を見せた存在物が恁うして民謡「婆の腰」
を唄ひだした。[152]

The language of this poem is very different from that of standardized Japanese. The title provides an example of the degree of linguistic difference: *jago* [often: *jaigo*] is a Tsugaru pronunciation of *zaigō* [countryside]; *onago* is a combination of *onna* [woman] and the Tsugaru noun suffix *ko*. Taken alone, the phonetically-written *jago onago* would be difficult to parse for one unfamiliar with this vernacular language. The phonetic characters should be thought of as comprising the title as an oral text. These are then glossed with the kanji for *hyakushō onna* [peasant woman] to signal their meaning. Although the physical position of the phonetic elements (above) and idiographic elements (below) reflects conventional orthography, the effect is a reversal of the typical roles of kanji and kana, in which the latter is used to assist in parsing the former. In this aspect in particular, the language of this poem presents the reader (and translator) with a special set of challenges.[153]

[152] Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū*, Vol. 1: 152–4.

[153] With the exception of the final stanza, Fukushi represents Tsugaru vernacular via a mixture of *kanji* and *kana*. One could translate the poem into "unmarked" English, avoiding unnecessarily forcing alterity upon this everyday speech. However, this approach rests upon the assumption that readers of the original text would find the diction unremarkable: the inclusion of a Tokyo–vernacular translation suggests this was not the case. Additionally, it fails to acknowledge the fact that the poem was consciously written in opposition to the grapholect, and therefore must be received as "marked" by difference even by native Tsugaru speakers. Any reader would find the poem's linguistic aesthetics impossible to ignore. The aspect of "dialect" cannot be ignored in translation. Naturally, both Japanese and English regional languages carry socio–cultural baggage, meaning that translating into an English vernacular would be imprecise at best, and potentially insulting at worst. The strategy I employ attempts to split the difference and honor the spirit of the written vernacular as both "marked" and highly oral. It does so by stylistically reproducing the casual orality of the inebriated speaker, supplemented by a series of fabricated "particles" (–ah, –aye, –'n) mimicking the aesthetic effect of the speaker's most overt verbal habits. Inventing my own dialect would

To that end, Fukushi appended a "Tokyo vernacular translation" to the poem, followed by a lengthy note on regionalism and Tohoku language. He argues that a true work of regional literature should be written in the language of everyday life—not the language of the state. Authenticity is key to this project.[154] He elaborates: "When a peasant praises the beauty of a *kobus magnolia*, this is the type of language she would normally use—I did not force any kind of poetry into it. Furthermore, this peasant woman's acerbic, strong will reflects the local flavor of an archetypal Tsugaru woman."[155]

The Regionalism Movement was not able to develop a mainstream, devoted following, but it did result in a boom in vernacular literature, particularly literature of Tsugaru-as-place. Sparked by "The Tispy Country Housewife," this movement often took the form of what is referred to as "dialect poetry" [*hōgen shi*].[156] The most lauded poet in this genre was Takagi Kyōzō, who inspired and was followed by Ichinohe Kenzō, Ueki Yōsuke, and (to a more limited extent) Kon Kan'ichi, among others.[157] In a prefatory note to Takagi's virgin publication, Fukushi expands on the meaning and importance of the vernacular:

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simply render the majority of the text unintelligible, whereas the original text includes not only the standardized translation, but also a plethora of *kanji* signposts to meaning along the way. I further emphasize the text's markedness by rendering it in an italic typeface and use of boldface for emphasis. While the typeface itself in the original is not specifically marked in any way, there is a predominant mixed use of different types of phonetic *kana*, resulting in a somewhat jumbled, visually–demanding reading experience. In this way, the translation simultaneously attempts to reproduce the feeling of reading an unfamiliar vernacular while supplementing it with a visual gesture toward its difference.
Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 152–3.

[154] Concern with authenticity and the diverging experiences of country versus city folk was a major theme of the local arts and farmers' art movements of the prewar period. Long, *On Uneven Ground*, 46–7.

[155] He seems proud of the authenticity of the language in this piece in his commentary, yet voices dissatisfaction with it later in his career. One wonders at how only a few pages earlier he was opining the loss of the ability to speak authentic Tsugaru vernacular. Furthermore, one is forced to question how well his reproduction of an inebriated woman's speech could be representative of his own language of everyday life. Fukushi, *Fukushi Kōjirō chosaku shū,* Vol. 1: 155.

[156] While there are examples of vernacular prose writing, the majority of works written in Tsugaru "dialect" are free verse or prose poems.

[157] After the passing of this initial crop of Fukushi's students, Tsugaru vernacular literature has mostly disappeared. The most prominent figure alive and still regularly producing vernacular Tsugaru poetry is Ina Kappei, a man who writes mostly popular–style comedic verse and has almost entirely been excluded from the local literary canon. The other significant (although much more obscure) contemporary poet is Kudō Masahiro, a professor emeritus of

> Throughout the world, every nation's people has two native languages [*kokugo*].[158] One is its vernacular [*chihōgo*]; the other is the national shared language (mistakenly called standard language)….Language…is a product of place. It is a reflection of the lifeways of that place, and it is a representation of them.

and

> Languages contain the spirit of a place. Thus, each and every separate region of Japan has a different spirit derived from its local language. Common language simply drifts above this spirit, aloof from it, and reigns over all of the different localities.[159]

Place-consciousness has everything to do with the inheritance of a social imaginary, this linguistically-unique "tradition," this communal spirit, and little to do with the very soil itself.[160]

The goals of regionalism were to restore social order and morality through the revitalization of place-consciousness (sometimes articulated more vaguely as a love for the land itself [*tochi no ai*]). However, we must remain vigilant, and not be romanced by Fukushi's seductive vocabulary of love and cherishing one's heritage. In addition to flirtations with fascism, his idealization of the perennially impoverished and historically famine-plagued Tsugaru region belies his coddled bourgeois perspective: Fukushi's ideology is distinctly anti-revolutionary, and it suffers from an unfortunate rose-colored nostalgia which blinds him to the quite palpable social and economic oppression that those less fortunate than himself were forced to endure. That said, Fukushi's motivations lay in his moral convictions of place and the responsibility of

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Russian literature from Hokkaido University. For more on Kudō's "avant–garde dialect poetry" and "primitivism," see: Sakaguchi, *Michinoku no shigaku,* 96–114.

[158] Terayama Shūji makes a strikingly similar distinction between *kokugo* and *jibun–go*, where the former is the language of the state (appropriate for writing about politics and collecting taxes), and the latter is a unique language of the individual compiled from layers of *ken–go* [prefecture language], *machi–go* [village language], and other jargons acquired throughout one's life. The difference between Terayama and Fukushi is that the former pushes the atomization to the individual level, whereas the latter is invested in maintaining regional language on the level of a community–wide social imaginary. Terayama Shūji, *Rekishi nanka shinjinai* (Japan: Asuka shinsha, 1991), 24.

[159] Fukushi Kōjirō, introduction to *Marumero*, by Takagi Kyōzō (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1980 [1972]), 4–5.

[160] This does not mean that the physical environment or meteorological climate was unrelated to the form of "spirit." For example, he spends nearly the entirety of his first column in a series responding to his critique of Esperanto waxing upon the psychological effects of the long, harsh winter and reprieve of spring on "people of the snow country" [*yukiguni jinshu*]. Fukushi, "Esuperanto no gaidoku wo setumeisu," May 30, 1925. Incidentally, although Fukushi's earlier writing precedes Watsuji's publication of *Fūdō* by as much as a decade, its emphasis on regional environments (as opposed to national concern) provides potential to recuperate this more famous work from its politically–motivated frame. Watsuji, *A Climate: A Philosophical Study*.

stewardship (and he remained convinced that members of the Tokugawa caste system were fully content in their positions). His ideological imperative was to heal an ailing society, meaning that the place he was so concerned about existed in actions and discourses, and not exclusively in the physical landscape itself.

The specific qualities of Fukushi's spirit of place remain stubbornly ambiguous: his claim is completely based on an ineffable, invisible, irrational thing. However, we can clearly observe the inheritance of the concept of the spirit in the body of literature produced by Fukushi's disciples.

TAKAGI KYŌZŌ, THE ORIGINAL POET OF DIALECT

The first student to fully embrace the genre of vernacular poetry was Takagi Kyōzō, and the publication of *Marumero*, mentioned above, was his crowning triumph. This work stands as a central pillar of the Tsugaru literary establishment, and its author recognized as the first full-fledged "dialect poet" [*hōgen shijin*] in Japanese literary history, as well as one of the most recognizable names connected with Fukushi Kōjirō and the regionalism movement.

Takagi was born in 1903 in Aomori city into a physician's family. His father was the third in a line of doctors, and their practice was so established that it was featured as a "notable site" on a legend of a map of Aomori prefecture.[161] In 1910, he started elementary school along with Kitabatake Yaho and Takamatsu Gyokurei, two other future members of the Aomori literary community. The same year, Takagi's mother was injured in a major conflagration in Aomori city, and passed away soon after.

In 1921, at the age of eighteen, Takagi applied to the Chiba Medical Institute [*Chiba isen*] under immense pressure from his father; however, he had no desire to follow in the family

[161] Yamada, *Marumero–ron*, 101.

line, and submitted a blank entrance exam. His relationship with his father had been strained for many years, and once he was almost banished from the family. In fact, when his father discovered that Takagi wanted to pursue literature professionally, his response was to physically assault him.[162] This compounded the trauma of losing his mother from such a young age. Following the Chiba Medical episode, he developed a severe case of neurosis which would dog him at various points in his life and find expression in a number of his works of poetry.[163] This bleak and tortured background serves as the psychological firmament upon which most scholars, as well as Takagi himself, have placed their interpretations of his literary work.[164]

The following year, 1926, Takagi married his first wife, Fuji. It was a marriage of love, and they held a western-style ceremony in a church. The church, St. Andre's in Aomori city, was an important locus for Takagi. It was there that he began to study English as a middle schooler, and where he discovered a love for singing. As he recalls, "Missionary Nicholas" would occasionally visit from Hirosaki city, bringing phonograph records in tow. Takagi was entranced upon hearing the recording of an operatic performance of Fyodor Ivanovich Shalyapin in 1916, and subsequently joined the choir at the first opportunity.[165] Takagi's love of vocality and sonority apparent in his choral practice is manifested again later in both the vernacular written form of his poetry, and the dramatic performativity of his recitations.

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[162] Yamada. *Marumero–ron*, 104.
[163] Arito Hideaki, *Aomori to Shōwa modanizumu shō: revū sakka Kikuya Sakae to hōgen shijin Takagi Kyōzō* (Japan: Rojō–sha, 2006), 169.
[164] The translation of Takagi's mental life into poetic expression follows the aesthetic theory of his mentor Fukushi, as discussed above.
[165] It is perhaps ironic that the same year he discovered an uplifting love of choral music he also penned one of the darkest poems in *Marumero*, "Raw Rugosa Rose" [*Nama da hamanasu no mi*]: "*I thought I'd give those / jerks who bullied me / what they deserved / But I didn't have the stuff… / Among the roots of the Rugosa Rose / near the boathouse / I buried my knife an' cried. / Ah, the fruit of the raw Rugosa Rose is so bitter! / And violent waves roiled out at sea….*" Ono, *Kita no bunmyaku*, Vol. 2: 92–3; Takagi Kyōzō, "Watashi no shi to shinjitsu," in Takagi, *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3: 98–99.

Between Takagi's capricious choice in marriage partner and his paltry salary at the local paper, the couple became the target of the vicious local rumor mill.[166] Takagi depicts his marriage in the first poem of *Marumero*, "Everyday Life" [*Kurashi*]. The trees groaning in the wind play the part of the local busybodies bemoaning the irresponsible pairing.[167]

「生活(クラシ)」
——結婚(シユウゲン)の晩(バゲ)

あれア風(カジエ)ア吹いで
ドロの樹(ギ)アジャウめでるんだネ
泣グな
泣グな
花嫁ア泣グ奴(ヤヅ)アあるガ
銭(ジエン)コねはんで泣グのガ
なんだて　こした貧ボくせい結婚(シユウゲン)サね
　　ばまいねのガ

（みんな飯事(オフルメコ)だど思れ）

痩へだ体コくつけでも
なんも温(ヌ)ぐぐねジヤ
ああ　俺達(オラダヅ)二人ア
日(シ)あだりぬすむ蝿コど同(オンナ)しだ
明日がらお前(メ)も紫(ムラサギ)の袴(ハガマ)コはいで黒い
　　まんとコかぶて役所サ行(エ)グのガ
貧ボ臭(クセ)い婿(ムゴ)ど花嫁だ
泣グな
泣グな
なんも恐(オカナ)グね
あれア風(カジエ)ア吹いで

"Everyday Life—Wedding Night"

That's just the wind blowin'
The willow trees murmuring
Don' cry
Don' cry
Who ever heard of a tearful bride?
Are you crying because we haven't any money?
Oh why, why must we be married in such
destitution?

(Pretend we're just playing house)

Even if we hold our thin bodies close together
It isn't warm at all
Oh, the two of us!
The same as flies stealing the warmth of the sun
Will you wear purple hakama and a black cape
tomorrow
when we go to the city office?
A penniless groom and bride
Don' cry
Don' cry
Don't be scared
That's just the wind blowin'
The willow trees murmuring[168]

[166] Takagi, *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3: 103.
[167] Takagi juxtaposes the anecdote about his marriage with "That's just the wind blowin' / The willow trees murmuring": Takagi, *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3: 102–3.
[168] Takagi, *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 1: 323–4.

ドロの樹(ギ)アジャウめでるんだネ

The heading on Takagi's manuscripts for this poem reads "*wa ga Tsugaru*," or "my Tsugaru."[169] While this note is absent from the *Marumero* edition, it is notable that Takagi equates this record of his personal life with a particular matrix of meanings of Tsugaru. This collection of experiences can be observed through his writings and performances, and through their activation of the Tsugaru idea, they ultimately contribute to the social imaginary of Tsugaru for the local literary establishment.

In 1926 Takagi also began to drift aimlessly through a series of jobs and residences, acquiring a number of life experiences which would come to inform his artistic expression. The most significant of these happened during an eleven-month stint at the *Aomori nippō-sha* newspaper in which he shared a cramped office with Fukushi Kōjirō. This episode occurred just several years after Fukushi returned to Tsugaru. Takagi recalls the initial encounter in the essay "Memories of Fukushi Kōjirō": "I first met Fukushi in October 1926….there was something gentle in those eyes. He was thirty eight at the time. I was so nervous standing before the author of *Children of the Sun* that I was as stiff as a board; he pulled a rice ball from the sack on his shoulder and offered it to me to eat."[170] It was not only Takagi who was so enamored of his senior coworker: Fukushi was a popular and respected figure in the literary community:

> Fukushi had an unending stream of visitors to the office. They all stayed long past their due, and I would get irritated with them as I tried to work at the adjoining desk. When he did not complete his editorials as the deadline approached I would go out of my way to tell him that "Fukushi-san, it's already time." He would always just say "Crunch time!" and turn back to his desk. Fukushi's articles advocating for his philosophy of regionalism ultimately became censored from the paper.[171]

[169] Takagi Kyōzō, "*Kurashi*," Manuscript, Hirosaki shiritsu kyōdo bungaku kan, 1.
[170] Takagi Kyōzō, "Fukushi Kōjirō no omoide," in Takagi, *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3: 88–9.
[171] Takagi, *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3: 89.

Despite the danger their employer saw in Fukushi's ideology, Takagi took eagerly to his teachings and created his earliest poetic compositions accordingly. It was at Fukushi's insistence that Takagi first began to write, and he would continue to rely on his mentor to provide personal contacts, professional advice, and even lodging during hard times, throughout his early career as a poet.

The hard times began sooner than later. In 1927, Takagi left for Tokyo, only to meet with an immediate lack of employment due to a stock market crash and widespread economic depression. After wrestling back and forth with an employment agency and being turned away from one job site after another, he fell into a depression: "I lost the will to drag my feet forward, and slumped down on a grassy embankment. Then, just by chance, I happened to spy a creeping oxalis. This tiny flower rarely captures the public gaze, but oh how I resented it at that particular moment!"[172] Here, he alludes to the inspiration for another poem from the *Marumero* collection:

「すかんこの花」

何アどンだどもなぐ　かちやくちやネのセ
別(ベツ)ネ生きてぐね訳(ワゲ)でねんども
桜(サグラ)の花コア散てまてこの曇(ドンヨラ)どした空
ただ　こたらだ時(ドギ)ア　死んでもいいど思るンだネ
路傍(ケンドバタ)のすかんこバふむツて齧れば
埃(ゴミ)かぷてもあんづましぐ咲いでるすかんこの花

"Creeping Oxalis"

I don't really know why,
but I feel depressed, yeah?
It's not like I don't want to live anymore but
the cherry blossoms have scattered
and the sky is so dreary
It's just…you know, at times like this
I don't really think I would care if I died
When I snag an oxalis and bite into it
I realize that
even covered in dust the oxalis flower
blooms in quiet <u>contentment</u>

That same day, Takagi was serendipitously hired on at a small printing press. The company went under within a year, and Takagi was forced to set his sights elsewhere.

[172] Takagi, *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3: 104.

In 1928, Takagi was out of work again, but still a young man. In December of that year, with his wife's consent, the two left the Japanese mainland for Mukden [Hōten, present-day Shenyang], part of the contemporary Japanese satellite state of Manchuria [*Manshū*]. There, Takagi enrolled in the Manchuria Medical University [*Manshū ika daigaku*] with the aid of funds from the Southern Manchurian Railway Company. In 1930, as Takagi pursued his studies, his wife fell ill with acute tuberculosis. Takagi recorded her illness and death at the end of that year in the short story "Illustration of Flesh" [*Nikutai no zu*]. The piece begins ominously with a quote from the Gospel of John, both recalling the couple's religious affiliation and foreshadowing Fuji's inevitable passing from her mortal coil.[173]

After briefly visiting Aomori to intern his wife's remains, Takagi returned to Manchuria to continue his studies. In 1931, while Takagi was still in Manchuria, the Tsugaru-based press *Kita* printed one hundred copies of *Tsugaru hōgen shishū: Marumero*.[174] This was a collection of Takagi's earliest poetry, including his first experiments written under the direction of Fukushi Kōjirō at the Aomori daily. The collection is dedicated to the memory of Fuji. The first work, "Everyday Life"—translated above—marks the beginning of the couple's life together, and the final poem, "Marumero," was composed at Fuji's deathbed. Although *Marumero*'s initial printing did not meet with exceptional commercial success or lead to an immediate reprint, it was extremely popular among Fukushi's disciples and other local authors. Takagi was contacted by local poet Ichinohe Kenzō as a result, and offered membership in the coterie journal *Shii no ki* [Beech]. Ichinohe would later also recommend Takagi to another journal, *Ren* [Alliance]. *Marumero* boomed in popularity after the war, following its translation by the English poet

[173] In the text, Fuji is represented as buoyed by her spiritual beliefs, but a clergyman character is portrayed as duplicitous and self–serving; clearly, Takagi had a mixed relationship with organized religion, particularly in connection with his first wife. Takagi Kyōzō, "*Nikutai no zu*" in *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol 1: 38–51.
[174] The word "Tsugaru" would be removed from the title in subsequent printings.

James Kirkup, and remains the most well-known work of the regionalism movement.[175] The content can be generally characterized by a liberal use of esoteric Tsugaru vernacular and many brutish, yet darkly humorous, descriptions of the harsh everyday life of prewar Tsugaru.

Takagi wrote poetry sporadically between 1930 and 1932, and except for those works included in *Marumero*, all were written in standardized Japanese. These poems are nearly all prose poems, lacking overt structural, rhythmic, or repetitive elements. Like the majority of the "dialect" poems, these works tend to portray a relatively short, realistic scene from Takagi's life. For example, "Fancy Dress Ball" [*Kasō butō-kai*] replays his experience of dancing with a missionary's elderly wife and reflections on the teachings of his former dance instructor. "Organismus" portrays a dream, a hectic and weird scene in which Takagi helps carry a dying prostitute to a church. "Rewind" [*Sokō*] details a small fantasy Takagi has of walking the streets of Paris, before turning his vision back in time to his present in Manchuria, where outside of the screening house the wind whips up yellow sandstorms. Several of the poems address the bleakness of his situation and his inability to mesh with the local cultural landscape. The alienation he experienced in Manchuria at this time is communicated strongly in these poems, reflected in part by the smattering of *katakana*-speaking foreigners and foreign words, including the poem titles "Organismus," "Quadrant," and "Bridal March," written in the Roman alphabet.

In 1933, Takagi married his second wife, Nobori, at Mukden shrine.[176] He graduated with a medical degree the same year, and began working as an optometrist in the Mantetsu Capital

[175] Translated piecemeal in a variety of publications beginning in 1968, and collected in 1973. For a complete bibliography of translations, see: Takagi Kyōzō, *How to Cook Women*, trans. James Kirkup and Michio Nakano (Portland: University of Salzburg, 1997), 78–81.

[176] According to their son, the centrality of Fuji, by way of *Marumero*, to Takagi's literary identity became a point of tension in their marriage, and Takagi felt disloyal to Nobori every time he participated in a reading or new publication event. That said, while Takagi may not have been able to outgrow *Marumero*, he did write a number of short stories featuring stand–ins for Nobori as pivotal characters, most of which are collected in *Tsugaru no hitobito*. There is little other information of Nobori, and she is treated as little more than a footnote in other secondary materials. Takagi Jun, "Takagi Kyōzō seitan hyaku nen," in *Hirosaki pen kurabu 1996–2005: sōritsu 10 shūnen*

Hospital [*Shinkyō Mantetsu byōin*]. In 1935, he published one hundred volumes of his second major poetry collection, *My Personal Requiem* [*Wa ga chinkon-ka*], via the *Shii no ki* press. Unlike *Marumero*, *Requiem* is written in standardized Japanese, and its content is much more abstract. This was followed four years later by *Lineage of the Raven* [*Karasu no suso*], for which Takagi won the inaugural Manchurian Literary Arts Association prize, and was honored by the general of the Kwantung Army. After traveling back and forth from the Japanese mainland several times for medical reasons, Takagi settled in Mukden again, and in 1942 published one thousand copies of a collection of short stories called *Near Mukden Fortress* [*Hōten jō fukin*].

Following the defeat of the Japanese empire in 1946, the colonists were forced to abandon the occupied territories, and in October of that year, Takagi left Manchuria after an eighteen-year occupation. He returned to his home in Aomori city to live out the rest of his life operating a small optometry practice and continuing his artistic endeavors. In 1967 he published a collection of heavily autobiographical short stories and plays written between 1937-1966 in *Baba yado* [Grannies' lodge], and in more comprehensive form in 1972 as *Tsugaru no hitobito* [Tsugaru people]. The works variously address themes of his feelings of alienation in Manchuria, his sense of becoming-Pan Asian (often via marriage to a Chinese woman), losing connections with the world and roots in old age, and his difficulties in communicating with his new spouse. Later, he published a second collection of "dialect poetry" called *Yugionago* [Lady Snow] (1976), a lengthy collection of autobiographical essays, and other minor works. However, during this period, his most important action was to give live readings of *Marumero* and to continue to promulgate its value.

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kinen (Japan: Ono insatsu–sho, 2005), 182.

TSUGARU ESPRIT: TAKAGI, ICHINOHE KENZŌ, KON KAN'ICHI

The two poems from *Marumero* cited above are referenced in Takagi's "My Poems and the Truth" [*Watashi no shi to shinjitsu*], an attempt in later life to rationalize and articulate his artistic method as a product of Fukushi's regionalism. In brief, he states: "my poetry is something that has been born out of my sentiments of everyday life, nothing more." By claiming anti-intellectualization and rejecting aestheticization, Takagi alleges to draw his poetry, unmediated, directly from the experiences of his everyday life. His self identification with the unassuming oxalis flower deepens the connection between region [*chihō*], the earth, the anonymous "folk," and the immediacy of orality:

> My existence is merely that of a weed: to be the flower of a creeping oxalis would be perfectly satisfying. "You must not butt in! Don't get in the way of other people's designs!" These are the words I repeat to myself on a daily basis. I want to try and make my flowers bloom as best I can at my own pace, so small as to not attract much attention, but in complete "self contentment." I call this the complete exhaustion of the resources of my life.[177]

Takagi's insistence on the immediacy of the poetic voice is so great that the final poem of *Marumero* is purportedly not even of his original composition. Rather than interpret, elaborate, or rewrite, he claims that the titular poem is a direct transcription of Fuji's final words:

> "Marmelo: a dream from Fuji's deathbed in Manchuria"
>
> *I traveled along a narrow road through withered grass. A marmelo lay fallen in the rain-soaked earth. My dead cousin was there eating a handful of rice. No matter how many times I tried to pick up the marmelo, I just couldn't…*
>
> *Ah…I bet it's snowing back home*
>
> 「まるめろ」
> ——死ぬ時(どき)のふぢの夢　満州で

[177] The word I translate as "contentment" is the Tsugaru vernacular *azumashii*, which has overtones of unselfconscious satisfaction, a being at peace with the world, or in a position of utter comfort. Takagi, *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3: 105.

枯草の中の細い路(ケド)コ行たキア　泥濘(ガチヤメギ)サまるめろア落(オヅ)でだオン　死ンだ従妹(イドゴ)アそごで握飯(ニギリママ)バ食てだオン　まるめろバ拾(フラ)ウどもても如何(ナンボ)しても拾(フラ)えネンだもの……

ああ故郷(クニ)もいま雪(ユギ)ア降てるべなあ

Takagi's attempts to replicate the spirit of Tsugaru through his ostensibly natural poetic voice often results in a collusion between landscape, climate, voice, and style. In other words, the Tsugaru spirit took shape not only in the direct allusions to local imagery and vernacular speech, but also through the attitude of expression. Thus, despite the ostensible bleakness of many of the poems, there is a critical consensus that they are generally characterized by an undercurrent of wry wit or irony.[178] The poems are often so thoroughly lugubrious that one cannot help but laugh.[179] One (non-native) commentator has questioned if Takagi is truly an appropriate representative of *chihō shugi*, understood to be an anti-center unconditional love for regions, simply because his writing is too negative.[180] This critique appears apt on the surface, but it does not seem to grasp the esprit that direct participants in the Tsugaru *bundan* do; additionally, it does not address *Yukionago*, Takagi's later poetry collection which is characterized much more by levity and positive imagery. This irony is one manifestation of "Tsugaru esprit," a word adopted by Fukushi's students to express their interpretation of the spirit of place.

"Tsugaru esprit" [*Tsugaru esupuri*] is a direct translation of the French word, meaning "spirit" or "mind," and has a broader meaning than "spirit" does in English. Esprit is also used to describe a supposedly unique French mode of witticism or humor, either in written form or the

[178] See, e.g., Arito, 270–8; Ono Masafumi, "Kaisetsu," *Tsugaru no shi* by Ichinohe Kenzō, et al (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1974), 172.
[179] E.g. "Raw Rugosa Rose," translated in a footnote above.
[180] Sakaguchi, *Michinoku no shigaku,* 221–2.

spontaneous *bon mot*.[181] The Tsugaru vernacular poets used this term to describe the special spirit of their local literary establishment [*chihō bundan/shidan*]. For example, Kon Kan'ichi argued for a form of esprit in "Tsugaru humor." In one case, he suggests that the "masochistic" "self-condemnation" [*jiko danzai*] of Dazai Osamu's writing must be read through a lens of humor to be truly appreciated.[182] Arito Hideaki and Yamada Shō also identify the ironic humor and esprit throughout Takagi's writings.[183]

As a result, the implication of the term "Tsugaru esprit" is that there is a particular kind of cunning or sly wit characteristic of and unique to the Tsugaru literary community, just as French esprit is supposed to be the lone property of the French. In 1935, Ichinohe Kenzō began a long-running newspaper column called "Tales of Tsugaru Esprit"" [*Tsugaru esupuri banashi*] with the remarks to this effect:

> The word "*esupuri*" originally comes from the French word, written ESPRIT. In Japanese, "spirit" [*seishin*] or "soul" [*tamashii*], or even "temperament" [*kishitsu*] would probably be an accurate translation….A friend of mine recently suggested "Why don'tcha write the title 'Tales of the Tsugaru Temperament' [*tsugaru kishitsu banashi*] and gloss it with the reading 'Tsugaru, Esprit Tales' [*tsugaru, esupuri banashi*]?"...but there is just something about sticking the [kanji] "Tsugaru" next to the French word "esprit" [written in hiragana]…![184]

It seems that for Ichinohe, the ironic juxtaposition of French and Japanese, and furthermore the fact that the former is written in Chinese characters and the latter in Japanese syllabary itself expresses the sly wit of Tsugaru esprit. In subsequent columns, Ichinohe goes on to recount stories concerning the idiosyncratic characters of the local literary establishment, emphasizing the nuanced traits or culture shared among young writers from different neighborhoods.

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[181] For a detailed discussion of the differences between English wit and French esprit, see: Kawamori Yoshizō, *Esupuri to yūmoa* (Japan: Iwanami shoten, 1969), 99–146.
[182] Kon Kan'ichi, "Tsugaru no yūmoa: Tsugaru bungaku no keifu ni furete" in *Kon Kan Tsugaru–bushi* (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1969), 43–4.
[183] Yamada states that the purpose of his entire book on Takagi's poetry is not to give translations into standardized Japanese or to interpret the words critically, but to explain the poetry's "esprit." Yamada, *Marumero–ron*, 8.
[184] Ichinohe Kenzō [Manji Shakujō], "Tsugaru esupuri banashi" in *Hirosaki Shinbun* (Japan), February 14, 1935.

Kon Kan'ichi self identified as a member of the "Tsugaru esprit movement," and was also greatly inspired by Ichinohe. In an essay on "Dialect and Esprit" reproduced in Ichinohe's "A Litany of Prayers" [*Hyakumanben*], Kon describes vernacular language as a "most powerful weapon for expressing thought" which is more "sincere" [*socchoku*] in contrast to conventional literary language. This repeats Takagi's assertion that vernacular language allows for the unmediated expression of spirit. Reading vernacular Tsugaru literature illuminated Kon's heretofore unrealized "alignment of thought" [*shikō no tōitsu*] with his Tsugaru compatriots; in other words, dialect poetry helped him become aware of the phenomenon of "Tsugaru esprit" which exists in the dialect itself, and furthermore, of how that spirit links him to others from the same region. He concludes that Tsugaru vernacular literature is always an expression of Tsugaru esprit.[185] It follows that vernacular writing aids in the cultural objectification necessary to engage with Fukushi's moral praxis, precisely because it makes visible the stuff of place-consciousness.[186]

Like Fukushi's spirit, Kon claims that Tsugaru esprit derived from millennia of compounded practice, from tradition. His representative example is the following scene: "…the entire household huddled around the hearth *bullshitting* through all hours of the night. In Tsugaru this is called '*gotaku*.' Topics of these hearthside bullshitting-sessions can be as high as imperial politics and as dirt-low as gossip about the flatulence of a good-for-nothing wretch the next town over, and are discussed with sharp tongues and a dash of criticism."[187] Elsewhere again he uses

[185] Kon Kan'ichi, "Hōgen to esupuri" in *Hyakumanben* by Ichinohe Kenzō (Japan: Ken shi–sha, 1961), 54–5.
[186] "Cultural objectification" [*bunka no kyakutai ka*] is a process of reappraisal by which a native learns to view her community through a foreign gaze. Ōta Yoshinobu gives the example of local communities revitalizing old traditions as the result of being highlighted in anthropological or media investigations. For Kon, the process was somewhat reversed: like Fukushi, his long absence from Tsugaru caused the defamiliarization of his homeland. In this way, he encountered Ichinohe's writing through his own converted Tokyoite perspective. See: Ōta Yoshinobu, "Bunka no Kyakutaika" in *Toransupojishon no Shisō: Bunkajinruigaku no Saisōzō*, pp 55–94 (Japan: Sekai Shisō–sha, 1998).
[187] Anecdotally, I can attest to the continued practice of "*gotaku*," labeled as such, in Hirosaki, at least in the context of family barbecues and folksong bars. Kon, "Tsugaru no yūmoa," 45–6.

"Tsugaru *gotaku*" to describe his method of writing Tsugaru for his Tokyo acquaintances and publishing houses. Long absent from his homeland, he cribs information from an acquaintance's book on the subject and claims it as his own.[188]

Ichinohe refers to *gotaku* ("*godagu*" in his pronunciation) in connection to his discussion of Tsugaru esprit as well. He clarifies:

> [I]t would be a bit amiss to interpret a direct equivalency between Tsugaru esprit and *godagu*. This *godagu* certainly originally comes from Tsugaru esprit; however…*godagu* is not esprit itself…if you just follow along one *godagu* [here: story] after another in ["Tales of Tsugaru Esprit"] I think you should naturally come to understand what I am trying to say.[189]

Tsugaru esprit and *gotaku* both are slippery concepts which can only be understood through thick experience, through an education rather than explanation. Ono Masafumi lists *gotaku* among literary forms like *min'yō* and folktales as something which has "poetically refined the Tsugaru man's spirit [*tamashii*], 'Tsugaru esprit.'"[190]

Unlike Kon and Ichinohe, Takagi does not muse on *gotaku* and Tsugaru esprit as abstract concepts in prose thought pieces. However, he did use a verb related to *gotaku* in both of his "dialect poetry" collections. The verb *gudamegu* means to grumble or complain; the noun-form of this word is *gudamegi*.

「爺コのぐだめぎ」	"Granpa's Grumblings" [*Jiko no gudamegi*]
いま眼の前行(メ)た奴(ヤヅ)ァ男(オドゴ)だナ女(オナゴ)だナ 髪長ぐして　真赤だシャツ着てよ 何ッ男だて？　ウウ変たもンだなア まンだ毎日の新聞サろぐだ事(ゴト)のてねでよ	*Who just went by—was it a man or a woman?* *Long hair, wearing a bright red shirt* *What, a man? Uh, that's a queer one.* *Still no good nothing printed in the papers these days* *My, my…it's pollution, it's traffic accidents, it's killings*

[188] The practice of putting on airs or holding the pretense of a kind of specialized knowledge is often called *efurikoki* in northern Tohoku. Kon's use of *gotaku* here suggests that the act of "bullshitting" involves a similar construction of a competitive façade. Kon Kan'ichi, "Tsugaru ensaikuropedia: waga furusato ni tsuite," Manuscript, Hirosaki shiritsu kyōdo bungaku kan, 4.
[189] Ichinohe, "Tsugaru esupuri banashi," February 14, 1935.
[190] Ono, "Kaisetsu," 172.

やれ公害だ交通事故だ人殺(フト)しだのて
ああこの世の中(ナガ)一体(テ)どうなるンだべナ
人間(フト)ァもっと賢(サガシ)ぐなれぬンだべが
何ッぐだめぎ止めろて？　うるせがナ
家(エ)の中(ナガ)ネ居(エ)れば若者達(ワガモノンド)サ気つかわへるし
外サ出はれば車ァ恐(オカナ)くて歩げねネ
ほら昔(ムガシ)　年寄(トショ)りァ邪魔ネなて山サ
捨てられだヅ事(ゴト)ァ本当だンだ
うだでじゃ　うだでじゃ

So, what's the damn world coming to?
I don't suppose people'll start getting any smarter
What, quit grumbling? You little snot.
When I'm indoors I make the young'ns worry after me
If I go outside I'm too afraid of the cars to go anywhere
Y'know, back in the day, when us elderly folk got in the way we'd get abandoned in the mountains, it's true!
This is crap. It's all just crap.[191]

Tsugaru esprit is irrational and ineffable: it resists abstraction and definition, and deeply informs these writers' Tsugaru place-consciousness. There is no objective measure of esprit, no way to definitively separate the black humor or fine sensibility of the Tsugaru *bundan*'s literature from their peers'—but that is not what is important. What the discussion of Tsugaru esprit illuminates is the intentionality behind the creation of a consciousness of the Tsugaru *bundan*: the appropriation of Tsugaru esprit, Tsugaru humor, and *gotaku* each demonstrate an effort to develop a practice that united the community, a practice of place.

A different example of the way in which Takagi's artistic expression interacted with the concept of Tsugaru can be found in his invocation of *Yugionago* in two poems, a short story, and as the title of his second "dialect poetry" collection. *Yugionago* is a localized pronunciation of *yuki onna*, the "Snow Lady."

Yuki onna is a mythological creature that was popularized in Meiji Japan via Lafcadio Hearn's short story about a "woman of the snow," and much later by Masaki Kobayashi's epic

[191] "*Ima a fuyu dane*" [Winter, now] reads, in part, *"Gramps is at the heater first thing / Just warming his belly, and / Granny's Granny, nothing but / Grumbling all day long [gudamedebari]*." Takagi Kyōzō, *Hōgen shishū: Yugi onago* (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1976), 28, 57.

film interpretation of it.[192] The first written record of *yuki onna* appears in 1686, based on a tale of a woman so obsessively infatuated with Ariwara no Narihira that all color drains from her body, and she fades away in a shadow.[193] In the archetypal *yuki onna* story, an attractive, light-skinned woman dressed in white appears to a young man during a nighttime snowstorm only to vanish before his eyes; in stories like Hearn's, she is jealous and vengeful, and can freeze a man to death.

The concept of the "archetype" is important: as with many folk and fairytales, *yuki onna* stories feature structural repetition and readily identifiable elements. *Yuki onna* is female, white, sexually alluring and threatening, disappears supernaturally, etc. However, the archetype functions to obscure the embodied tradition of folktale telling: *yuki onna* stories are performed in different localities in different forms under different names like *yugionago*, *yuki jorō*, *yuki furi baba*, *yuki musume*, and *yukinba*. "*Yuki onna*" today tends to be conflated into a single image, based on Kitagawa no Utamaro's famous woodblock prints which distilled her into three basic incarnations: the "demon lady" [*kijo*], the "affectionate mother" [*jibo*], and the "goddess of fertility" [*hōjō no kami*].[194]

Thus, merely writing the name *yuki onna* here participates in an academic tradition of extracting localized, performative knowledge from the specificity of context. This phenomenon has already been addressed in recent monsterology scholarship: Foster's work on Tokugawa scholar Toriyama Sekien demonstrates how the cataloguing of phantasms like *yuki onna* generated abstract categories which homogenized "diverse but similar phenomena."[195] On the

[192] Lafcadio Hearn, *Kwaidan: Stories and Studies of Strange Things* (New York: Houghton–Mifflin Company, 1898), 109–118; Lafcadio Hearn and Yōko Mizuki, *Kwaidan*, directed by Masaki Kobayashi (1964; Japan: Toho Company), film.
[193] Shimura Kunihiro, *Nihon Misuteriasu: yōkai kaiki yōjin jiten* (Japan: Bensey shuppan, 2011), 98.
[194] Shimura, 99.
[195] Michael Dylan Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade: Japanese Monsters and the Culture of Yōkai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 38.

other hand, Figal shows how such academic "disciplining" served as a model of scientific knowledge, and aided in the project of the modern nation-state—the authority of which was established precisely through the intellectual vanquishing of folk belief.[196] He writes:

> What is significant in this [scientific] approach is that it assumes beforehand that commoner beliefs and practices are merely objects to be explained away bit by bit by a universal reason and never something to be respected and known in their own integrity and particular context.[197]

The Meiji State used science to demystify and thereby expel the ghosts and monsters of "folk" knowledge from Japan.[198] As a result, phantasms have been abstracted into de-localized and disembodied categories. This process of rationalization goes hand in hand with the centralization of Japan and (attempted) homogenization of a single, national culture. Takagi Kyōzō's writing, however, moves in quite the opposite direction, toward specificity and localization, toward the vernacular, and toward re-embodiment.

As a participant in Fukushi's regionalism movement, Takagi was invested in the propagation of local specificity: thus the use of localized folk knowledge like *yugionago*. Yet he described his writing in terms of direct representation of everyday life through the use of unadorned language, and has no other prominent examples of the fantastic or supernatural in his literature.[199] In that case, why would Takagi draw upon the theme of *yugionago* several times over the course of his career?

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[196] Figal, 45, 76–9.
[197] Figal, 77.
[198] This denial of folk knowledge mirrors the pathologizing of vernacular speech, beginning with the *genbun itchi* movement and culminating with the *hōgen bokumetsu undō* [movement to annihilate dialect]. This movement included a "*hōgen fuda*" policy, in which a placard was hung from the neck of students who broke from the prescribed standardized Japanese in school. The stigma attached to vernacular speech grew so great during the immediate postwar period that newspapers reported a rash of suicides resulting from acute "*hōgen* complex." Tanaka Yukari, "*Hōgen kosupure" no jidai: nise kansai–ben kara Ryūma–go made* (Japan: Iwanami shoten, 2011), 44–9.
[199] Takagi Kyōzō, "Watashi no shi to shinjitsu," in *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3.

"Lady Snow"

They say that one night of flakes falling thick snow the footprints of a young chap vanished out front the eatery.

They say too that on morning they found him fallen at the bottom of a cliff, icicle-kind.

「雪女（ユキオナゴ）」

ぼた／＼雪（ユギ）ア降てる晩（バゲ）ネ居酒屋（ヌリチヤヤ）の前（メ）がらゐの長男（アンコ）の足跡（カダ）メねグなたンだド

朝（アサマ）ネなたら断崖（ガンケ）の下ネ折れだ氷柱（スガマ）コだけえネなてゐだンだドセ

To begin with his first *yugionago* poem, the supernatural exists as a ghost to the body of the poem itself, appearing only in the title.[200] A reader disposed toward a rational or scientific interpretation of the work might assume that the young lad had a bit too much to drink, or was blinded by the blizzard, and merely lost his footing, slipped, and plummeted to his death. But that *yugionago* is there as the title, despite the fact of the poem's context, the rest of the collection, and Takagi's own commentaries, all telling us that this is supposed to be a realistic depiction of true-to-life, or close-to-life events.

The *yugionago* here is fantastic, in Todorov's classic terminology: it balances ambiguously between the marvelous and uncanny, and poses a question to the reader about the nature of diegetic reality.[201] The question of if there is a rational or supernatural explanation is not resolved by the end of the poem, and instead we are left to empathize with the experience of this reportage. This juxtaposition should be taken in context, however. In Tsugaru, in the middle of winter in the 1920s, blaming *yugionago* for this type of incident reflected the real-world social experience of the spoken discourse of gossip and rumor. *Yugionago* is not represented here as an

[200] Takagi insisted that the title was an integral part of the poem; that the poem begins with the title itself. Takagi Kyōzō and Yamada Shō, *"Marumero" in Tsugaru: Tsugaru hōgen shi*, Toshindo, 2008 CD.
[201] Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre*, Trans. Richard Howard (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1973), 25, 31.

ontological fact, but rather as a phenomenological aspect of everyday life. *Yugionago*'s present absence is effective, because it communicates an aspect of the social reality of the Tsugaru which Takagi was familiar.[202]

There is another spectre lurking behind the translation. The ghost of the original text, written in such marked language, hangs over this work. The absence of vernacular language in my translation is tangible.[203] Yet, in defense of my interpretation above, this is true not only in the English translation, but also in the translation between the sonic spoken form of language and the silent written form. Japanese writing can only approximate Takagi's idiosyncratic pronunciation, and must be supplemented with ideographic kanji for legibility. Once more however, the linguistic approximation of the written form is transformed into a localized sonic vernacular in the mind or mouth of the localized reader in a way inaccessible to one unfamiliar with Takagi's tongue.

Furthermore, the specificity of the "young chap" in the original text is also untranslatable: he is identified as the eldest son in a family business known by the "*marusume*" crest.[204] The vernacular pronunciation of "*maru-jime*" first re-localizes the heraldry in the same way that *yugionago* does *yuki onna*; additionally, it refers to a company name presumably held in common knowledge among contemporary local readers. While I have not been able to ascertain

[202] This is similar to an earlier work, "*Fugi*" [blizzard], in which a blizzard is personified as a white wolf, and granny and grandpas' spirits are watching over us from above. The content is fantastic, but the tone and form clearly indicate it to be the voice of a parent directed at children getting ready for bed; a perfectly plausible use of the supernatural in a "realistic" work.

[203] This present absence functions like Barthe's photographic "punctum," signaling a meaning that is non–represent–able. Avery F Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press,1997), 107.

[204] A character so rare that it seems to have been handmade for the 1970 *katsu–ji* printing of the text I reference. Takagi Kyōzō, *Hōgen shishū Marumero* (Japan: Tsugaru shobō, 1970), 37.

if Takagi is writing about a specific historical event, his use of this name provides his specific audience with certain information unavailable to a generalized reader.[205]

Takagi's second "*Yugionago*" much more focused on localizing its audience, particularly through hailing them directly:[206]

「雪女（ユギオナゴ）」

雪国サ生（マ）れ　雪国で暮してきた
お前（メ）だぢェ
誰（ダイ）でも長（ナ）ゲ一生の中（ナガ）ネ
雪女（ユギオナゴ）だえンた女（オナゴ）ネ
行ぎ会（ア）たごとァきっとあるベネな
会（ア）たがど思（モ）たら　何（ナン）も　どだとが　こだとがなくて
いや　ながネは死ぬえンた目ネあわへらえで
そいでその女（オナゴ）ァ雪ョだキャえネ消えでまて
それッきり二度（ニン）と出（デハ）て来（キ）ねでし
そのくへ　その女（オナゴ）の姿ョァ　いづまンでも
お前だぢの心サ残（ノゴ）ていでが
ま　女（オナゴ）のヅものァ　一体（テ）ネ化物（バゲモノ）だンども
し
雪女（ユギオナゴ）だえンた女（オナゴ）ァいるもンでェ
そした女（オナゴ）ネ行ぎ会（ア）たごとァ

"Lady Snow"

You all were
Born'n snow country,
Raised'n snow country
Any of you, in the long course of life
Could have crossed paths
With a woman like the Lady Snow
Some think you've met her, it's not "maybe, maybe not"
Nope, some among you met with a death-like experience
And then that woman vanished like the snow
Never, ever to appear before you again
And despite that, isn't her face forever
Burned into your memory?
Well…you see, I think women are all kind of phantoms
There must be women like the Lady Snow
As for crossing paths with one of those women,
You must have
I am sure you have

[205] In contemporary Tsugaru, one can imagine attempting a similar effect by using the name of a local company like Kudō Pan or Satochō, or a surname like Kudō, Kasai, Sōma, or Ichinohe, each of which has much stronger valences of locality than less regionally–specific monikers like Satō and Tanaka, or a globalized convenience store like Seven Eleven of Lawsons.

[206] The use of the term "hail" here deliberately alludes to Louis Althusser's colloquial example of interpellation. The hailing of Althusser's individual-citizen by an officer of the law transforms him into a subject (of the state, of state ideology). Yet, the act of hailing does not produce an ideological subject through a mechanism of cause-and-effect; rather, "The existence of ideology and the hailing or interpellation of individuals as subjects are one and the same." When Takagi hails the reader—and, as we shall see, often listener—the latters' *a priori* identification with the community of Tsugaru snow country, and its ideology-like social imaginaries is both signaled and reconfirmed. Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 118.

きッと　あるべし
きっとあるベネな

This "*Yugionago*" localizes in several ways. It does so not only through the regionally-specific voice, but because it addresses and defines the reader directly: it hails "You all."[207] "You all" are defined through linguistic community; "you all" are also assumed to be born and raised in "snow country," and presumed male. The reader is thus localized through membership in a community where knowledge of and encounters with *yugionago*—even at the level of rumor—are taken for granted. Furthermore, in textbook Todorovian fantastic mode, the poem functions to "integrate" the reader into its diegetic world by forcing us to interrogate our personal experiences.[208]

Of course, this second version of the "*Yugionago*" poem is not about hearsay or rumor: it asks the listener about her personal experiences. This work is placed at the end of Takagi's short story of the same name, one of three prose works written in his vernacular.[209] Like all of his writing, this story contains copious amounts of biographical reference; including in this case, the death of his mother and Takagi's entrepreneurial foray into the world of confectionary sales during his elementary-school years. As the son of a prominent doctor, Takagi had no need to work for pocket money, and was intensely ashamed of his venture.[210]

"*Yugionago*" is told in three acts, separated and bookended by Takagi's poetry. It begins with "*Yugya furu bage*" [Snow falling nights], "*Yugi zu mono a*" [This thing called snow] appears between sections one and two, the next sections are separated by "*Funa nori no uda*"

[207] As is often the case with Takagi, I am stumped as how to properly Romanize his idiosyncratic rendition, *ome dadje* (おめだぢェ). "*Ome dadje*," and later "*ome dadji*" are both used in opposition to the sanitized *hyōjungo* grapholect of "*omae tachi*."
[208] Todorov, 25, 31–2.
[209] Takagi, "*Yugionago*," in *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3: 402–413.
[210] One critic suggests that Takagi's eccentric behavior, beginning with his candy sales and continuing throughout his life, was a result of an identity crisis arising from the death of his mother. Arito, 170.

[Song of ferrymen], and the whole work ends with the second "*Yugionago*" discussed above. The first two poems are neutral-to-positive musings about snow and snowfall; the latter two poems emphasize the fear and danger associated with Tsugaru winters. Each poem is also included in the *Yugionago* poetry collection. The poems act as interludes in the story, functioning similarly to cinematic "pillow shots" in that they contribute to the atmosphere or mood of the work while stepping back a moment from developing the narrative.

In the first act, the first-person schoolboy protagonist learns from his school chum Chūsuke how to buy and sell candies on the street. After stuffing a wooden box full of sweets and dangling it from his neck, he begins to walk around a busy part of town calling out his wares while nibbling on the product. He is surrounded by snow, and as a storm kicks up all of the voices and clamor around him fade into silence and he recalls the night of his mother's funeral, when he was forced to bear his the mortuary tablet while treading through the cold in sandaled feet. His reverie is cut short by the voice of a woman, offering to purchase some sweets. During their brief discussion, the boy lies about his family, claiming that his father is a fisherman instead of a doctor. After a moment, perhaps out of pity for the poor child, the woman decides to buy all of his remaining candies, receiving them in her preternaturally frigid hands before hurrying on ahead. The boy is left stunned in the street for some time.

The second act begins an unspecified amount of time later, as the protagonist comes to his senses and decides to try his hand at selling once again. On the way to the candy shop, he runs into Chūsuke again, who upon hearing his story immediately suggests that he had an encounter with a (the?) *yugionago*. This act ends with the two boys following several police officers who appear running full-speed toward the bay.

In the final section, the boys realized that there is an emergency rescue effort in progress, as they can hear cries for help mixed in with the sound of the wind and waves: some people were lost at the sea during the storm. Chūsuke, son of a fisherman, selflessly charges to the boats to aid the adults in their search. However, as he steps upon stone stairs leading down to the sea, he spies a woman covered in snow in the crowd looking down at him, freezes for a moment, and then slips and falls into the water. Luckily he is saved, but the following day he warns the protagonist not to tell anyone of his encounter with the *yugionago*. Despite keeping mum about the whole affair, the protagonist is found out, jeered at by his friends, scolded by his teacher, and reprimanded again at home. The narrative ends with a reflection by the grown narrator on these events, claiming that the eyes of the woman had been burned into his memory.

The plot of "*Yugionago*" provides plenty of fodder for a psychoanalytical reading—the narrator is clearly overburdened by survivor's guilt and the trauma of his mother's passing, which is then echoed in the near-death of Chūsuke (whose name literally means "loyal retainer"), presumably due to the protagonist's *dis*loyal dissembling (*yugionago* attacked a fisherman's son, not the son of a doctor). There is also an interesting conflation between the folk-stories, well-codified at the time of Takagi's writing, of *yuki onna* and the *kosodate yūrei*, as well as an autobiographical example of a kind of consciousness of class roles among children in 1910s Japan.[211] Furthermore, this story is one in a long list of examples of Takagi's difficulties with gender and relating to women in general (it is no coincidence that the protagonist wears his sister's cloak throughout the entire ordeal).

Yet, setting aside all of these complexities and potential readings, there is still a nuanced consciousness of place described in the text. While our (unreliable) narrator's memory of the

[211] In the "Child–rearing spirit" story, sometimes also called a variation of "*Ame kai yūrei*" [sweets buying spirit], a ghost of a woman who died in childbirth visits the land of the living to buy sweets or rice cakes in order to feed her baby, sometimes discovered alive after the fact in the mother's grave.

time period is shaky, he guesses that it was around the end of January or beginning or March, "…*because of how high the snow had piled up along the side of the road*." Takagi's description of the seaside district of Hama machi as a bustling entertainment district was already anachronistic at the time of his writing, painting another layer of invisible history into the place familiar to contemporary readers.[212] Also, when the protagonist lies, saying that his father is a "*fisherman*," the mysterious woman responds "*So you're from Shijimike*."[213] *Shijimi* [freshwater clams] are a major product of Aomori prefecture, and so it would be no great logical leap to connect Shijimike with the fishing industry. However, the woman's (and, by virtue of his authorship, Takagi's) identification of the neighborhood with profession, class, and landscape is another demonstration of his place consciousness.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of "*Yugionago*" and Takagi's production of Tsugaru as place has not to do with its contents, but its medium. In 1954, Takagi began using a new technique to integrate his readers into his literature: he read his poetry aloud in public, often with Kimura Shigeru's accompaniment on guitar. Their first project was to broadcast several readings from *Marumero* over the newly-formed Radio Aomori (RAB).[214] Reflecting on this experience, Takagi emphasized how the radio format, and presumably the familiar vocabulary, appealed strongly to "grannies and grandpas out in the fields."[215] He later broadcast his "Three Stories in Dialect" [*Hōgen ni yoru mitsu no monogatari*], including "*Yugionago,*" on RAB in 1965.[216] Thus, Takagi's audience was defined both by the address of "you all," and through a limitation of access to the texts: the Radio Aomori broadcasts reached a considerably geographically limited

[212] Takagi, *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3: 405.
[213] Takagi, *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3; 407.
[214] The same institution which popularized Tsugaru-jamisen and Tsugaru *min'yō* as a consumable product among local audiences, and ushered in Yamada Chisato's "radio period." See Chapter 1 for further discussion.
[215] Akita Ujaku, one of Fukushi Kōjirō's literary mentors mentioned above, reversed his opposition to the practice of "dialect poetry" as a result of hearing it read in Takagi's voice. Takagi Kyōzō, "Agabe isha to hōgenshi," *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3: 109.
[216] Takagi, *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3: 96.

audience. Similarly, Takagi's poems first appeared in local newspapers and small-scale coterie journals, and the majority of his book-length works have been published by Tsugaru shobō.[217]

Following the recommendation of Kusano Shinpei, Takagi also recorded sonosheets to be included with *Marumero* and *Yugionago* reprints, and gave live readings to promote the new editions' publication.[218] In 1981, he recorded ten *Marumero* poems with accompaniment by Tsugaru folk musician Mikami Kan in the Aomori Citizen's Hall, released on LP, and later reissued as a CD.[219] These, coupled with readings in Tokyo, helped to expand the scope of *Marumero* and Takagi's Tsugaru, resulting in a very different effect. For the non-Tsugaru, "outside" reader/listener, these recordings and performances would have had a pedagogical aspect, educating about the invisible layers of place, and the concepts and language which Takagi uses to practice it. The hailing of "you all" becomes not a call for introspective empathy by an audience characterized by a similar set of identity intersectionalities, but one for sympathetic imagination.

CONCLUSION

The ways in which place is discussed and constructed through the reflexive actions of writers self-identified as "Tsugaru" are numerous and exclusive, but not essentializing. There is a critical difference between, for example, the *gotaku* that Ichinohe and Kon wrote about, and categorical labels like "*efurigoki*" [putting on airs] and "*joppari*" [stubbornness] associated with discourses of *kenminsei*. *Gotaku*, Tsugaru vernacular language, and Tsugaru esprit are not

[217] Webcat Plus lists 26 book–length publications with Takagi listed as an author. Of them, 15 were published by Tsugaru shobō; other publishers are distributed throughout northern Tohoku, Manchuria, and Tokyo. Webcat Plus, <http://webcatplus.nii.ac.jp/> (2 June 2016).
[218] The not–so–subtle name checking of the avant–garde poet, who attained much wider recognition on the national level, if not within the central *bundan* itself, is yet another example of the trend of linking Tsugaru poets with more established figures in order to legitimate their own work. Takagi, *Takagi Kyōzō shibunshū*, vol. 3: 109.
[219] Takagi Kyōzō, *Wa ga seishun no Marumero: Takagi Kyōzō no sekai*, performed by Takagi Kyōzō and Mikami Kan, Mikami Kan Showten – JPR–1006, 1982, 33 1/3 rpm, LP.

essential racial categories, but are rather performances of bodily and verbal techniques which constitute aspects of place-consciousness. Premonitions of this performativity are alluded to in Fukushi's moral imperative as well: although place constitutes a fundamental and unique aspect of the localized milieu, spirit is not an immutable characteristic passed down through cultural DNA. Rather, it necessitates stewardship (a mode of moral practice) in prescribed forms of practice, such as the exercise of vernacular language. Kon experienced *gotaku* fireside sessions firsthand, Ichinohe wrote and published *gotaku* about Tsugaru esprit, and Takagi's poetry expresses that spirit in his vernacular tongue. In other words, while on the surface the concept of spirit of place and the term Tsugaru esprit may seem a homogenizing identity politics, it is a politics applied only to those who appropriate and reproduce it through ritualistic or performative action.

Both literary practice, scholarship, and other methods of institutionalization on the one hand, as well as personal linguistic and bodily practices, contribute to the formation of the invisible landscape which defines Tsugaru-as-place. These ambiguous and amorphous landscapes sit comfortably in conversation with Fukushi's invisible spirit—both are aspects of place that inform everyday life through the sediment of history and communal meaning. The chorographic analysis I engage in the above pages has begun the work of organizing the archive via which people interpret their localized worlds, forming the magma from which the social imaginary of place springs.[220]

While the Tsugaru of compartmentalized, individual experience is essential, and therefore an untranslatable intersectionality, individual experience imbricates with a Tsugaru consciously

[220] Castoriadis describes social imaginaries as "ensembles" or "structures" of "identitary" logic which form socially–held concepts. These ensembles can be observed in action, but cannot be reverse–engineered into their constituent parts. Society (here, Tsugaru) is a "world of significations" held together in a loosely articulated fashion. Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society,* trans. Kathleen Blamey. (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1987), 341, 359.

invoked and constructed within the modern Tsugaru literary and arts communities as an address to Tsugaru as place. What I am arguing is that Tsugaru esprit and *gotaku* are both slippery concepts which can be best understood through thick experience, through education rather than explanation, and which deeply inform these writers' Tsugaru place-consciousness. This brings the concern of place-consciousness into the realm of practice and performance in addition to the physical landscape so prominent in Kent Ryden's work on chorography, cited in the introductory section to this chapter. The shifting between the scale of the personal and the communal, between the national and the local, is precisely what brings the social imaginary into focus.

Indeed, over the course of the analysis, I have constantly shifted perspectives, moving between the layers of history, experience, and discourse which inform this place-consciousness, beginning with an analysis of national versus local institutionalization of Tsugaru via archival construction. The introduction to Fukushi's work, which laid the ground for regionalism and the Tsugaru esprit movement, moves between the visible and invisible (written and sonic-rhythmic elements of composition), the national and personal (psychological and ethnic-national narrative), global and local (French regionalism and the spirit of Tsugaru). My reading of his disciples, too, looked at transitions between practice and discourse (in *gotaku* and vernacular speech), citation of localized knowledge (of landscape, language, folklore, etc), and changing media (written, spoken, recorded, radio).

This is also why, as a final example, Friedrich Kittler's media theory has direct implications for Takagi's spoken and audio-recorded poetry and our understanding of his Tsugaru. Kittler argues that analog sonic reproduction brings his listeners closer to the "real" buried beneath the psychoanalytic layers of the typographic "symbolic," which is so clearly

deficient when it comes to rendering his vernacular speech.[221] In other words, the representation of everyday life—of Takagi's Tsugaru-as-experience—really is made more tangible through its sonification, through the direct, physical contact between the conditions of his enunciation and those of his listeners. Takagi is conjured through the reproduction of his voice, and so too are aspects of the Tsugaru which he addressed in so much of his work. His *yugionago* provide a small window into the placeness of Tsugaru, and into Takagi's participation in a community perceptive to and receptive to this imaginary.

The limited geographic distribution of so many of the texts circulating through and binding the local *bundan*, the strong reliance on vernacular speech, the invocation of place-identified monikers and markers, the integration through hailing of the reader/listener into the text, and the focus on localized communal experience all play parts in Takagi, Fukushi, and the other poets' interlinking projects—not of defining and containing Tsugaru through abstraction and rationalization, but through appeal to shared, and place-based bodily knowledge. This creates a proliferating series of Tsugarus at the nexus of location and nation, at the overlap of the personal, the public, the artistic, and the communal. By engaging with these texts, by looking at the whole series of levels of the archive, we can identify certain themes which characterize each writer's Tsugaru [*wa ga Tsugaru*], and yet we must understand that the specificity of knowledge and experience which they draw upon and appeal to ultimately makes their Tsugarus into an untranslatable and indeterminate, fantastic social imaginary.

Humans thus plant their experiences and histories in the ground, whilst physical landscapes form objective correlatives for place-consciousness; physical aspects of the landscape, climate, and social practices like fireside bullshitting sessions each constitute interlocking

[221] I discuss this in more detail in the previous chapter on Terayama Shūji and the song "Tareka kokyō wo omohazaru. " Friedrich Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, Trans. Geoffrey Winthrop–Young and Micheal Wutz (California: Stanford University Fresh, 1999), xxvi.

elements of the Tsugaru social imaginary which grow beyond the two-dimensional geography of the political map. This social imaginary exists, and becomes itself in writings and actions, and is realized through cognitive processes. This is the true, evolving legacy of Fukushi and the "spirit" of Tsugaru.

MUSUBI[1]

An octogenarian, Ryōsaku cannot escape the looming prospect of death. He senses the spirits of friends passed away, strangers, homeless ghosts, surging around him, noticing his presence, beckoning. He is repulsed, but revels in the attention. The threshold between this world and the afterlife seems more a formality than anything else: he sees and calls out to the face of the departed. Tears stream down his cheeks. He is making a scene amidst the crowds of the living unaware of the crowds of the dead, even as they are taken by the spirit of the summer all-souls festival. Ryōsaku does not belong here, in 2007; his name itself is an anachronism, and its characters mean "a creation completed." He is near completion: later, recalling the words of another long-departed compatriot and colleague, he affirms that he, too, will soon become a "complete corpse."

This vignette describes the opening pages of *Jean Jean: shūen* [Jean Jean: end of the road], Takashima Susumu's final work in his fantastical, autobiographical trilogy.[2] In it, he describes visiting Aomori city to witness the Nebuta festival—calling the O-bon festival season a "ghost contact zone"—and the shock of encountering a massive parade float in the shape of his dear departed friend, Takahashi Chikuzan.[3] The man he quotes in contemplation of his impending death, the "completion" of his existence, is none other than Terayama Shūji. Through Ryōsaku's voice, Takashima equates Terayama with Mount Osore, the mythical portal to the

[1] *Musubi*, a Japanese word commonly used to label the ending section of a piece of writing, literally means "tying together." I intend for these pages to do just that: to tie together the threads of the previous chapters in a knot which both aligns their common themes, but which also complicates, makes messy, the picture which they weave together. This is not a "conclusion" in the sense of definitively ending the argument: it is a *musubi*, a tangled knot of jumbled juxtapositions eager to be teased out into yet a new direction.

[2] "*Shūen*" might more conventionally be translated along the lines of "the demise," and the book certainly relies on those valences of meaning; however, Takashima is borrowing the phrases from a particular street sign in Tokyo marking a dead-end. Takashima Susumu, *Jean Jean shūen* (Japan: Sayū–sha, 2013).

[3] Takashima, *Jean Jean: shūen*, 8, 10–13.

otherworld located in the eastern part of Aomori prefecture, which lurks threateningly in the background of many of his works.[4] In the second book, *Jean Jean: kaiketsu* [Jean Jean: The Wonder], Takashima recalls how at one point he had "lost himself in his recording of Tsugaru nursery rhymes and recitations by the dialect poet Takagi Kyōzō."[5]

Takashima writes about Chikuzan, about Terayama, and about Takagi. He writes about others from Tsugaru, about *zainichi* Koreans, about Okinawans. Much of his books jump jarringly between Tokyo and Tsugaru, and Okinawa, and Korea, and elsewhere; they focus on a class of artists who were active particularly during the late 1960s and 1970s, on how history becomes buried under the weight of development—both industrial and ideological—and on the struggle with the trauma of the overwhelming loss of it all.

In one sense, Takashima is the perfect figure to conclude this dissertation project with: he brings the subjects of the previous chapters together into a neat space, and helps to illuminate some of their common themes. On the other hand, his writing disturbs the picture I have been working to develop. Because of his anachronism, he constantly paints Tsugaru in shades of the afterlife, emphasizing its untimeliness.[6] These books read very much like his final, parting statement, his farewell to the world. In his words: "Old age puts one on the threshold [*kyōkai*] between the living and the dead."[7] With one foot in the otherworld, he looks upon the goodness of Tsugaru as a fading authenticity, coming dangerously close to reproducing the discourse so well-critiqued by Marilyn Ivy: "[He] could not accept the obliteration of transmissions from the past [*denshō*] flowing through the blood of the Tsugaru people"; he yearns for the lost, the

[4] Takashima, *Jean Jean: shūen*, 20.
[5]Takashima Susumu, *Jean Jean kaiketsu* (Japan: Sayū–sha, 2013), 171.
[6] Crossing the Tsugaru Straits, he remarks how they are filled with the spirits of those who have committed suicide. Afterward, he looks up some statistics from the wartime air raids, reporting that the American attacks sank twelve ferryboats, resuling in a total of 439 deaths. In reference to Takagi's poem "*Shiko adane mura*" [Village untouched by sunlight], he states that the coast off of Oborodzuki which he sees from the boat is foggy day and night, due to an abundance of lamenting spirits. Takashima Susumu, *Jean Jean kaiketsu*, 164, 166–7.
[7] Takashima Susumu, *Jean Jean kaiketsu*, 95.

disappearing, for his *furusato* Japan. Yet, "Ryōsaku, refusing to acknowledge the erasure of the past, recalled a quotation of Terayama Shūji's: 'Everything that goes on into the past is a lie; only the demons of tomorrow are real.'"[8] In the introduction to the previous volume, he also declares: "Ryōsaku had been formed by the exchange of words."[9] The death of his friends are his death as well.

In these statements, Takashima defines his own *furusato* concept. He acknowledges his own identity to be a Hegalian-like subjectivity, emerging out of dialogue with other human actors. When the subjects which whom he surrounded himself fade away, he, too, ceases to exist. The future becomes a terrifying, mysterious "demon"; unknowable and unpredictable.

Takashima's writing aligns strongly with that of Terayama's, but more importantly, Takashima himself offers an opportunity to twist the argument in the above pages back and on its ear. This is because Takashima was the proprietor of the "little theatre" Shibuya Jean Jean, opened in 1969.[10] Shibuya Jean Jean was an important space in the postwar avant-garde world; but it gained popularity beyond the limited scope of radical local artists, partly because it was so democratic. Just about anyone could afford a ticket as long as they were willing to queu up; in fact, Jean Jean did not offer ticket reservations, meaning that everyone had to wait in the street—an appropriation of public space, forcing contact between strangers—regardless of insider connections or elevated status in the arts community.[11]

Chikuzan became perhaps the space's most popular performer, as he played and spoke there 330 times over the course of his late career. Chikuzan also performed as the opening act at

[8] Takashima Susumu, *Jean Jean kaiketsu*, 177.
[9] Takashima Susumu, *Jean Jean kaiketsu*, 5.
[10] He also opened Nagoya Jean Jean in 1977, Okinawa Jean Jean in 1980, and Zamami Jean Jean in 1983. A fascinating website has collected all of the extant advertising programs for Shibuya Jean Jean, and can be viewed here: Butai Yorozu Sōdan dokoro, "Shō gekijō Shibuya Jean Jean," accessed: 7 February, 2017 <http://jeanjean1969.web.fc2.com/index.html>.
[11] Matsubayashi Takuji, *Tamashii no neiro: hyōden Takahashi Chikuzan* (Japan: Tōōnippō–sha, 2000),199–200.

both the opening and closing of Okinawa Jean Jean, in 1980 and 1993 respectively, and is featured on the cover of two of Takashima's three novels.[12] Chikuzan would also make his final recording on 23 March, 1994…right there in the same space.[13] Takagi, a much more minor character in the history of Jean Jean, gave live readings of *Marumero* and other work there on a least five occasions during the years 1973, 1975, and 1977.[14] Until its closing in 2000, Shibuya Jean Jean continued to regularly feature performances of Terayama's plays. Additionally, Chikuzan's star pupil, "Takahashi Chikuzan the Second" (Takahashi Chikujo) both performed and recorded her debut album there. The album, incidentally, also contains numerous tracks with lyrics penned by Terayama Shūji.[15]

The reason why Jean Jean is so important to the present project is that it opens the texts and artists discussed in the previous chapters up to entirely new contexts. Although I state in the introduction that part of the impetus behind this project is to escape the "black hole" of the capital, one cannot simply ignore the fact that "all roads lead to Tokyo." Regardless of if you are traveling north, south, east, or west, if you are headed toward the capital, in Japanese you are said to be going "up." In fact, in Tsugaru vernacular, Tokyo is sometimes referred to as *kami* [upwards]. The unevenness of the topography of the nation is fundamental, and cannot be responsibly ignored. Thus, Shibuya Jean Jean is a quiet reminder of De Certeau's "city"; of however we may engage in tactics, in individual practice within our own capacities for action, those actions take place within a field of institutions, both literal and metaphorical, which impose limitations on our possibilities.[16] Tsugaru is always situated in relation to the Nation, and so it

[12] Matsubayashi, 24, 64, 270, 312.
[13] Matsubayashi, 24.
[14] Arito Hideaki, *Aomori to Shōwa modanizumu shō: revū sakka Kikuya Sakae to hōgen shijin Takagi Kyōzō* (Japan: Rojō–sha, 2006), 304; Ono, *Kita no bunmyaku*, Vol. 2:99.
[15] Takahashi Chikuyo, *Tsugaru–jamisen to sono kokoromi*, Disk Jean Jean jj–0007, 1995 CD.
[16] Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (University of California Press, 1984).

appears inevitable that we return to Tokyo in the conclusion here, albeit arriving properly for the first time.

Shibuya Jean Jean, and Takashima's novels, force another critical contextual element into view, beyond the narrower aesthetic and philosophic discourses analyzed above. Shibuya Jean Jean first opened in 1969, during the height of the ANPO protests and student movements.[17] Takahashi states that his intention in opening the theater in 1969 was to "create a space opened up toward society…a place to exchange words without reservation on life, on philosophy."[18] The space, in other words, was intended to combine intimate dialogue between human beings and the *milieu* of contemporary society. Bringing Chikuzan, Terayama, and Takagi into this space brought them into contact with a young contemporary audience hungry for "encounter" with "reality." The unfamiliarity and freedom of Chikuzan and Takagi's vernacular tongues, in contrast to the state language of *hyōjun go* [standardized language], surely represented one possibility for revolt against institutionalized power, the prospect of the kind of creative-destructive "leaving home" advocated first and foremost by artists like Terayama.

Throughout this dissertation I have brought new texts, artists, and authors into conversation with the important and under-studied concept of *furusato*. I have shown that while it is too often reduced to a problem and possession of the Center, *furusato* has indeed been important to the aesthetic and political projects of the people of Tsugaru, just as Tsugaru itself has informed their meaning of *furusato*.

At first blush, Takahashi Chikuzan's invocation of the "stink of the earth," which I have borrowed for the title of this dissertation, seems reactionary and essentializing, just as Terayama

[17] The initial ANPO protests in 1960 caused Ro–on to shift its focus from western–classical to "Japanese" music. This set the stage for Chikuzan's debut concert as a "serious" artist in 1961, for their *Dai ichi Nihon no uta, Michinoku no uta* [First songs of Japan, songs of Michinoku] concert. Matsubayashi, 141–2.
[18] Takashima Susumu, *Jean Jean kaiketsu*,15.

Shūji's ever-present underworld and Fukushi Kōjirō's citation of Maurice Barres' *la terre et les morte* foreground the same themes of death, Nation, and annihilation of individualized identity. Yet, by carefully reading Chikuzan's olfaction discourse as a metaphor for his aesthetic of *sujimichi*, I have shown how he, and many other Tsugaru-jamisen performers, appropriate aspects of extant aesthetic structures and values as they move through the musical field, tactically, negotiating between folk and mass-music tendencies. Aesthetic-as-*furusato* becomes a reference point for creative action. For Terayama, living in the Real entails shedding attachments to the national-archetype-*furusato*, and instead engaging in autopoetic praxis. Among many other textual forms, Terayama used autobiographical writing as a practice of creative destruction, of "leaving home" and "speaking to" his audience. Finally, the inheritors of Fukushi's "spirit" and proponents of "Tsugaru esprit" used vernacular language, publishing networks, literary community, landscape, folklore, and other kinds of chorographic knowledge to delineate an intersection of Tsugaru-as-place just as fuzzy and ephemeral as Chikuzan's *tsuchi kusai*. The formative spirit swelling in the Tsugaru earth is not an immutable determinant of local character, but something more of an organic, social imaginary existing in symbiotic relation to the living community. For Chikuzan, Terayama, and the Tsugaru *bundan* alike, *furusato* is hidden somewhere in the soil. Yet for all three, it is something that moves and changes, something which is intimately connected to both the present and the past, is not untimely, and is not limited by discursive construction from the outside.

I began this dissertation by criticizing the domineering role Tokyo and the Nation have played in modern Japan studies; I end it by using Takashima and Shibuya Jean Jean to turn back to these topics, and gesture toward the role they have played in forming the field in which these actors play their parts. Takashima was an artist in his own right, creating new communities, new

engagements, by massaging flows of people and ideas through the little space of Jean Jean. Takashima afforded opportunities for Terayama, Takagi, Chikuzan, and other mobile artists to bring their own *furusato* into the space of Tokyo, challenging the unevenness of the national geography through their individual theorizaetions and performances. At the same time, Takashima clearly discovered deep, personal meaning in the place of Tsugaru that he uncovered through his innumerable contacts with its community. He reflects that "[he] had walked every square foot of Tsugaru…[and] amidst the harshly falling snows, he made Tsugaru his heart's *furusato*."[19] This dissertation does not make such an impossible claim, but it has endeavored to open up a new set of texts and theories, a new range of voices, and new ways of feeling Tsugaru and knowing its *furusato*, sensing it from the inside out rather than looking from the outside in.

[19] Takashima, *Jean Jean: Kaiketsu*, 171.

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